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THE
BELLA COOLA
INDIANS

BY

T. F. McILWRAITH

VOLUME TWO

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PHONETIC KEY[1]

104

VOWELS

a, as in *father*
ä, as in *hat*
e, as in *fate*
i, as in *pique*
o, as in *note*
u, as in *rule*
ʌ, as in *but*
ɛ, as in *met*
ɩ, as in *hit*
ʊ, as in *put*
ə, obscure vowel like *a* in *idea*
ᵉ, exponent vowels, voiced but slighted in enunciation. The same device is used for consonants slighted in enunciation.

CONSONANTS

p, *t*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *s*, *w*, *y*, *h*, *r*,[2] as in English
q, velar *k*
pʻ, *tʻ*, *kʻ*, *qʻ*, aspirated surds
p̓, *t̓*, *k̓*, *q̓*, glottalized stops
k̦, anterior palatal *k*
k̦̓, anterior palatal *k̓*
b, *d*, intermediate between surd and sonant
d̓, glottalized intermediate
dj, as in *jam*
c, as *sh* in *shell*
ł, spirantal *l*
tł, *t* + *ł*
t̓ł, glottalized *tł*
x, as in Scottish, *loch*
x̣, velar *x*, as in German, *ach*
x̦, anterior palatal *x*, as in German, *ich*
ṣ, peculiar *s* sound, apparently velar.

·, for example, *a*·, or *t*·, indicates lengthening of preceding vowel or consonant
ʼ, indicates a glottal stop
ʻ, indicates aspiration
ˋ, indicates accentuation of the syllable so marked.

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[1] Based on the simpler system described in *Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages*, (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 66, No. 6, Washington (1916), pp. 2-7).

[2] The *r* sound was used only by one old man and several of his children and grandchildren.

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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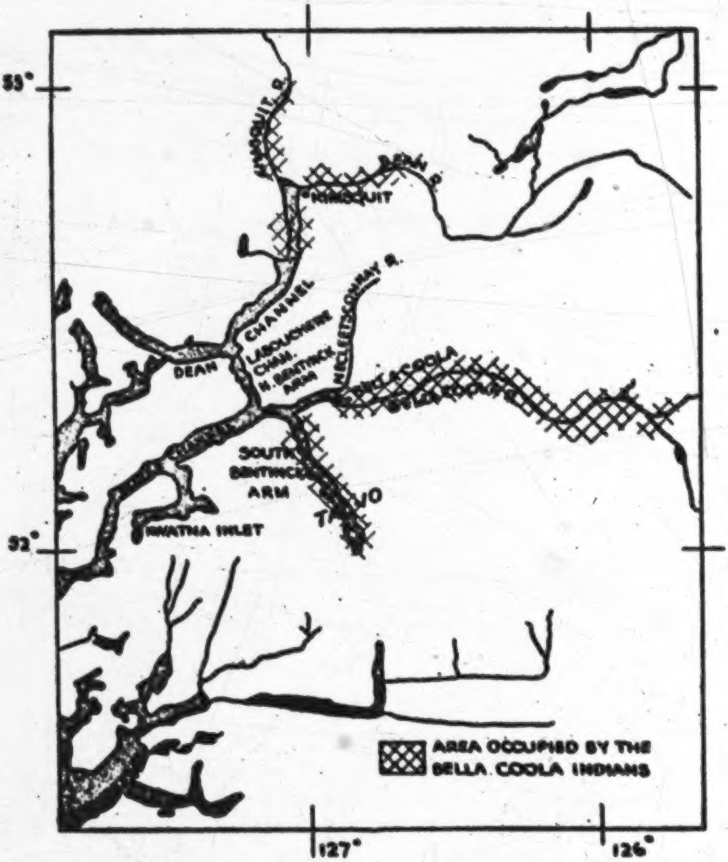
53°
52°
127°
126°
KIMSQUIT R.
DEAN R.
KIMSQUIT
CHANNEL
LABOUCHERE CHAN.
N. BENTINCK ARM
DEAN
BELLA COOLA
SOUTH BENTINCK ARM
KWATNA INLET
▩ AREA OCCUPIED BY THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

Map of the Bella Coola area

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THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

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CHAPTER I

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES 000

General Observations on the Kusiut Society — Powers and Functions of the Society — Initiation — The Ritual of Specific Dances — Various Origin Myths — Kusiut Prerogatives Other than Dances — The Death of a Kusiut — The Final Rite — Concluding Observations and History.

General Observations on the *Kusiut* Society

IN view of the importance of the *kusiut* society in the lives 575*
of the Bella Coola, it would seem logical to have described
it in an earlier part of this monograph. Though an integral
part of the complicated structure of social organization, it is a
secret, semi-religious grouping which can best be treated separately.
The word *kusiut* is connected etymologically, according 575*
to native belief, with *siut*, the term for a supernatural being. 192
Thus the meaning of the society's designation is "The Supernatural,"
or "The Learned," for *siut* has both these significations. [776]
A member of the society is likewise called a *kusiut*,
plural, *kukusiut*.

The investigator soon learns of the existence of the society. 551
If he asks a man his name, and then inquires further what type
of designation it is, the answer is always that it is his *kusiut* 575*
name, that is, the one by which he is known as a member of [124]
the society. Ancestral names are used only at potlatches or
other ceremonial occasions, whereas an individual's *kusiut* appellation
is the one which he uses commonly. Moreover, for 535
about three months of every year the Bella Coola live in an
atmosphere of *kusiut* dances with a performance, or its preliminaries, 575*
taking place almost every night. Preparations for 796
this ceremonial season, for so it may be termed, begin four days
after the September moon is full, while the actual dances commence
early in November and are continued until March.
During this period the *kukusiut* are believed to be in intimate [787]

535 contact with supernatural beings, so that it is a time for grave
*575 thoughts and decorous behaviour. Even by day the members
796 pass from house to house with dignified mien, not loitering
[787] around the sidewalks nor indulging in frivolity. Every effort
is made to prevent quarrels between members who are expected
to show by their appearance and actions the gravity of
the rites in which they are engaged. Night after night they
assemble at the house wherein the dance is taking place; those
who have performed, and are therefore most closely in touch
with the supernatural, even sleep there, not returning to their
own houses until March. A dance usually lasts four nights,
and during that time the performer's house, in which it takes
place, is termed a *nuq̓pik*, "An Empty House." The significance
of this designation is unknown.

178 Membership in the society depends on a duly validated
*575 ancestral prerogative to perform one of the many *kusiut* dances.
At the present time every Bella Coola is a *kusiut*, even babes
[424] in arms being initiated, but formerly no one was admitted until
he or she had reached an age of discretion. Some informants
went so far as to say that the hair of an initiate must have
begun to turn grey, and all agreed that no one was ever admitted
until at least twenty, or more often, twenty-five years of
age. Initiates were frequently still older; one woman, for
example, stated that her mother was past the age of child-bearing
before admission. Since only a member of the society
[551] could be called by a *kusiut* name, the uninitiated continued to
be known by the ancestral names conferred on them at infancy
until they received *kusiut* designations. The importance of the
178 society depends on the belief of the uninitiated in the super-natural
*575 powers of its members, and as there are now none to
796 impress, the rites carried out today are little more than pictures
128 of what took place years ago. It is the aim of the Bella
Coola to carry out the dances as if uninitiated persons were in
attendance, and since most of the following information was
obtained from men who well remembered their sensations when
not members of the society, it is justifiable to use the present

575*
tense throughout this chapter, and to assume the presence of a 178
number of young men and women ignorant of the significance 796
of the rites. Formerly, the *kukusiut* often had difficulty in impressing
the uninitiated with their prowess, and feuds with the 128
a'alk were common. 578

Although membership in the *kusiut* society depends on an 554
ancestral prerogative, it is essentially a democratic institution.
A certain amount of wealth is necessary to validate a *kusiut* 556
prerogative, but nothing comparable to that required for a 575*
potlatch; in fact, poor men are often persons of great importance
within the ranks of the society. Nor are the prerogatives 567
considered to be as valuable as ancestral rights, so that
slaves are often admitted as *kukusiut* by their masters. An
important *kusiut* is not esteemed by the community in the
same way as the donor of many potlatches; in short, membership
in the society brings limited ceremonial and semi-religious
advantage, not social prestige of a public nature.

Powers and Functions of the Society

Any secret society can be viewed from the standpoints of a 575*
member, and of a non-member. The scope of the *kusiut* organization 869
can be most clearly outlined by describing first what an
uninitiated person knows about it. From his infancy, parents
impress upon a child the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut*
and the dangers attached to their rites. Such instruction is
perhaps strongest where one, or both, is not a member. They
then voice their own fears, and do not merely deceive for the
good of the society. Steeped as every child is in a firm belief
of the near presence of the supernatural, he readily believes
what he is told. He learns, for example, that if, without special
invitation, he dares enter the house where a *kusiut* dance 784
is taking place—at any time during the four days or more that 774
it lasts—his spirit will be drawn from him. This is sufficient 626
to deter him from prying too closely into the rites. Strangely
enough, there seem always to have been differences in teaching
with respect to this deception. It is believed that if a non- 000

It is believed that if a non-
*575 initiate pass between the central fire and the raised platform
774 behind it, where the dancer is usually concealed, his spirit will
755 be attracted to this material object. Even though the per-
former is in another house at the time, he at once senses what
[784] has happened and asks who has lost his spirit. The guilty
[626] person, believing that he will die unless it is returned to him,
always admits what he has done. The dancer, accompanied
by several attendant ***kukusiut***, proceeds to the raised platform,
presses his cupped hands four times against it, and by sucking
with his mouth pretends to draw forth the spirit. But since
the dancer has a direct call (II, p. 6) from his supernatural
patron (II, p. 6), he cannot come in contact with the uninitiated
without danger to the latter, so he transfers the supernatural
element to the leg of another ***kusiut***, who is not dancing at the
time, by pressing four times. This assistant then returns it to
the owner by kneading it four times into the back of his neck.
[626] The reckless uninitiated person suffers no harm, but is more
careful in future.

[784] Another belief is that if a non-member even walks close to
the doorway of the house during the four days, or more, that
[626] a dance is taking place, his spirit is attracted to the dancer,
wherever he may be at the moment. Consequently the unini-
tiated use the beach path instead of the sidewalk. Accounts
differ as to what results from the transgression. According to
[778] one, the dancer falls down as if dead, due to the contact be-
tween something non-sacred and the power with which he is
imbued. It is at once recognized what has happened and any
kusiut can draw forth the spirit by placing his two hands,
shaped like a cup, against the dancer and sucking violently.
While so doing he calls ***hoip*** loudly and any ***kukusiut*** present
beat time furiously. As soon as the alien spirit has been re-
moved, the dancer recovers. Still holding his hands cupped
together, the extractor now proceeds to the house of the non-
member and returns the latter's spirit by kneading it into the
back of his neck. If this were not done, the loser would soon
[784] become mad, try to eat dirt, and die. According to another

informant, the entry of a strange spirit into his body does not 575*
inconvenience the dancer, although he senses its presence, and 774
asks who will pay for its return. Unless the owner at once steps 755
forward to claim his property and promises to pay, his spirit is [784]
thrown into the fire and he dies. The *kukusiut* sometimes tell
an uninitiated person that his spirit has been attracted from him, thereby terrifying him so greatly that he appeals to a shaman to recover it for him. The expert greases his hands, warms them at a fire, and pretends to pluck something from the *kusiut* which he inserts into the loser's neck.

In view of the firm conviction that the spirit is essential to 575*
an individual's welfare, it is not surprising that this belief 774
should awe the uninitiated and fill them with profound respect 626
for the *kukusiut*. The diversity in the details of procedure proves that the practice has not become standardized; those who are not members of the society believe and do not test the claims.

Another source of strength claimed by the *kukusiut* is 575*
ability to witness and imitate the dances of the supernatural 787
beings held in *Nusmät·a* prior to the entry of *Älquntäm*. As 776
already described, it is believed that a supernatural element 796
from every living creature upon earth ascends at this time
but, in a way that is not fully understood, only those belonging 777
to *kukusiut* can take part in the ceremonies. Is it strange, 761
therefore, that members of the society are regarded with awe by their less fortunate fellows? Presents are given after every dance in *Nusmät·a* and the supernatural elements receive their due share. When, however, *Älquntäm* enters, he is so big and so hot that almost all who have assembled rush forth furiously, and in the crush at the narrow doorway disaster overtakes many of the visiting human representatives. Some drop their gifts, and their owners will be unfortunate; others fall, and their owners cannot survive until the next ceremonial season. This same fate may befall even those who are not members of the *kusiut* society, but they do not have the ability to appreciate what has happened.

*575 *Älquntäm* enters and confers on *kusiut* matters with
787 *Sexsexḳälaix*, his assistant in affairs connected with his func-
776 tions as leader of the supernatural *kukusiut*.[1] This being acts
as announcer and intermediary with *Älquntäm*, but himself
796 lacks the power of initiating matters. The two discuss whether or not it is advisable to allow mortal *kukusiut* to perform certain dances of the type known as *kusiotem* (II, p.128), and if so, they transmit the necessary power to the earthly dancer who has the proper prerogative, thus enabling him to give a graphic representation of what is done in the upper land.

*575 This is the essence of the *kusiut* dances. Each portrays a
performance given by one of the supernatural beings in the
796 house above, or some other aspect of his activities. Each
787 earthly dancer has as patron a supernatural being, usually the
776 one who carries out the dance of which his own is a model, and
between patron and protégé there exists a relationship by
535 means of which the latter receives the power necessary to perform. To do so, the uninitiated believe that he must receive a *yeıx*, which can be translated as "call," from his associate above. Moreover, not only is each patron a supernatural being, but each is guided by *Älquntäm* in the performance of the *kusiut* rites in the land above, which indirectly increases the prestige of the protégé.

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*575 [1] The differences of belief of individual Bella Coola, dependent upon family
traditions, is nowhere shown with greater clearness than in this meeting of the
787 leaders of the supernatural dancers. It is clear that the Bella Coola have no
uniformity of belief, even in what might be regarded as fundamental concepts.
776 One informant, well versed in *kusiut* matters, asserted that there are five super-
796 natural leaders, *Älquntäm* and his assistants, *Smaiaikila*, *Ṣexsexḳälaix*, *Snusılkäls*,
and *Sinxälotla*. Others were equally emphatic that *Älquntäm* is the *kusiut*
184 name of the supreme deity, and that *Sinxälotla*, *Smaiaikila*, and *Snusılkäls*, are
merely other designations for the same deity with regard to different functions.
This belief has been followed during the monograph, by designating the supreme deity
as *Älquntäm*, the name by which he is termed with respect to his *kusiut* powers.
These two opinions are not as basically different as appears at first sight. A man
[828] is considered as having two, or more, personalities with respect to different rites
at which he is called by different names. Since the supreme deity is regarded as
a superman, who functions in diverse manners, it is not difficult to understand
how these are sometimes ascribed to different individuals, and sometimes to the
one under different names.

Furthermore, throughout the ceremonial season, the uninitiated 575*
have ocular demonstrations of the powers with which 796
the *kukusiut* are associated. At frequent intervals they are
invited to the house of the dancer where, with wonder, fear, 781
and awe, they see strange creatures. Although they may recognize
that some of these are only their fellow-tribesmen in
strange form, they have no idea how such transformations are
produced, and ascribe them to supernatural assistance. They
accept the strange designs of the figures as proof that the
kukusiut have been in contact with unfamiliar beings. It seems
clear that the uninitiated do not realize that the representations
are produced by means of masks, the work of human hands;
instead, they believe that the figures displayed are really those
of supernatural patrons who have come to earth to assist their
protégés. It must be remembered that these dances take place
within large houses, only partially illuminated by a flickering [354]
central fire, which facilitates deception and conjuring tricks,
quite apart from the credulity of the observers.

The uninitiated may sometimes suspect that the performers 575*
are not real supernatural beings, but there is no question of 781
their firm conviction concerning the changes which come over
the *kukusiut* at this time. One member of the society, for 787
example, may begin to act in a peculiar manner and at once
the uninitiated are ejected from the house. From without they 796
listen with mixed fear and excitement to the strange noises
which they do not know are made by whistles, and presently
the *kusiut* rushes forth in a frenzied state, biting those he
meets. The uninitiated know that he is a Cannibal, doing as
his patron above is doing, and that a call from the latter has
caused him to become mad. When the *kukusiut* have subdued
him and taken him back to his house, the non-membersh ear
more strange and inexplicable sounds, which appear to go
upwards, and presently the news is circulated that the Cannibal
has been carried away to the land above. He is seen no more
for several weeks, and when next he appears he is thin, wan,
and bald, because the high winds of the land above have blown

*575 the hair from his head. After various rites which prove that
796 the Cannibal actually possesses peculiar power, he is calmed
and songs are sung describing what he saw aloft, and the
781 dangers from which he escaped. The uninitiated shiver sym-
[787] pathetically, marvel at his valour, and anticipate with mixed
feelings the time when they too may be privileged to have
similar experiences. Or they may witness the killing of one of
their fellow-villagers by disembowelling, and his restoration to
life. They know the victim; under ordinary circumstances he
could not endure death, hence the claim that his strength is
due to the call given him by his patron is accepted as an obvious
fact. The uninitiated never suspect that they are victims of
an elaborate deception. At all times the *kukusiut* are eager to
[766] make known their own perils, and if it happens that a member
[761] of the society dies while in concealment, his corpse is buried
secretly. The explanation given is that he has succumbed to
some of the dangers to which *kukusiut* are exposed, a fiction
readily believed in view of the absence of the usual funeral
rites.

*575 Though it is common knowledge that the ability of a *kusiut*
to perform any extraordinary feat has its source in the per-
778 formance of the same feat by his supernatural patron, yet it is
787 equally well known that his specific power has been brought
to this earth and is located in one particular spot. An ancestor
424 must in some way have come in contact with the patron, and
at that time his *kusiut* name, carrying with it the prerogatives
of supernatural patronage and of dancing on this earth, was
deposited for safe-keeping in a repository, *nuskäsiutsta* (also
called *nusxi'ip̓sta*), by the supernatural woman *Ắnoᵒlikwolsaix*.
Each repository is thought of as a cave, or hollow, beneath a
large tree, a rock, or other distinctive natural object; to obtain
his power a *kusiut* initiate must go there, actual contact with
his patron being unnecessary. Every *kusiut* prerogative has its
[776] repository and in each of these is *Ắnoᵒlikwolsaix*; she is one,
yet capable of being simultaneously in many hundred spots,
corresponding to the many hundred *kusiut* prerogatives. Her

functions are to guard the names, and to keep in touch with the 575*
patrons. Every uninitiated person believes that if he could
only have the good fortune to find a repository, he would obtain 787
the *kusiut* prerogative there localized. *Äno°likwolsaix* travels 424
only during the ceremonial season when she is present at every [778]
kusiut dance in the form of a woman with a long, thin face and
pointed chin (see Plate 13),[1] who "explains" the significance [776]
of the figures to the uninitiated in a peculiar high-pitched
voice. She is well able to do so since as guardian of repositories
she knows the prerogative of each member of the society.
Frequently she mocks the uninitiated:

"Ha! Ha! Ha!" she jeers. "You [naming some ambitious youth], you who think yourself so smart, you nearly fell over me that time you walked up in the woods behind the village looking for grouse. If I had been a bear I could have felled you with a blow of my paw. How can you ever hope to become a *kusiut* like your father and grandfather if you are so blind."

His fellows are inclined to join in the laughter at the one
singled out for *Äno°likwolsaix*'s scorn, but she flays them all
in turn. "She" is, of course, a *kusiut* chosen for fluency and
ability to make biting remarks. Parents tell their children
that in the autumn, pleased at the sight of falling leaves, [776]
Äno°likwolsaix bares the roof of her house and sits shaking her
fingers like a dancer.

"Go to the woods and look for her," they say. "If she sees you she will say '*tcu*' and beckon to you. Then you will become a *kusiut*."

To further this deception, *kukusiut* are accustomed to dis- 575*
guise themselves as *Äno°likwolsaix* and move around in the
autumn forest, taking care that no uninitiated comes too near 778
for safety. An individual may have several *kusiut* preroga- 425
tives, and if he wishes to transfer one of these to an associate,
the report is circulated that the recipient has stumbled upon
the repository of the donor. The latter then acts as if he were
crazy, and the uninitiated are told that he is a *nuḳaxem*, an

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[1] [See category 116, p. 84 (A) - ANALYST] (Apparently Plate 1 is meant)

*575 778 425 [784] untranslatable word with the significance of "One who has suffered loss through faulty concealment [of his repository]." Some of these vaults,[a] are said to be dangerous to the uninitiated who avoid them and in this way the sanctity of some chiefs' meeting-places is guarded.

*575 778 776 According to Kimsquit belief, *Ano'likwolsaix* has a husband, *Almoqltaikila*, who dwells with her in every repository. If an uninitiated person should chance to find a vault, he falls dead before the power emanating from *Ano'likwolsaix*. Her husband then restores the dead by blowing violently on the back of the victim's neck, accompanying this with cries of *hoip*. When a person is initiated into the *kusiut* society, the uninitiated hear the songs used, in many of which are references to the experiences of the novice with this supernatural pair.

*575 Turning now to the manner in which the *kukusiut* regard their own society, it is evident that the most important duty of each member is to aid in impressing and deceiving the uninitiated. The prestige of the organization depends upon the ability of its members to inspire awe, hence any weakness in fulfilling this obligation is an anti-social act. For this purpose the society acts as a whole. [424] Many *kukusiut* have, for example, Cannibal prerogatives, and on occasion the Cannibals, having the same functions, work together, but they do not form a separate organization of their own.[1] Many of the means employed to deceive and impress the uninitiated have already been described. [773] [178] Mythology records, and it appears to be a fact, that long ago the ascendancy of the *kukusiut* was often challenged by the *a'alk* and other uninitiated, but when the white man came the society had reached a position of such eminence that the powers of its members were unquestioned. Moreover, the combined strength of virtually all the seniors of the tribe was so great that an uninitiated person could not assert himself even if he was suspicious.

[688] Although members of the society exert every effort to con-

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[1] The Bella Coola state that such sub-societies are found among the Kwakiutl.

[a] [i.e. - a repository of supernatural power - ANALYST]

ceal their subterfuges, it sometimes happens that an uninitiated 575*
person sees or hears something which he should not know. The 688
simplest way to deal with this situation is to kill the observer.
It is said that as late as 1900 a young man, impelled by
curiosity, wandered up a valley into which he had been warned
not to penetrate, and met a Cannibal whom he believed had
vanished into the upper realms. Almost dumbfounded, he
accepted the latter's invitation to sit down, and was slain by
him. More often, and especially if the observer is the child
of a *kusiut*, he is initiated into the ranks of the society.
If this happens at any time of year except the actual ceremonial 575*
season, he cannot perform immediately, but he is taken
to the secret meeting place of the village chiefs, and there the
mysteries of the organization are explained to him. The uninitiated
are told that the observer has had a shaman's experience.
With the aid of the older *kukusiut* he then performs a
dance and conjuring feat of the type already described (I, p.
564), and is secluded until the next autumn, meanwhile [292]
wearing the distinctive collar of a shaman. In the songs used [756]
on this occasion no mention is made of a wash-basin, so of
course the lad only performs ceremonially. When winter
comes he is formally initiated into the society.

It is somewhat difficult to understand and explain the 575*
sentiments which lead a young man to obey rigidly the dictates 781
of the senior *kukusiut* in deceiving his former friends. If
it becomes known that a youth has seen something which 626
should have been concealed, the senior *kukusiut* of his village [688]
meet in their ceremonial spot and decide that he must be put
through the shaman's rite. Some relative of the youth is always
ready to provide the necessary *kusiut* prerogative; otherwise
he would have to be killed. Two or three members are
then sent to catch the young man. On some pretext they lure
him into the woods and then carry him away, struggling in
fear, to the holy of holies, the place which he had been told to
avoid since he would die if he penetrated to it. Here he finds
all the seniors of his village, seated with grave expressions on

#575 their faces. In spite of what he may have seen, the lad cannot
781 rid himself of the supernatural fears with which he has been
626 inculcated from childhood, and the experience is terrifying to a degree. It may be that he has seen some of the whistles, and thereby learnt that the strange sounds are made by men, not by supernatural beings. In this case he is shown their mechanism in detail, and warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he tells others of his knowledge. Fear impels him to silence, and at the same time he realizes that what he has discovered has placed him in a superior position to that of his former associates. He feels, too, that he has been admitted into the ranks of the society in which his father, grandfather, and ancestors have distinguished themselves, and that it would be desecration to make light of what they have held sacred. Finally, an initiate does not at first grasp the fact that all the rites are deceptions, and by the time that this is apparent to him he has become so thoroughly a part of the organization that he has no thought of betraying his associates, upsetting a vital part in the complicated fabric of Bella Coola life, and exposing himself to ruin and death. A logical white man might think these considerations insufficient, but the existence of the society proves that the varied motives operate so strongly that a
[828] young man does keep silence. Some informants state that hypnotism was formerly used to ensure obedience.

#575 The *kukusiut* are always ready to deal with an emergency
176 such as sometimes occurs in spite of every precaution. It is
781 remembered that about one hundred and fifty years ago during a dance at the village of *Nuqákmits*, a figure, representing one
424 of the supernatural beings, had the misfortune to drop his mask, the strings by which it was tied having worn through. The house was crowded with uninitiated to whom the deception at once became apparent. For a moment there was wild confusion, but the senior *kukusiut* rose to the occasion and closed the door, allowing no uninitiated person to leave. Then a *kusiut* was sent out with a whistle which he sounded as if the supernatural being of which it was the voice was growing

nearer and nearer, till finally a thump was heard on the roof. 575*

"*O* . . . ," cried out the *kusiut*, "it is my patron." 176

The uninitiated were told that in consequence of the disaster, the supernatural beings had sent calls to this earth for all within the house. Even small children were admitted on this occasion. Those *kusiut* in whose families were dormant prerogatives at once explained to their relatives that the call was from the patron of one of these, and that henceforth the person addressed was a protégé of that being. But even with the assistance of all the *kusiut*, there were not sufficient privileges for all who had seen the accident. The explanation hastily agreed upon for those who could not otherwise be provided with prerogatives, was that a supernatural being mentioned in the myth from which the uninitiated had derived his ancestral name had come as patron. Repositories were stated to exist in various places near the village for the designations thus created, and order had been restored before morning. This event was described by so many informants that its historical accuracy can hardly be challenged. Those so initiated were said to have become "*kusiut* under easy circumstances"; as prerogatives they had merely the right of singing about their respective patrons, not of performing any particular dramatic dance, but they were, none the less, fully qualified members of the society. The prestige and influence of this organization can be estimated by the fact that it was thus able to carry through a wholesale initiation without its secrets becoming known in adjacent villages. Those admitted, though realising that deception was being practised, were so overawed by the other members of the society that they accepted what was told them without question, entirely failing to use their common sense. Thus, this incident, which had at first threatened disaster, ultimately reacted to the advantage of the *kusiut*. It is true that their prestige was somewhat diminished by the admission of young people, but in compensation they claimed many new patrons, including several regarded with veneration owing to their occurrence in ancestral myths. Since the latter

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575 [176] part of the last century it has become customary to explain the dropping of a mask as due to a sudden call to the bearer.

Another means by which the *kukusiut* protect themselves from doubting non-members is by the use of spies. The marshals (II, p. 16) of the society select some intelligent youth and ask the consent of his father, or other guardian, to make him a spy. If this is granted, the youth is lured into the woods and carried forcibly to the sacred meeting-place, where he finds the senior *kukusiut* of his village seated, an awe-inspiring band. They explain to him the deceits used, show him the whistles and other equipment, and instruct him that it is his duty to inform them if he hears any uninitiated person casting doubts on the rites of the society. [626] Proud of his trust, and fearful of what would happen should he fail to carry out his duties, the spy begins his work. Ignorant of his knowledge, the uninitiated have no hesitation in talking with him and if he hears one of them expressing doubts as to the powers of the society, or telling that he has seen the sacred meeting-place or some of the regalia, he at once notifies one of the marshals. The over-confident person is then initiated. Thus the *kukusiut* are constantly recruiting their strength from the most intelligent uninitiated, thereby adding to the influence of their society and lessening the dangers from non-members.

Sometimes a man is forced to undertake the task on account of too great knowledge of *kusiut* matters. The following incident, related by a spy, is worth recording as a concrete example of this point:

> Between 1870 and 1880, a Rivers Inlet Cannibal performed the Cannibal dance in Bella Coola, presumably being entitled to do so by a Bella Coola name and prerogative. During his period of seclusion he died [961] from a sudden hemorrhage, and the uninitiated were told that he had been carried away to the mysterious regions of the sky, the customary explanation in such circumstances. Soon afterwards some Bella Coola returned from Victoria, and an old woman told them the news, ignorant of the fact that an uninitiated lad of fifteen had entered the house and was listening eagerly. A careless movement betrayed his presence to the horrified *kukusiut* and the boy fled, terrified at the turn of events.

575* Not knowing where to go nor what to do, he hid himself on a small island within sight of the village whence he could see and hear the people seeking him. At times some of his *kukusiut* friends came close, calling his name; but not till he was driven to do so by hunger did he reveal his hiding-place. Then he answered the shouts of two men who at first pretended they were merely seeking him because of the worry his prolonged disappearance was causing his parents. Once the lad was within their grasp they carried him swiftly to the house of one of the chiefs, where he found himself seated among the most influential men of his village with the door barred behind him. The fear which any youth would feel in like circumstances was increased greatly by the awe with which he, as an uninitiated person, regarded the *kukusiut*, especially on this occasion when he knew that he had roused their anger. [781]

"What did you hear?" asked one of the marshals. The lad was too terrified to lie, so he blurted out all the gossip he had overheard, including the news of the death of the Rivers Inlet Cannibal.

"You have heard too much, you must join us," continued his questioner.

The same man then asked one of his relatives whether he would "buy" the lad from them, that is, whether they would provide the necessary goods to have him initiated. It was understood that through his improper knowledge he had come under the jurisdiction of the *kukusiut* and that, unless made one of them, they would kill him. The lad was the protégé of his uncle who at the time was initiating him into the *sisauk* ceremonial, and who accordingly was most unwilling to have his nephew made a *kusiut*. [688]

"Let him be a spy," said the uncle.

After much discussion this proposition was agreed to; the decision was facilitated by the fact that one of the lad's ancestors had been a spy. All night he was kept sitting in the centre of a group of elders who revealed to him the mysteries of the organization and showed him the whistles and other regalia. For twenty years this man remained a spy, dutifully informing upon any over-inquisitive, uninitiated person.

The informant was more than sixty years of age when he related this incident, but the passage of time had not caused him to forget the utter terror and feeling of inferiority experienced when he was taken into the presence of the senior *kukusiut*. [781]

Although every *kusiut* assists in preserving the dignity and awe of the society, this duty is especially the function of those members who are regarded as the earthly representatives of 575* 424 776

*575 *Anoᵉlikwolsaix*. They may be termed marshals of the society.
[424] Each must have an ancestral prerogative for this, duly vali-
dated by presents to the *kukusiut*, in addition to a *kusiut* pre-
[776] rogative of some kind. In each village there are four or five
of these men. Whenever food is being served at a *kusiut* dance,
the marshals receive theirs first and then one or other of them
addresses the audience in slow and impressive style, beating on
the floor with a stick to add emphasis to his words. He admon-
ishes his fellows to safeguard the ancient rites of the society,
to be bold, to be secretive, and he pays honour to the member
who has given the dance. It is they who take the leading part
if a youth is dragged away to the meeting-place for initiation,
and it is they who arrange matters when a spy reports that a
non-member is over-inquisitive. If any member of the society
*575 should break one of its laws at a time when no uninitiated are
688 present, the marshal is expected to seize a burning stick from
the fire and strike the offender with it. If death should result,
revenge is unthinkable, since the criminal had broken the law.
The same fate is unhesitatingly meted out to any *kusiut* who
should dare to betray any of the mysteries to the uninitiated.
Moreover, it is the marshals who decide whether any improper
act lowers the dignity of a dance, and punish accordingly. Not
many years ago a *kusiut* woman gave birth to a child while a
dance was taking place and the infant was slain by one of the
marshals. The usual explanation made to the uninitiated for
[761] a death within the dance-house is that a supernatural being
caused the roof to fall and kill the victim.

*575 Each marshal has, in connection with his prerogative of
551 this vocation, a professional name, used only within the house
where a *kusiut* dance is taking place and carefully concealed
[424] from the uninitiated. Some designations were obtained from
Anoᵉlikwolsaix by an ancestor of the possessor, others were
created on this earth with reference to some specific event, and
[553] duly made valid by presents to the *kukusiut* alone. Some of
these names are:

Xwolsukmis, "The Destroyer," so given on account of an

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elaborate *kusiut* ritual which failed;

Namulsta, meaning unknown;

"The One who Guards the Ritual by Gripping with his Teeth";

"The Terrifier";

"The Dog-Toothed One."

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When a *kusiut* acts contrary to the interests of the society the marshals gather in the sacred meeting-place of the village, with other senior *kukusiut*. There is no definite order respecting who shall, or shall not, be summoned. The matter is discussed until unanimity of opinion is reached, although a marshal, particularly if he is also a rich and influential chief, is the guiding spirit. In *Nusqulxwaista* the supernatural being *Sikiliktnɯm* kills any supernatural *kusiut* who errs, so in this world it is always said that a verdict of death has been given by this being. Several of those at the meeting are sent out to lure the victim who, brought before the group, is told that he is to die. He is seized, thrown on his back, and a pole laid across his neck; two men sit on each end until the man is dead.[3] Sometimes less drastic punishments are meted out. About 1880, when the influence of the white man had become evident on the coast, a dancer who had been, theoretically, disembowelled and was supposed to remain for months within his house to recover from the operation, insisted on fleeing to Kimsquit to a woman with whom he was in love. When he returned to Bella Coola a meeting was held to decide whether or not he should be killed. Fear of the white men prevented summary punishment, but the marshals insisted that the offender submit himself to periodic scratching on the stomach with a nail so that it would appear to the uninitiated that he was suffering from a deep wound. The offender was thankful to escape thus lightly.

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[3] Occasionally the relative of a condemned person saves him by saying that he must not be killed. This means that the speaker is willing to die as a substitute; he is executed in due course, but the mechanism by which the diffusion of information is stopped is not clear.

*575 688 Frequently the marshals and associated *kukusiut* depute others to act as their executioners. Sometimes a shaman who is also a *kusiut* is asked to slay the offender, or a *kusiut* in whose ancestral family a knowledge of means for secret murder has been handed down for generations may be called upon. The executioner is told that if he fails he will himself be killed. Although no Bella Coola would admit that a person so charged had committed murder by other than magical means, it appears highly probable that such was the case. It is believed [761] [754] that long ago the *kukusiut* were able to kill an offending uninitiated person by drawing forth his spirit, wrapping it in undyed cedar-bark and casting it into the fire. The victim would die within a short time.

*575 203 628 The desire to carry out *kusiut* ceremonials with proper dignity and ritual not only acts as a strong bond of union among members of the society in a single village, but between those in different towns and even in different tribes. When a marshal has struck a *kusiut*, the ceremony, whatever it may be, is at once stopped. Two *kukusiut* are sent off to bear the tidings to the nearest village up the valley, and two more to the one below. The messengers go beneath the house in which a dance is taking place and knock on the floor of the back-room. Someone presently hears them and a *kusiut* goes out to investigate. When the envoys have told their tale he returns, whispers to the singers, and the ceremony concludes for that night. As soon as the uninitiated, if any are present, have been ejected, the messengers enter with blankets almost covering their faces and seat themselves between the fire and the back-room where the senior members crowd around to listen. From this village two more *kukusiut* are despatched with the news which is thus transmitted with remarkable speed from end to end of the valley. When next the marshals are admonishing the *kukusiut* of their respective villages, they do not fail to draw attention to the way in which the law has been upheld. Conversely, if a marshal hears indirectly that there has been a flaw in the ritual of a neighbouring village,

he beats in the fire with his stick, and expresses the hope that 575*
the name of the marshal in the town where the error took 628
place may be blackened unless he does better. 203

As an individual *kusiut* who errs is punished by a marshal,
so is punishment meted out to the members of a village in 575*
which any serious accident occurs during a dance. Such disasters 628
are fire, causing concealed *kukusiut* to appear among 688
the uninitiated, the breaking of a sidewalk on which a number
of the members are dancing, or the capsizing of lashed canoes 721
which are used in some of the performances. The obvious
effect of such mishaps is to lower the prestige of the *kusiut*
society in the eyes of the uninitiated. The news travels from
town to town, and to adjacent tribes. This is a *casus belli*
for any village which wishes to attack the one where the
disaster took place; in fact, a raid is considered meritorious.
Owing to frequent marriages between the members of neighbouring
villages, it usually happens that the inhabitants of
adjacent settlements are unwilling to attack, but the news
spreads until it reaches a town willing to take the lead. The
marshals, aided by any other influential *kukusiut*, discuss the
matter and decide on war; uninitiated are called upon to
take part, though they are told only that the foray is connected
with the rites of the *kusiut* society which increases
rather than decreases their awe. The threatened villagers,
knowing that an attack is inevitable, send out sentinels and
guards, and, if possible, flee at the last moment to neighbouring
towns for safety, allowing the raiders to burn their
village and carry off loot. If a fight takes place many people [727]
may be killed, but slaves are never taken. In the last
century *Stuux* attacked *Älqäläxl*; the assailants were aided by a [567]
number of Chilkotin to whom they were related but who had
not the slightest idea of the cause of the raid. Although an
attacked town is usually helped by its neighbours, this is not
the case when the assault is caused by error in *kusiut* or *sısaok*
ceremonial.

Nor is punishment for error or disaster in ritual meted out [648]

*575 only by members of the same tribe. The Bella Coola firmly
648 believe that if, for example, there is a serious disaster at
Qomqo·ts, that village will be raided by the people of Bella
688 Bella, Fort Rupert, Kitkatla, or by tribes even farther away.
721 News of the accident reaches *Täl·io* or Kimsquit and the
[628] inhabitants, themselves related by blood to the offenders and
therefore unwilling to punish them, call upon the members of a foreign tribe to do so. On different occasions this statement, in practically identical terms, was made by six independent informants, so there appears to be not the slightest doubt as to the belief of the people in this law. But when specific cases were asked for, they could not be obtained. It therefore appears clear that the Bella Coola, probably owing to long teaching on the part of the *kukusiut*, consider that an error in ritual is sufficient to bring punishment from an alien tribe. There must be some basis of truth in this conviction, and it is highly probable that the *kukusiut* must have taken advantage of raids to explain to the uninitiated that these were caused by disasters in ritual. One informant was of the opinion that, following the collapse of a house at Kimsquit during a Cannibal dance, a Bella Coola chief called upon *Tcibusa*, chief of the Kitkatla, who raided Kimsquit in punishment. Quite apart from the belief inculcated in the uninitiated, it is obvious that tribes eager for war sometimes used an accident as pretext. The Bella Coola know of no case in which they raided a foreign tribe for this reason, although they state that if they had been called upon to act as punisher, they could not have refused.

*575 Leaving now the functions of the society as a whole, the
rights of an individual member can next be described. Each
424 *kusiut* has:

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553 (1) *A Kusiut Name*. Like every other prerogative, a name of this type can be acquired from father, uncle, grandfather, or other relative, or even by a son from his mother. As a rule a *kusiut* wills his designation or designations, for a man may
[556] have several, before death and his wishes are observed. Al-

though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a 575*
potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable 424
expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony 425
frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for
generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return 553
is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a [556]
kusiut name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of [578]
them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is [426]
customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new
kusiut prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes
a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person
who resembles a deceased relative of the donor.

(2) *A Patron*, *omätuts*. Little need be said on this point. 575*
The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his 424
patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of 776
the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any
type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé per- [533]
form on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing [535]
of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the
same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these
to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power.
Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which [578]
they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *kukusiut* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform.

(3) *A Repository*. In this subterranean shelter his name 575*
remains, guarded by *Änoˣlikwolsaix*. An individual with sev- 424
eral prerogatives has a repository for each.
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Although the *kukusiut* are aware that much of their ritual [773]
is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural
origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the [781]
abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time

*575 this undoubtedly leads them to believe in the powers which
424 they claim. Each *kusiut* prerogative has had one of three
origins:

773 (a) It was brought down by the first people. Before
778 coming to this earth each of them saw in the land above his
[781] patron, who instructed him in a type of dance, and told him where his repository on this world would be. It is assumed that the earliest men were in contact with all the supernatural beings before coming to this earth, but it is believed that each was "blind" to the patrons of his fellows, and thus had only one.

[787] (b) It was derived from an experience with one of the supernatural beings of this world. In this case the repository was either at a spot indicated by the apparition, or at the actual scene of the vision.

(c) A powerful chief sometimes altered an ancestral to a *kusiut* name. It is believed that this occurred comparatively frequently in ancient times when chiefs had semi-supernatural power. In such cases each followed his own inclination in the choice of a patron,[4] and usually made his own repository within his house, giving strength to it by killing and burying a slave there. Although several Bella Coola informants described
[184] this, Kimsquit Indians denied that it could ever have taken place. They say that all repositories were long ago dug by *Nunudjix̣nɪm*, a male supernatural being sent down by *Åḷquntäm* at the beginning of time to prepare the habitations of *Åno°likwolsaix* and her husband. After doing this, he returned to the land above where he has since resided.

It will thus be seen that the prerogative of a *kusiut* is always derived from some experience of an ancestor. In carrying out
*575 the rite, the dancer feels that he is continuing the works of his
778 forbears, a factor which increases his desire that neither error nor carelessness on his part shall dim the prestige of the society before the uninitiated. And, further, a man who has spent

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[4] The Bella Coola cite such actions as proof of the amazing abilities of their ancestors.

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years in deceiving, undoubtedly begins to convince himself 778
that he is different from lesser mortals.

Before describing in detail initiation into the *kusiut* society,
and then the ritual of various dances, it will be convenient to 575*
outline the type of ceremonial, although emphasizing the fact 796
that each differs so much from every other that lengthy descriptions
will be necessary later on. When a person has been
initiated, either in the proper manner during the ceremonial
season or as a "shaman" during the summer, he is known as a
lsux, a novice, until the *kusiut* dances of the next winter.
During this period he wears certain distinctive cedar-bark [301]
ornaments and is expected to keep himself somewhat apart
from the uninitiated. He is always required to give his ceremonial
during the first dance season after initiation; by so
doing he ceases to be a novice. In later years a *kusiut* can 575*
suit himself whether or not to perform. Having once done so,
he is a fully qualified member of the society, nor does he in- 796
crease his rank in direct proportion to the number of his cere- 556
monies. It is true that one who often dances hears himself
praised by the marshals, and gains a certain amount of fame
among his fellow *kukusiut*. But no matter how often he may
perform, he cannot become a chief, with prestige spread far
and wide among neighbouring tribes, nor can he increase the
fame of his ancestors by adding lustre to his ancestral names.
Thus the benefits are not sufficient to urge a man to concentrate
on *kusiut* ceremonials in preference to potlatches. The 575*
society is essentially one in which a relatively poor man can
display his semi-religious prerogative equally with a chief. 796
Usually, a man performs a complicated ritual, such as that of 424
a Cannibal dance, three or four times during his lifetime; less
onerous ones in which no dramatic theme is presented may be
more often given.

A man who proposes to give a dance must always notify one of the marshals of his village, who summons his fellows, some of the senior members of the society, and chiefs who are also *kukusiut* to discuss the intention. If it entails one of the

*575 more difficult dramatic rites in which failure would lead to the
796 uninitiated learning the mysteries of the society, the matter is
debated at length. The writer was present at one meeting held
424 for this purpose, with regard to a performance which had not
been carried out for over thirty years. An air of solemnity
was evident throughout, as if each present realized the gravity
of the topic. The prospective dancer explained what he wished
to do, then anyone was at liberty to comment, and most of
those present took advantage of it, the marshals speaking last
of all. The influence of each speaker depended in part on the
[554] type of *kusiut* dance which he himself had given, and in part
on his general status in the community as chief or otherwise,
an intangible position dependent on public estimation rather
than upon functional rights. In this case, after considerable
discussion, it was decided that the dancer could proceed with
his arrangements. But if there should be any doubt as to the
would-be performer's ability, the marshals have no hesitation
in prohibiting his intended rite, and they often do so later if
rehearsals show that it is unlikely to be successful.

Refusal of permission to perform occurs only in case of the more difficult dances, which include the Cannibal, Scratch, Breaker, Fungus and *Kusiotem.* Members of the society whose prerogatives are for one of these types are considered as having greater importance than those who can merely sing of some minor deity-patron; yet all are equally members of the *kusiut* society, which is not graded according to the performances of its members.

*575 Many of the more difficult dances require weeks of pre-
paration, when it is sometimes said that the dancer has dis-
796 appeared to the land above. When he returns they usually
conclude in four nights, the time taken by those of a simpler
type. Each of these nights[1] is known by an untranslatable
[104] term, and, as it will be necessary to use these throughout, it
may assist the reader to summarize the ritual which takes
place on each. It can be assumed that it is a simple dance,
that is, one without elaborate preliminaries.

[1] [i.e. of a Kusiut dance - ANALYST]

The first night is *lsuxtälaix* or *lsuxtämem*.[5] This is when the 575*
call comes to a prospective dancer. This may be heralded by 796
whistling from above, made by a *kusiut* sent with a whistle to [104]
a neighbouring mountain for the purpose, by a thud on the roof, likewise produced by an accomplice, or by no intimation whatever. The dancer utters a low call, sometimes begins to walk in circles with bent head, or to act in some other peculiar manner, while a whistle sounds repeatedly. The uninitiated
are at once expelled from his house and a herald informs the [203]
village that something strange has come upon the dancer. The *kukusiut* gather in his house, and four times help him by the
frenzied, but regular, beating of sticks. Then the singers [533]
sing a song previously prepared, the words describing either his patron or the land above. After listening closely, the *kukusiut* join in and rehearse it until it is familiar. The dancer may or may not perform; if he is inadept in the steps, he does so for practice. If the hour is not too late, the singers may choose, purely for practice, to beat out a number of the songs of those *kukusiut* who have already performed during the ceremonial season. A meal, provided by the dancer and his family, is then served. The singers next beat out the dancer's song once more and he dances, concluding the evening's performance. Novices and those who have already performed during the season take up their abode in the dancer's house, where they remain for the ensuing four days and nights.

The second day is *nusiutälsap*.[6] Quite early in the morning [104]
a herald calls the *kukusiut* to the dancer's house, an invitation [203]
accepted by as many as wish to do so. A second song is usually [533]
composed and practised in the same manner as on the previous
evening. Several *kukusiut* are sent to the forest to cut wood [532]
for masks, the number of sections required depending upon the
number to be used. In the evening all members of the society [533]
assemble to practise the songs.[7] The making of the masks

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[5] In Kimsquit called *Älxwolätmm*.

[6] The term *qai·nugs* is occasionally used for the rites occurring on the day itself.

[7] The rehearsal of the second is sometimes postponed until this time.

The making of the masks

*575 is allotted to different *kukusiut*, usually in accordance with the
796 dancer's wishes, although a marshal normally gives out the
532 actual tasks. The dancer, or one of his relatives, bestows pre-
[437] sents on each person to whom work is allotted. The evening
[465] of *nusiutälsap* is called *ämllämkɪm*.
[104] The third day is *qotlɪm*. Those to whom mask making has
been entrusted assemble early in the dancer's house to start
their work. About noon they are provided with a meal, to
which other *kukusiut* may be invited. By late afternoon, when
most of the work has been accomplished, the chips are carefully
swept up and burnt, and the house tidied, ready for the unini-
tiated who will be invited during the evening. On either this
*575 day or the one preceding, a platform, with raised sides, is built
796 behind the fire on which the dancer can conceal himself and
where he is supposed to remain during the remainder of the
four days. About dusk the *kukusiut* are called in; the singers
take their places behind the fire, Cannibals, Breakers, and
Scratchers are in one of the back corners, where a matting
enclosure may have been constructed for them, and the re-
mainder group themselves without distinction around the
[184] walls. In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, one or more
of the masks may be displayed, suspended from a sloping pole
behind the fire. If the singers think it necessary, they may
[533] practise the dancer's two songs once more. Then the unini-
tiated are called in, taking their places near the doorway. The singers beat out one of the dancer's songs and he dances in time to it, and the same is repeated for his second song. After some delay, which appears to be one of the requisites of every *kusiut* performance, the singers strike up the songs of either a novice or a *kusiut*, especially one who has already had a call during the ceremonial season, and the one thus summoned dances to his two songs. Late in the season, when many *kukusiut* have performed, only one song may be used, to prevent the ceremony dragging out to an interminable length, and songs of previous years are omitted. In any case, the ritual lasts for most of the night. When all have danced, the

uninitiated are expelled, with the exception of the *susaok* to 575*
whom, as guests, a meal is served. Then they too leave and 796
the *kukusiut* eat together. Finally, the singers strike up one
of the dancer's songs, and he dances to it to end the evening's
rites.

The fourth day is *nebusam*, "That Which Is Opened." [104]
During the day the carpenters work to complete the masks, [532]
and towards dusk the house is again put in order. The *kukusiut*
are summoned again to practise the songs, if necessary, [533]
and always to arrange who shall wear the masks, a matter left
to the marshals and the carpenters. Then the uninitiated are
called in to see the masked figures and watch any dramatic
representation. After their exclusion, the masks are burnt. [532]
Then the *kukusiut* gather outside the dancer's house where his
song is sung once more to send his call back above. Frequently
another *kusiut* now receives a call, so that the *nebusam* of one
dancer is likewise the *lsuxtämem* for another. The *kukusiut*
assemble in the latter's house, but the uninitiated are not allowed
to return to that from which they have been ejected
until the platform-enclosure has been destroyed at the end of
the season.

A word might be said about *kusiut* paraphernalia, although 575*
much of this will have to be described in detail for special 796
dances. Boas gives illustrations of a large number of *kusiut*
masks and gives such an admirable description of them that 532
little need be added. They are carved from the solid wood, [114]
the larger of beech, the smaller of alder, and each carpenter
endeavours to make a striking effigy of the being portrayed. [824]
Äno°likwolsaix is present at every dance and has become so
well standardized that she can always be recognized. This is
true, also, for Thunder, Echo, the *haohao*, the Laugher, the [776]
Hermaphrodite, and a few other supernatural beings, but so
much variation occurs in others that even a *kusiut* of much
experience cannot always tell what being is represented. The
masks are painted, and sometimes the designs indicate the
being, even though the carving fails to do so; verisimilitude is

*575 not considered necessary. With few exceptions, hereafter to
796 be noted, *kusiut* masks are burnt at the conclusion of each
ceremony, a practice which probably originated in order to
532 avoid the possibility of their being seen by the uninitiated.
[171] The Bella Coola state that this is one of the most striking
differences between their rites and those of the Bella Bella.

*575 Next in importance to masks are whistles (see Plate 2).[1]
796 The large, cone-shaped form used in *susaok* ceremonial is replaced
in *kusiut* dances by a smaller type consisting of portions
534 of wood glued together, which can be blown with ease from
beneath a concealing blanket. Another type has bellows consisting
[237] of a mountain goat bladder, which is held beneath
the arm-pit so that it can be worked invisibly. During the
summer the whistles are kept by one individual, usually a
marshal. Specific information concerning the ownership of
[422] these whistles could not be obtained; it appears that any
kusiut can make one, or have one made for him by a skilled
carpenter, and that their retention by one person during the
summer is merely for convenience. They are freely lent to
[426] anyone for use in a ceremony.

*575 In some dances special objects are used in connection with
dramatic performances, such as bull-roarers, wooden representations
796 of animals, birds, or miniature human beings. One
532 old man described a pipe formerly used at *Täl·io*, which had
[534] a carved bowl as large as a tea-cup with three radiating stems.
It was carved from a knotty excrescence on a beech bole.
[824] Little could be learnt of its history, except that it was supposed
to have been carved by a chief with the design of his
patron and displayed through pride.

*575 The usual guests at a performance of the type just summarized
are the dancer's fellow-villagers and any strangers
609 who happen to be present in the town. Great as is the desire
796 of the *kukusiut* to impress their uninitiated tribesmen, they
[648] are still more eager to impress strangers, hence the presence
of Carriers adds piquancy to the rites. The writer believes
[123] that his presence and interest encouraged the Bella Coola to

[1] [see category 116, p84(B)- ANALYST]

perform several ancient rites through a desire to "show off" 575*
before someone who was ignorant. In recent years there has 609
been a tendency to concentrate on *kusiut* ceremonials, and to 796
judge a man's worth by his lavishness in them, but this is only [123]
a modern development due to the prohibition of the potlatch.
Nevertheless, even in former times some individuals preferred [177]
to invite foreign guests to *kusiut* dances and to give them valuable [556]
gifts rather than to save these for potlatches; such a ceremony
is called a *kukusiutek*. Whenever strangers are present [431]
at a *kusiut* dance they receive small pieces of dyed cedar-bark
as proof of the friendly intentions of the host. The general [556]
consensus of Bella Coola opinion is that it is foolish for a man
to concentrate on *kusiut* performances, particularly if he
impoverish himself to the detriment of potlatches.

Although foreign guests are seldom invited to *kusiut* rites, 575*
a dancer frequently calls in his fellows from adjacent villages. 203
But as the ceremonial season is simultaneous in the different
settlements, with almost nightly performances, it is often impossible [628]
to avoid conflict in dates. Which invitation shall have [796]
preference is decided in the following manner:

During the days of *qotlım* and *nebusam* the dancer sends a
herald of powerful physique to invite guests from as many
villages as he wishes. Simultaneously, a messenger may be
approaching from the opposite direction with a similar invitation.
Each envoy watches carefully around each bend in
the path for his rival, and whichever can first call out his message
is entitled to continue to give his invitation in the village
of the outwitted herald. It is considered exceedingly bad taste
to decline a summons, so the ceremony to which the defeated
herald was bearing an invitation must be postponed. Sometimes
the two messengers sight one another simultaneously,
and the relative priority of their messages is then decided by [526]
a contest of strength. The rivals stand in the path, shoulder
to shoulder, arms close to their sides, and shove with all their
strength, the winner being the one who can force his opponent
to move his feet. This last means of deciding is used exclu-

*575 sively when the villages in which the dances are taking place
203 are adjacent or separated by such a short distance that envoys
cannot meet *en route*.

*575 A word may be said about the attitude of the Bella Coola
177 to the dances of other coastal tribes. They know that the
Bella Bella, Rivers Inlet, Kwakiutl, and Kitkatla people have
829 *kusiut* societies, but until recently their members were con-
[648] sidered to be uninitiated, as Bella Coola were when they visited
foreign tribes.[a] A few years ago the Bella Coola, Bella Bella,
and Rivers Inlet people decided that their rites were sufficiently
akin to permit membership in one tribe to carry with it membership in the others:

"We have now one repository," they say.

This development is due to ease of communication and
diminution of population in the three tribes. None the less,
the Bella Coola recognize differences between their own rites
and those of their neighbours. They say that no other tribe
[171] has repositories; also that in the other tribes the *kusiut* society
is more intimately connected with the chiefs, in fact, that in
Bella Bella and Fort Rupert the Cannibals are the chiefs,
whereas in Bella Coola even a poor man, uninfluential in every
other respect, can be one.

*575 Theorization is out of place in a descriptive monograph
such as this, but the writer gives it as his personal opinion that
177 the Bella Coola have adopted much, if not all, of the *kusiut*
[796] ceremonial from other coastal tribes, though they have pro-
foundly altered it in respect to certain ancient beliefs connected
with localized guardian spirits and the patrons of ancestral
families. He further believes that it will be found that this
Bella Coola technique has in its turn affected the Bella Bella
and Rivers Inlet Indians. There seems little doubt that the
[171] Bella Coola are correct in saying that the society is more im-
[796] portant among them than among their neighbours, and the
writer feels that dances and rituals of different types have cer-
tainly been adapted to the *kusiut* pattern of the Bella Coola.

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[a] Except a few individuals who had inherited foreign prerogatives.

It is hoped that this somewhat lengthy description will 575* assist the reader in following the complicated details of the actual rites.

INITIATION

Although *kusiut* ceremonials take place only during the winter, preliminary arrangements are discussed and carried out throughout the year. One of the subjects over which the old men and the marshals debate at length is the admission of new members. Sometimes the relatives of a young man or woman wish to have him, or her, initiated and propose to use [425] a *kusiut* prerogative dormant in their family. More often an elderly person is willing to transfer one of his prerogatives to a younger relative; comparatively few are unused owing to the small sums needed to validate them. In either case, one of the marshals is consulted. He passes word to his fellows, and to a number of the elderly *kukusiut*, who meet in the council-place of the village. The prospective novice's relatives are there and express the belief that he is sufficiently mature in mind to be a credit to the society. If some of those present demur, the matter is discussed at length until all agree, or until it appears that there is strong objection on account of the youth or inconsistency in character of the proposed novice. In this case his relatives can only hope that their proposal will be more favourably received the following year. Sometimes the young man or woman is informed that his relatives have exerted their influence with *Ȧnoˀlikwolsaix* to make him a *kusiut*, more often he remains in ignorance until the ceremonial season.

The initiation of one admitted under these normal circumstances is the same as for one made a "shaman" on account of too great knowledge. Sometimes the marshals themselves take the first steps. If few *kukusiut* wish to give ceremonials 575* so that there are gaps in the nightly performances, the marshals 567 select a suitable slave and ask his owner to give him some *kusiut* prerogative of little value. If the latter agrees, a pretext [425] is found to lure the victim to the woods whence he is carried,

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*575 567 struggling in fear, to the secret meeting-place. Here the marshals discuss what shall be done with him; some suggest that he be killed, others a lesser fate, and finally someone advises his initiation. After apparently due deliberation, this is decided upon; the slave is told the mysteries of the society and is warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he tells the uninitiated of his knowledge. The actual ceremonial rites of admission do not vary according to the preliminaries used. *575

796 Initiation can take place at any time during the *kusiut* season. After consulting with the marshals in order to choose an evening when no other dance is to take place, the relatives of the neophyte, whom it will be convenient to term X, invite the *kukusiut* to their house. Sometimes songs are sung by way of rehearsal, at other times food is distributed at once. As the people are eating, one of the marshals stands up to address them, saying that X's relatives propose to take him to the repository of the name ———, so that he may become a *kusiut*. X, to whom this may be the first intimation, is called from his house and taken from the village by several of his kinsmen, with one or more of the marshals. The *kukusiut* disperse and tell the uninitiated in the other houses that X has gone to meet *Ȧnoˈlikwotsaix*. His companions hear the news with mingled envy and thankfulness that they are not to have this dangerous privilege.

[178] In ancient times X and his guides may actually have proceeded to his repository, but for several generations at least it has been customary for the party merely to go to some lonely spot in the woods for the night. Those accompanying X tell him as much of the ritual of the society as they think fit, not forgetting to emphasize the trust put upon him, and the fate which will befall him if he should communicate his knowledge. [787 184] He is expected to report that he went to the repository where, lying face downwards on the ground, he saw *Ȧnoˈlikwotsaix*; in Kimsquit he is supposed also to see her husband.[*]

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[776] [*] According to one old Bella Coola a sister of *Ȧnoˈlikwotsaix* also remains in every repository.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

The following morning the *kukusiut* alone are invited to X's house. The marshals meanwhile superintend the laying and lashing of planks across two river dug-outs to form a dancing platform. On this the singers take their places, in addition to as many *kukusiut* as can scramble aboard. The craft is slowly poled either up- or downstream, according to the direction of X's repository, and more *kukusiut* accompany it along the bank; the uninitiated watch with keen interest from the background. X and his companions proceed towards the river and on meeting the lashed-together canoes are taken aboard. The singers strike up any well known *kusiut* tune, and in time to it as many *kukusiut* as possible dance on the platform surmounting the craft. Each uses his own style of dancing according to his prerogative, so that the scene is strikingly varied and animated. X himself cowers in the centre, practically concealed from the uninitiated by the dancers. On reaching the village the whole party hurriedly runs to X's house, from which the uninitiated are rigorously barred for the rest of the day. Those *kukusiut* who accompanied the party along the bank of the river have preceded them and, as X enters, the droning cry is raised which always heralds the appearance of one who has been in close contact with supernatural beings. 575* 796 [535] [535 424] [201]

If X is considered trustworthy, he may be allowed to go alone to his repository, although this is only customary when he takes a second or third prerogative. If this procedure has been followed, X tells those present what he has seen; otherwise his companions do so. The uninitiated listen eagerly from the adjacent houses, wondering anxiously what is taking place. Several *kukusiut* blow, or use bellow-whistles to increase the awe of the hearers. Presently a herald is sent out. He goes first to the lowest house[*] of the village, then in succession to those above, announcing in each that: 575* 203 796

"Something strange has happened to the son of the chief."

X's name is not mentioned; if his father is not a chief the

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[*] That is, to the one farthest downstream. By always going to each house in order from bottom to top of the village the herald avoids any danger of omissions.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

575 203 796 call is that something strange has happened to the "mortal." At intervals throughout the day he repeats this announcement, and towards nightfall goes around calling:

Skinap, skinap, kukusiut, "Cure, cure, ye members of the *kusiut* society, power has come to the son of the chief [or to the mortal]."

The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house, taking their places around the fire; the uninitiated crowd near the doorway. X is seated among his relatives and some of the senior members of the society behind the fire. A herald calls out:

"I want a *siki* to help X."

575 791 796 [424] [775] In every village there are at least two *kukusiut* who have, embodied with their *kusiut* names, the professional prerogative of acting as healer to every novice; it is believed that the ancestor of each obtained a name and this right through a revelation from some supernatural healer. Since that time the owner of the name has been able to insert some of his own supernatural power into a neophyte to enable him to sustain the dangers of admission to the society. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated. The profession of *siki* can be transmitted [424] by willing like any other prerogative and it occasionally happens that the same individual is *siki* for both *kusiut* and *sisaok*. In answer to the herald's call, the two *siki* come forward and crouch behind the fire, one on either side of it. [802] [292] [247] Their faces are blackened with soot, and each wears a blanket, decorated with dyed cedar-bark, thrown loosely over his shoulders, leaving the chest and stomach bare except for an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Meanwhile beating sticks are distributed among most of the *kukusiut* who strike furiously on the floor with them, without any attempt to keep time; the sole object is to produce the greatest din possible.

One of the *siki* contorts himself in an amazing manner, presses his hands against his stomach as if to force something from it, and rolls from side to side on his haunches, until at length he produces, as if from his body, a rock crystal (see Plate 9). He waves this to and fro in his hands, then goes

[see category 116, p 64(?) - analyst]

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

375* 791 796 through the motion of throwing it to his partner; the crystal disappears! It has been palmed out of sight at the instant of throwing, but the presumption is that it has entered the other *sibi* who falls to the floor as if stricken down by the powerful object given to him. Now one of the *kukusiut*, who has been primed for the duty, strikes the recumbent man on the back, restoring him to consciousness. Slowly he pulls himself together, rising at intervals as if crushed beneath a heavy weight, and writhes until he finally produces a rock crystal from his stomach, as if it had been thrown to him. In reality it is his own which he has carried concealed from the beginning of the ceremony. He pretends to throw this to X, often so realistically that the novice blinks, expecting some object to strike him. All this time a *kusiut*, it does not matter who, has been drinking water at intervals and spitting it out over the face of X, "to strengthen him." When X has received the stone, the beating on the floor-boards, stilled during the transference of the crystal, breaks out again with full din. After a short interval the first *sibi* stops the noise, goes through the same contortions and produces, apparently from his stomach, another rock crystal, which as before he throws across to his partner who falls down, and later passes it to X. Again the beating on the floor is started. The same ritual is carried out until four, or sometimes only two, rock crystals have been given to X. Then the procedure is reversed. The second *sibi* goes to the novice and after much contortion draws from his stomach one of the crystals, which he pretends to throw back to his partner. As the latter makes the motion of catching it, he produces his own crystal which he, as it seems, forces into his own body. This is done for all the crystals (see Plate 4).§ At this juncture the uninitiated are told to leave.

[774 781] One of the *sibi* now kneads the back of X's neck and goes through the motions of pulling something from it. The frightened youth realizes that his spirit is being drawn from him and his terror, great in any case, is not lessened by the *sibi* taking it in his cupped hands to the fire where he scoops up

§ [See category 116, p84(b) - [illegible]]

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

575 some ashes which he puts into his mouth and chews. Of course
791 he masticates only the ashes but X, unaware of this, is con-
796 cerned for the fate of his spirit. At last it is restored to him
and he is told that the *siki* has altered it from that of an
[774 uninitiated person to that of a *kusiut*.[illegible] The psychological
781] effect of this act on the mind of a young man who has not had
time to adjust himself to his new knowledge and who is firmly
convinced of the powers of the *siki* is tremendous.

The first *siki* now instructs two *kukusiut* sitting on either side of X to lie down to serve as a seat for him. They do so, irrespective of who they may be. If the novice is still ignorant of the full mysteries of the society, the *siki* announces that he is going to get a call for X. He walks around the house, peering here and there as if seeking something, and then pounces as if he had caught an object between his hands. A whistle [534] is heard, such as the novice knows accompanies the coming of every call; but he does not know that the noise is made by compressing a goat or bear bladder-whistle between two sticks held beneath the armpit. This is the "mystery" of the strange noises.

575 "Do you know what makes that noise?" ask the two *kuku-*
796 *siut* on whom X is sitting.

[688] If X denies all knowledge, the mystery is explained to him, and he is warned that he will be killed if he communicates the information to uninitiated persons. If he answers that he knows the cause, he is asked who has told him. Perhaps some lad has been peeking and has told X of what he has seen; in that case the over-inquisitive youth is at once initiated to prevent further leakage of information. As soon as X has learnt the great secret he moves to one side and the singers take their positions behind the fire. His father, or whoever it [425 may be from whom he is to obtain his name, then stands up
535] and unfolds its origin, telling which supernatural being is his patron, and the locality of his repository. X sometimes re-

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[178] [illegible] This part of the rite has been omitted for so many years that many of the middle-aged *kukusiut* have forgotten it.

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X sometimes receives two prerogatives at his initiation, one from each parent, 575*
or from some other interested relative. In this case both are 796
expounded. The singers listen intently, knowing that they 425
will later be called upon to compose songs on the theme, or
themes. According to some informants they immediately sing 553
one, as if they had just created it, though it was really prepared 533
in advance. The *kukusiut* listen until they have mastered it.

Helpers now distribute the food provided by X's father, 575*
or whoever is responsible for his initiation. At every *kusiut* 796
ceremonial the marshals are the first recipients, then the
singers, and finally the others without distinction. As the 556
guests are eating, X's father gives presents to all, without 264
deference to rank. An announcer calls out:

"Here are [for example] ten bear-skins from X's mother. They are to obtain for him his cedar-bark bracelets."

These goods are then distributed. Similarly other gifts
from various relatives are handed out for his anklets, his
blanket, his collar, his head-dress, and all other parts of his
clothing. As each item of his ceremonial costume is validated, 425
X dons the prepared article. A novice's head-dress consists
of a round roll of dyed cedar-bark, covering a grass frame; in 292
Stuie and the other villages of the upper valley this is decor- 784
ated with a tuft of swan's down. The *kukusiut* of these villages
also wear a distinctive decoration consisting of a swan's skin 237
with the feathers attached. In recent years it has been customary to pile all the goods together and distribute them as diy'il, which has the significance of "something that has vanished for the novice's dyed cedar-bark." Theoretically, the aim of the dancer is to bestow his presents on all equally, but if he finds that he has some remaining, he gives these to the chiefs, or to the relatives of someone whom he expects will soon be a novice. None of the goods used in general distributions are returnable, but a chief who receives an extra gift at the end usually remembers from whom it was received and cancels his indebtedness at the earliest opportunity. There is no close connection between the disbursements and the worth of the

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 796 556 individual, other than an indefinite recollection of the amount of goods used for his dyed cedar-bark. People always have sufficient goods to validate *kusiut* prerogatives; in fact, if a proud person gives too lavishly to confirm the initiation of a relative, the marshals sometimes burn the goods, giving no explanation other than that the uninitiated must not be led to believe that a *kusiut* ceremony is an affair of wealth like a potlatch. Formerly, goods were given only at initiation ceremonies, but between 1880 and 1890 a chief gave presents, instead of food, at a dance. His example was followed, since none was willing to be outdone, although such gifts are still called "food." The name of the donor is always announced, whether he is the dancer himself or one of his relatives.

*575 784 [796] X, though now a member of the *kusiut* society, is still a novice and cannot give a dance[11] until the next ceremonial season, that is, until one year has elapsed. The marshals instruct him about his costume, and about the manner in which he must deport himself during this period, matters which depend to a considerable extent upon his prerogative. [262] If he is a Cannibal, Scratch, or Breaker dancer he must not eat unsmoked salmon, nor must he enter a house in which either a potlatch or a memorial potlatch is taking place.[12] Failure to obey this injunction would warrant punishment from a foreign tribe. [302] Unless his prerogative is to give one of these, or the Ghost dance, he must keep his face constantly blackened. [292] Every novice must wear a collar of dyed cedar-bark. The marshals warn him to be circumspect in dealing with uninitiated persons; he can talk to them, but it is most improper for him to engage in any familiarity or frivolous play. [524] [525] Above all, he must neither gamble nor take part in non-athletic games,

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[11] A Cannibal novice, however, begins to exercise his prerogative immediately, although he must also perform a complete dance the following year.

[12] This prohibition was once broken at *Qomqots*. A skilled leader was required to arrange the tents at a memorial potlatch and the only man fit for the purpose, a resident of *Stuix*, was a Cannibal novice. After much deliberation he was called upon, but great care was taken to hide his identity and it was years before the infraction became known.

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prohibitions that last not for one year, but for four. X is not 575*
subject to any other restraints. If he wishes to go hunting 784
he can remove his cedar-bark collar and hang it for conveni- [524]
ence in the forest near his village, redonning it on his return. [525]
The *kukusiut* show considerable interest in their new member,
not only by warning him what he must not do, but by teaching
him how to dance and to growl or make other of the necessary,
but unusual, noises. During the remainder of the ceremonial 575*
season X is required to attend every *kusiut* dance, thereby 533
learning much of the ceremonial, and during the following 535
summer his relatives, especially if food is plentiful, frequently
invite the *kukusiut* to their house. The singers beat out well-known tunes, or practise those which will be required for the
following winter; if a song has been composed for X he dances
in time to it, in the style proper to his prerogative. Formerly,
when there were many novices, dances of this type took place
frequently and were useful in giving constant practice to
singers and neophytes alike. As no calls from supernatural
patrons can come at this time of year, it follows that all such
dances are of a non-sacred nature, although the uninitiated
are excluded. During his period as a novitiate, X has one 575*
privilege; he can take food from anyone at any type of cere-
mony. It is remembered that one novice was even bold 264
enough to take food which had been placed as an offering for
the dead.

When the next *kusiut* season opens, X attends every per- 575*
formance. This is probably the most thrilling and nerve-
racking period in his life. He does not know exactly when he 781
will be allowed to give his dance, since that is a matter of 796
arrangement between his relatives and the marshals, but he
knows that the time will soon be at hand. When the great
day, or rather night, actually comes, X is usually in a state of
abject terror. The rite itself does not differ from those about
to be described except that the first song relates the manner in
which X found the repository. But the mental attitude of X
differs greatly from that of an old performer. One informant,

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 a woman about sixty years of age, vividly recalled her fears
781 when she, a young woman, gave her first performance. It was
the Dance of *Winwina* (II, p. 187), in which she had to call out
796 loudly when a large number of uninitiated persons, including Carrier Indians, were present. One of the marshals was her great-uncle and he had carefully taught her what she was to say. A few minutes before the time for her announcement he came to where she lay hidden in an enclosure behind the fire:

"Do you see your relatives here?" he said. "Look at your father, your mother, and your uncles. If you fail to say what you are expected to say, they will all die in a few weeks, and so will you. Be bold!"

The woman asserted that it was the most terrifying experience in her whole life because, though she knew there was
[688] deception in the rites, she also knew the power of the society
and that the threat of death in case of error was no idle one. She was so frightened that she forgot the carefully learnt words and it required the prompting of the hidden marshal to get her through the ordeal.

But once the first rite has been successfully negotiated, it is a proud day for the novice. He feels himself a real *kusiut* and glories in his superiority over his former associates. For the rest of the season he, like everyone else who has performed a dance, must attend every rite. Energetic novices sometimes give their dances on two, or even three, successive years, though usually a man allows five or six to elapse between displays.

*575 If X should die during the year's interval between his ini-
766 tiation and his first dance, he is secretly buried by his fellow
kukusiut without the customary mourning rites, and with no
[533] uninitiated persons present at the grave. His song, if one has
been composed for him, is sung softly, and he is interred adorned with his collar of dyed cedar-bark. During the next ceremonial season, that at which he should have danced, it is necessary for a brother, or other near relative, to receive a call since it is felt that a dance once begun must be completed,

and the patron shifts his protection to the substitute. Nonmembers are told that the death was due to one of the many dangers connected with the society. 575* 766

It is said that, in former times, the *kukusiut* sometimes held a commemorative rite at which the song composed resembled that used at a memorial potlatch. Details were unobtainable on this subject and it is clear that it has long been discontinued. In 1922, however, memorial songs were sung for dead *kukusiut*, but this seems to have been an innovation, due to prohibition of the potlatch. 575* 769 533 177

THE RITUAL OF SPECIFIC DANCES

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE DANCES

A detailed description of various *kusiut* dances can now be given. Unfortunately, there are so many points of difference between them that each will require a separate account, although considerable repetition can be avoided by mentioning in connection with the first dance those features common to all. The initial performer is always he who has the prerogative of seeing the supernatural canoe which comes from the Land of the Salmon to visit *Nusqulxwaista*. Several *kukusiut* have the captain of this craft as patron, and if each should wish to dance the marshals decide which of them is to do so. Thenceforth there is no order for different dances; the marshals see to it that anyone who wishes to give a ceremony does so without conflicting with another. The first dance described is the one which occurs at the beginning of every *kusiut* season. 575* 796* [424] [776]

THE DANCE OF *Noākxnim*[11]

The Bella Coola believe that on the fourth day after the September moon is full there starts from the Land of the Salmon, in the far west, the canoe *Noākxnim*, commanded by a supernatural being of the same name. This craft slowly 773 824 825

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[11] Cf. Boas, p. 60.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

773 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
824 the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
825 *Smaien-a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nusqulxwaista* to await
the coming of *Ālquntām*. The crew consists of a number of
supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with
the ceremonial on the night of *nebusam*. This canoe, which
brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts
but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine,
Noākxnim lowers first one side and then the other of his craft
so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a
time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[785] times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, sev-
eral succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
[831] that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels
[787] without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are
sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the
bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that
the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent,
but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that
this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
[624] patron was *Noākxnim*, but that the marshals requested him
[776] not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noākxnim*
is patron for several *kukusiut*, who are believed by the unini-
*575 tiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
*796 the *kusiut* dances begin.

[184] It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village,
as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only
[424] slight variations, if any. In *Tcumatl* the *kusiut* who has the
[551] prerogative of seeing *Noākxnim* is a certain *Qaoolān*,[15] in
Kimsquit, *Ālhuskinwasam*,[16] and in *Slokiatl*, *Xemtnum*. Although,

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[115] [15] Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qaoolān*, who intimated
[426] that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman
referred to the lending of this designation by her father and said that the present
[578] user had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this
kind.

[16] Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as
if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kusiut* names have significance of this
type.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

Although theoretically, every *kusiut* should know the origin myth of his 575* prerogative, these are rarely remembered, a state of affairs 424 differing entirely from that with respect to ancestral origin 773 myths. An ancestor of *Äluskinwasam* is supposed to have seen *Noäkx̣nım*, decorated with the tails of two eagles stuck in his hair. The following myth was obtained of the origin of [539] *Xemtnım*'s prerogative:

In the beginning there came down to Mount *Nus·läxım*, a small mountain on the south side of the Bella Coola River about three-quarters of a mile from the sea, *Ällilımnälosaix*, his younger brother *Omqomkilıka*, and their sister. *Älquntäm* had given them a model house, so small that it was portable, but which could enlarge to any size at their wish. It was called *Skqwäluti*, a name they bestowed also on their sister. They brought the *sısaok* designation, *Xemxemlaix*, with the right to perform a dance. The party, including Raven, who was like a son to *Ällilımnälosaix*, came down from their mountain top looking for a place to settle. As people were already living at *Q̣omqo·ts* and *Älqäläxl*, they chose *Slıkiutl* as their home.

From this place the three could hear the beating of drums, as the people of the adjacent villages performed their *kusiut* dances and Raven determined that his companions should not lack the privileges which others enjoyed. Accordingly he flew down the fiord where he saw *Noäkx̣nım*, whom he obtained as patron for *Ällilımnälosaix*. This prerogative was embodied in the name *Xemtnım*, which is still in use.[17]

The prerogative of seeing *Noäkx̣nım* is known as *dakdak·älaix*, "The Comer," or "The Ever-Comer." It will be con- 575* venient to refer to the person who has this power as X. As 796* already described, if he had been initiated during the preceding [424] ceremonial season, he is now obliged to dance. In later years, if he wishes to do so, he first consults the marshals, and if they consent he begins his preparations during the summer. Among other matters, X informs the singers of his intentions and they [533] begin to compose songs. Occasionally they re-use one from a previous year, but to do this is to admit lack of creative ability. The usual practice is to compose new tunes and to adapt to them words bearing on the proper theme, sometimes including

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[17] It will be noted that this myth is of the typical origin type, and furnishes an instance of the manner in which *kusiut* prerogatives occur in such. [539]

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 snatches from old songs. The Bella Bella are said to use the
*796 same compositions from year to year, and recently some of
[533] these, both tunes and foreign words, have been adopted by
the Bella Coola. Long ago the marshals would have pro-
[177] hibited this custom even if the user had legitimately obtained
the foreign prerogative by marriage.

As the time draws near for *Noäkχnɪm* to start his voyage,
[805] X anxiously consults any of the elder *kukusiut* who may be
calendrical experts as to the exact date. The system of reckoning time is not sufficiently exact to avoid errors, but the day ultimately arrives on which, after much discussion, it is agreed that *Noäkχnɪm* is leaving. Word is passed around to the singers,* who sleep that night in X's house, ready for their duties on the morrow.

Early in the morning X stands up, gazes fixedly towards the west, and calls out:

[787] "Once more I see what I saw last year," or some other more or less specific claim to a vision.

It is believed that *Noäkχnɪm* must round four points before
[773] reaching Bella Coola; in fact, his journey beneath the sea is similar to that of a canoe pushing up one of the long fiords.

Some of the marshals are always in readiness and one of
*[203] them tells a herald to go to every house, repeating what X has said. This serves both to impress the uninitiated, and to notify the *kukusiut* of what is about to take place. The mes-
*575 senger does so, and when all have gathered, the singers, seated
*796 behind the fire, begin to beat out one of the songs composed
533 during the summer months. The theme is of X's phenomenal eye-sight, due to his patron having sent to him the super-
[776] natural being, *Nulälɪmɪnam*, at the moment of his departure. This being does not seem to possess corporeal form, but is rather a sight-producing medium. In the song he is often likened to a swift-flying bird; when the uninitiated hear of this they are suitably impressed with the remarkable ability of X at having such a creature sent to him. X, who has donned a
[292] head-dress consisting of the white tails of two eagles, dances

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

if he so desires. The *kukusiut* listen to the song, and when it 575*
is resung they join in. They practise it repeatedly, until 796*
familiar with both words and tune. This part of the ceremony [533]
lasts for about two hours.

The singers, and any others who are prepared to beat time, [292]
are always provided with long, flat, thin sounding-boards to [534]
increase the din of the pounding. When the marshals decide that the song is sufficiently familiar, they tell some of the *kukusiut* to carry these boards to the lowest house of the village. They do this, and also scatter clean sand on the floor, as is customary whenever a supernatural being is to enter. The uninitiated persons within the house watch with great
interest. The singers enter and take their places behind the 575*
fire, then other *kukusiut* and finally X himself; his face is
unblackened, but he wears his two eagle tails in his hair and 796*
a collar of dyed cedar-bark. On his head is a thin cylindrical 292
circlet, about four inches high, of the same material, ornamented with swan's down by the inhabitants of the villages of the upper Bella Coola valley. The collar consists of a roll of grass, entirely covered with dyed cedar-bark from which pendant tassels of the same hang down over his chest; similar ones are worn by *susaok* dancers, except that the tassels hang down their backs. Every *kusiut* dancer wears these two ornaments, and those who have the necessary prerogative adorn [424]
themselves with an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks.
Blankets are always worn. *Kukusiut* women wear in addition [237]
woollen pubic garments.

As the singers beat out X's tune, accompanied by the 575*
voices of themselves and other *kukusiut*, he dances. Since his 796*
style is typical of all *kukusiut* except Cannibals and a few
others, it will be well to digress at this point in order to describe 535
it. X raises his arms until their upper parts are approximately the height of his shoulders, and project outwards and slightly to the front; they are bent at the elbows with the forearms vertical, thus bringing the hands opposite the top of the head. Both wrists are shaken constantly, the muscles of the lower

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 arms being brought into play, so that the whole hands are constantly
*796 quivering without spasmodic movements. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a skilful performer, and the inces-
535 sant shaking is continued without stop throughout the dance.
[533] Most *kusiut* songs are in five parts, which may be described as three verses, separated by two choruses. Near the beginning of the first verse X stands up, raises his arms, shakes his fingers, then slightly bends his legs and begins to step in time to the beating of the sticks. Some dancers remain almost stationary, marking time, to use the military term, others advance in steps of an inch or so, at intervals slowly revolving sunwise.[18] Sometimes X introduces a variation by bending from side to side, in which case one hand rises above the other. If the time of the song is very slow, he sinks, bending his knees to a great extent, and advances in more lengthy strides, never ceasing to shake his hands. At each chorus the time becomes so rapid that it is impossible to move the feet in accordance with it, and then X crouches, his shaking hands the only movement. If it
[424] is a woman who is dancing—like most *kusiut* prerogatives, this
[562] one is not limited to men—the style of dancing is quite different. Keeping the upper part of each arm close to her body, the dancer extends her fore-arms, outwards, parallel to the ground, with the palms upwards. Like a man, she shakes her wrists, but few female dancers move from the spot on which they start, except perhaps to turn around, sunwise. Heralds always keep up a running fire of comments, especially when a woman is dancing, urging her not to be bashful, but to allow her breasts to shake. Some dancers have merged into one
[424] prerogative rights acquired from different coastal tribes. In such cases they perform in two or more styles, each part according to one prerogative.

Kukusiut are always ready to assist one of their fellows, so that three or four friends are always willing to accompany the dancer. They stand close behind him, at frequent intervals blowing over his head the eagle down which either X, or some

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[171] [18] The Bella Coola state that the Bella Bella revolve counter-sunwise.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

of his relatives, has given them for this purpose. When he 575×
crouches during the chorus they crowd close around, almost 796×
concealing him. Particularly in those dances fraught with
danger to the performer, it is customary for any number of his 535
friends, either men or women, to dance to "help" him. Anyone
wishing to do so merely stands up and begins, in time to
the music, irrespective of what part of the house he may be in. [593]
It is considered contrary to good manners for a father so to
help his son, or a brother a brother, but a dancer is pleased to
have aid from anyone else. It is said that in Bella Bella [171]
certain *kukusiut* have definite prerogatives of helping in this
way, but this is not the case in Bella Coola. Throughout [533]
every dance the *kukusiut* women utter their droning cry.

This, then, is the type of dance which the uninitiated in 575×
the lowest house see. They hear the song, too, and gaze with
awe at X, imbued as he is with the supernatural power of sight. 796×
Then the sounding-boards are picked up and taken to the
next house, where the whole ceremonial is repeated. This is
done at each house of the village.[19] All the *kukusiut* now return
to X's house, where he once more dances to his song. A box- [534]
drum is always used to help the singers in keeping time, and
when the song has been finished two men continue in turn to
beat it all day. X always arranges to have a relative or friend
superintend the distribution of food, which follows his final [574]
dancing. As the *kukusiut* are eating, the marshals deliver their
usual admonishments, a task that accompanies every meal.
Then they call on the people to erect a raised platform between
the fire and the back-wall of the house. Materials have been
placed in readiness so that it is an easy matter to build a framework
a few feet in height, of which the flat top is screened by
a matting wall about three feet high. This is often decorated [531]
with designs of dyed cedar-bark without ritual significance as
far as the Bella Coola of today are aware. X climbs to this
platform, the *kukusiut* disperse, and only the incessant pounding
of the drum proves that some unusual event is taking place.

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[19] In Bella Coola, but perhaps not in Kimsquit. [184]

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 *796 X is supposed to be gazing constantly to the west, watching for another sight of *Noäkx̣nm*. With the aid of a friend, X arranges his eagle tail head-dress on a box so that it projects above the wall of the platform as if he were sitting within. The uninitiated understand that X is watching, and the motionless feathers confirm their belief. Meanwhile X remains hidden in the back-room, never leaving the house except when necessary, and then only under cover of night.

*575 *796 On the fourth day after his first vision, X stands up and cries out:

Yupälx, "The Point."

787 533 *[203] The significance is that X sees *Noäkx̣nm* as he appear around the first point. A herald is at once sent out. First h repeats loudly the exact words used, then departs to call the *kukusiut* to X's house. When they have taken their places the singers beat out a new song previously composed, the second for X. The theme describes how *Noäkx̣nm* is rounding the first promontory, in his craft which is often likened to a cloud or a flock of birds. This they practise, before carrying sounding-boards and drums to the lowest house in the village, where the singers and a number of *kukusiut* take up their stations. When all is ready X enters, the women utter their droning cry, and, to the accompaniment of the beating of time and the singing of his new song, he dances around the fire. This same procedure is carried out in every house of the village, working from the bottom upwards. Finally all return to X's house where they receive food and the usual admonitions from a marshal. Then they disperse. This is about 11 A.M.

X again climbs to the platform where his head-dress is arranged as if he were sitting constantly gazing towards the approaching *Noäkx̣nm*. For four days he remains hidden, and on the morning of the fifth he again cries out:

Yupälx.

This time it signifies that the supernatural one has rounded a second promontory. The same ritual is repeated, the calling *[203] by the herald, the meeting in X's house, and the procession to

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

every abode. The song on this occasion, the third for X, 575*
describes what *Noākχnιm* is doing on his journey, as if X were 796*
relating what he saw. The *kukusiut* return to X's house for 787
another meal and the admonishments of a marshal. 533

For four days more X retires from sight. On the morning of the fifth day he once more calls:

Yupālx.

Exactly the same procedure is carried out, the theme of this fourth song being of how *Noākχnιm* can be seen rounding a third promontory.

X remains in concealment for four days more, then cries out again. This time the song describes how *Noākχnιm* has rounded the fourth and last promontory and how the supernatural beings above have sighted him. This is the fifth song used for X. As on the previous occasions, he conceals himself on the platform after making a tour of the village.

On the morning of the fifth day later, X cries out that *Noākχnιm* is at the mouth of the river where he has tied his craft to the stakes of a salmon-trap. The belief of the Bella Coola is that he approaches up an underwater fiord, into which flows an underwater river provided with a salmon-trap; X alone can see these phenomena. The herald goes from house [203]*
to house repeating the announcement. The *kukusiut*, too, visit each, singing the song while X dances. He and the singers always decide beforehand on his actual statement, so that the words of the song will be in agreement, as if the singers had composed it on the spot. Once again X retires from sight.

Five days later he arouses the household with his loud shouting:

"*Noākχnιm* is in the river itself. He has reached the home [776]
of the Resident; *Imimātlnaix* is mooring his craft. *Dakdakānmem* and *Ālāllιmktnιm* are greeting him."

The herald repeats this news throughout the village. The 575*
uninitiated know in general terms who these supernatural 796*
beings are. The Resident lives under the water at the mouth
of the river; his function is to see that the stream and the 776
[203]*

* 575 salmon are properly looked after, in fact, he is practically the
* 796 supernatural archetype of the River Guardian. *Imimätlnaix*,
"The Moorer," is a supernatural child who stays with the
776 Resident, and whose sole function appears to be the mooring
of *Noäkxnim*'s craft. *Dakdakänmem* is sent by *Smaien·a*, who
in this connection appears to have human intelligence, to greet
Noäkxnim, and with him come *Smaien·a*'s son, *Ālälimktnim*,[10]
to assist *Noäkxnim* in poling his craft up the river. All these
beings are patrons for different *kukusiut*. The Resident is also
known as *Āmtäklis*.

* The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house as on the previous
575 occasions; according to some informants two songs are used
* 796 on this day, others say only one. The people proceed in the
787 usual manner to the lowest house, and make their way up-
[533] stream. When about half through the village, however, X
shrieks out that *Numätlam* has brought a call to him. The
woman and the heralds cry out loudly, X hastily returns to
his own house, from which the uninitiated are at once expelled,
and the *kusiut* whistles sound from within. *Numätlam* is one
of the supernatural beings who has travelled with *Noäkxnim*
for the sole purpose of bringing a call to X. If the calendrical
[805] experts have been successful in their reckonings, the November
moon will first be visible on the night of this day. Several of
[821] the older men admitted that errors were common, and that
sometimes four days more had to elapse, in which it was said
that *Noäkxnim* was poling up the river. As he passes, his
dancers in the different villages receive their calls on successive
nights. It is assumed that he can go by several adjacent
[184] settlements on the same night, but the *kusiut* season is two or
three days shorter in *Stuix* and the upper villages than in
Qomqo·ts. Exact information on this point was unavailable.
* 575 As already described, *Noäkxnim* travels to *Smaien·a*, whence
* 796 he leaps to *Nusqalmaista* and places his pole within the house.
All the supernatural beings crowd in after him to wait for
773 *Älquntäm*, but as soon as the latter enters, *Noäkxnim* seizes his

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[10] Some informants state that there are four of these beings.

pole and starts his journey downstream. 575*

Now that X has received his call, the ceremonial continues for four days more, in a manner typical of *kusiut* dances. Only variations from the pattern about to be described will be given in later dance rituals. 796* [779]

X spends the rest of this day on which the call has come to him, the twenty-fourth of the whole rite, within his house. In the evening a herald summons the *kukusiut*, this being the night of *isuatámem*. In *Stuux* the call used is: 575* 796* 184

Skinap Stuuxao, "Cure, ye *Stuux* people," because it is believed that a call almost kills a *Stuux* person. This is probably true for the people of the other villages of the upper valley, but elsewhere this cry is used only when a novice receives his first call. In the lower valley and at Kimsquit the cry is: 203*

Snapuraldimut kukusiaot, "Bring light, ye *kukusiut*."

Care is always taken to use the right expression with reference to the locality of the dancer's repository, irrespective of where he may happen to be living. 575* 796*

All the *kukusiut* are expected to attend, in fact, they are glad to do so, but attendance is compulsory for novices only. When all have assembled, one of the leading singers takes command. The coming of his call is supposed to have made X light-headed, and he must be cured by a frenzied beating of sticks *four* times repeated. During this X himself remains quiescent. The singers now group themselves into a close circle to compose a song describing the supernatural beings seen by X during the day. As a rule, each man has one or more tunes in his mind which he hums to his associates as he softly beats time. Then another does the same, and this is repeated until unanimity of opinion is reached concerning the most suitable. The leader of the choir fits the proper words to this, assisted by his comrades and perhaps by X himself, or someone well acquainted with his prerogative.[illegible] As soon as the singers have finished their work they widen their circle and sing the song loudly so that it can be heard and learnt by all, 533 [787]

[illegible] This song, like the ones used earlier, is sometimes prepared in advance.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 while X dances to and fro behind the fire. In succession the
*796 six songs previously composed are resung and X dances to
533 each. The singers would be disgraced should they forget either a tune or a text, so they take advantage of *lsuxlāmem* to practise them all. Later in the season, when numerous *kukusiut* have received calls, the singers beat out the time and words for each and the owner dances. The general effect is remarkably impressive in the dim light of one of the large wooden houses, nor is the music displeasing to the ear. After the singing of X's seventh song, there is a pause while food is distributed amid the admonitions of the marshals. Once more the singers take up their sticks and beat out the song most recently composed for X; the audience joins in softly and he dances. The *kukusiut* now disperse with the exception of the novices who sleep in X's house. He himself does not withdraw to his platform. The ritual of X's *lsuxlāmem* differs from that of most *kukusiut* since his comrades have already learnt six songs for him. On most occasions they hear and practise one only, to which he dances in the manner described.

*575 The next day is *nusiutālsap*. About eleven o'clock in the
*796 morning the heralds go to every house calling out:

532 *Tīpānap, lipānap, kukusiaut,*—"Cut, cut, ye *kukusiut.*"

The uninitiated do not realize that this is an invitation to
*[203] gather to cut wood for masks. X, or his relatives, always provides a meal which is eaten before the main work is attended to. Then the singers group themselves and compose still
[533] another song[illegible] for X, with the same theme, but different words, as the one composed the previous evening. When ready, they chant it loudly so that all can hear and learn, and then sing it with the audience joining in, while X dances. After a short pause, X asks as many of his comrades as he desires to go with
[784] him to the forest to cut wood. Some member of the party carries a whistle which he sounds at intervals, thus warning

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[176] [illegible] This would normally be a dancer's second song, the large number practised for X before the coming of his call being unusual. Not many years ago a powerful chief created the innovation of having one song only instead of two. Some *kukusiut* follow his example whereas others still use two.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

any uninitiated from their path. The *kukusiut* also call *haip* 575*
repeatedly, a further deterrent to the inquisitive. Alder and 796*
birch trees are selected and the hewers start to work. Whenever 532
a tree falls, one of the party calls out: [784]
Xwu···. [313]

This meaningless ejaculation, spoken as if by X, has the
virtue of causing the tree to fall gently. The logs are cut into [789]
sections and as many provided as will be needed, since it is
contrary to *kusiut* custom for more than one trip to be made
for wood. Towards dusk the cutters return, each carrying a
burden by means of a tump-line across the forehead. The [482]
wood is laid softly on the floor, for it would be a gross insult
to throw it down roughly. Meanwhile heralds are summoning
the *kukusiut* with a call of: [203]*
Nusiutälsap kukusiaot.

X has long since consulted his relatives on the one hand
and the marshals on the other, concerning the number of masks
to be used, and the beings to be portrayed. A mask of
Ăno·likwolsaix is prepared for every *kusiut* dance, but with this
exception there is no uniformity in the representations. A
man always shows his patron, as well as any beings intimately
connected with him. Thus X must have a mask of *Noākxnm*,
many of his passengers, and the supernatural beings who meet
him at the mouth of the river. A present must be given to [431]
the carver of every mask, hence their actual number depends [465]
upon the expenditure X and his relatives are willing to make.

At dusk the *kukusiut* are summoned by the heralds. X is [203]*
with the marshals behind the fire and he heeds their advice as
to the best carpenter for any special mask. When all have
assembled X holds up one of the blocks of wood, calls on one
of the *kukusiut* by name and says:

"For *Noākxnm*," or whatever may be the figure required.

As the carpenter comes forward to take the billet the
heralds call out: [203]*

"Pay attention to him," and as the carpenter takes the
wood, X calls out at the top of his voice, *xwu*···. [789]

575 This ejaculation is supposed to make the work of manu-
796 facture less difficult. The same procedure is repeated with
532 every mask ordered, except that if the being to be represented
[789] is a woman, X's ejaculation is *i* [illegible]. Any *kusiut* can make
a mask, but the preference is always given to a man who has
shown ability in previous tasks. The carpenters endeavour
to follow well-recognized designs for many representations, but
a great deal of latitude is allowed, and a workman receives
greater praise and fame for turning out a fine and distinctive
piece of new design, than for rigid adherence to a former type.
This, combined with the burning of masks and consequent loss
of permanent patterns, is responsible for the variability in
Bella Coola forms, and the difficulty which they themselves
experience in recognizing portrayed beings.

575 As soon as all the carpentry has been allotted, the singers
796 strike up one of X's eight songs. Whether or not he dances
[533] to them is a matter about which there is a difference of opinion
among informants. In any case the re-singing on [illegible]
is purely for rehearsal, made necessary by the large number of
songs. Later on in the *kusiut* season, the songs of other
dancers may be practised on this night, and if the owners wish
to practise their steps, it is quite proper for them to do so.
[574] Finally, a meal is distributed, while the marshals discourse in
[431] the usual way. Feasts are features of all *kusiut* dances, and the
[42 food distributed is regarded as a free-will gift, without thought
of repayment. After eating, the *kukusiut* disperse; X must
sleep within his own house, but no longer remains within his
platform-enclosure.

575 The next day, the twenty-sixth of the ceremony, is [illegible].
796 Early in the morning a herald summons to X's house, where
532 the blocks have been left, all those to whom work has been
[203] assigned. All morning they carve diligently. The speed with
which masks are completed is surprising, although this has
[177] undoubtedly increased since the introduction of metal tools.
[563] In the middle of the day a few *kukusiut* men, no women, are
invited to share "the carpenters' meal," as the food provided

575* 796* 533 [562] 575* 796* 184 532

by X is called. Having dined, the guests depart while the craftsmen continue their labours. Towards dusk the house is cleaned up, the chips thrown on the fire and everything made ready. On this night the uninitiated are invited, but there is a wide and important difference in ritual between Bella Coola and Kimsquit. In the former the masks are carefully concealed, whereas in Kimsquit one or two, or sometimes all, are suspended behind the fire by the carpenters. It is exceedingly difficult for an observer to understand why this practice does not at once remove all secrecy from the rite. The explanation appears to lie in the fact that the uninitiated, ignorant of how they have been made, see in these strange objects evidence of the power of the *kusiut*. In Kimsquit, moreover, members of the society emphasize the fact that the dancers are supernaturally endowed representations of what the beings above are doing and performing, and it is only at certain times that they are actually supposed to be present. One old Bella Coola remembered having heard from his grandfather that long before his time the carpenters used to make the masks in their own houses where the uninitiated could see them; the dancer would come in, wave his arm over the craftsman's head and cry *haik* if the workmanship was excellent. The man who described this expressed his own scepticism, and added that it would have destroyed the key-note of secrecy. A possible explanation of this important difference in ritual will be given at the end of this chapter; for the present it will be enough to point out that the masks are left suspended in Kimsquit, and concealed in Bella Coola.

575* 796* [203]* [312] [203]*

Towards dusk the herald goes to every house to summon the *kusiut*, who have adorned themselves for the ceremony by washing and painting, as the uninitiated have also done. The members assemble slowly, in fact an observer finds the interminable delays of every *kusiut* dance most provoking. At last all have appeared and taken their places around the fire, while the uninitiated eagerly wait near the door for the initiation which they know will soon be given. One of the mem-

575 796 their wife a herald to call them in; they come joyfully, though somewhat fearfully, and stand or crouch on either side of the doorway. In Kisaquit they gaze on the masks, wondering [203] what they are. The singers strike up the first of X's songs and he dances, while singers and kukusiut men sing the words and 575 796 553 the women drum. To the uninitiated it appears most impressive and desirable, while even the prosaic white man can hardly remain indifferent. At intervals a whistle, which the uninitiated believe to be the voice of the call, sounds eerily from beneath the armpit of a reliable kusiut. After a short interval, X's second song is sung, and so in succession the eight. Then the singers strike up any well-remembered tune, perhaps one used last year, and the owner dances. This is repeated for eight or ten songs. At later potlatches, every kusiut who has had a call during the season must dance; the ceremony tends, therefore, to become longer and longer as time goes on, although the singing of the songs of a previous year is omitted. When enough performers have danced, a shaman's song is often sung and the owner dances "to close the house." At this point the 575 796 [317] [793] [613] uninitiated spectators are told to withdraw. Then a meal is served to the chiefs who, as members of a similar organization, are honoured guests and have been seated together in a corner, resplendent in their weasel-skin ornaments. After their departure, the kukusiut eat more leisurely, while one member after another advises them as to their conduct. Then presents of comparatively small value are distributed. The members would consider it unbecoming for X to provide more lavishly. [862] The first gifts are to the singers, the next to the makers of the masks. Though these presents are, in essence, pay, they are never thought of in that light; X is under obligations, X has cleared himself of these obligations, is the Bella Coola attitude. When all is over, X once more dances to one of his newly sung songs. Then one of the members calls out to open the door and the guests disperse, except the novices who sleep in X's house.

The next day is *sulcuam*,* the twenty-seventh and final day of the rite, and the most spectacular in every ceremonial. Early in the morning a herald summons the wood-workers to X's house to complete the masks. At intervals throughout the day *kukusiut* come to discuss with X, the marshals, the singers, and the carpenters the details of the evening ceremonial. In fact, X has less to do with the arrangements than any of those mentioned, unless he happens to be a *kusiut* of long standing. The marshals usually decide who shall wear the masks, although the maker of each is always consulted; X himself never wears one at his own ceremony. The *kusiut* who is to represent *Anu'likwotsaix* must have the ability to speak fluently and in a high-pitched voice supposedly like that of a woman. Strong men are required for some of the heavy masks such as Thunder, but most may be used by anyone. A person asked to wear one seldom refuses, although he is liable to punishment in case of dropping it or any other accident. No one marshal can dictate who shall wear a particular mask, all these matters are arranged with endless discussion during the day; stage management is not a highly developed Bella Coola profession. The masks are completed by the afternoon at latest, painted, and concealed behind a screening enclosure, one of which is built in each rear corner of the house. Sometimes the back-room itself is used to hide the sacred objects and only one shelter is constructed. The makers of the masks remain there with them, to assist in tying them over the heads of the wearers. Meanwhile all chips are swept up and burnt and the house made tidy for the evening.

575* 776* 332 [209]*

As twilight falls a herald goes to every house inviting the *kukusiut* to assemble in X's. The uninitiated gather outside the door, waiting eagerly for the summons to enter and see the wonders, their curiosity, and fear, piqued by the sound of a whistle from within. But there are still delays; many of the *kukusiut* wish to express themselves concerning the conduct of

575* 776* [209]*

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* If the masks and other paraphernalia are not ready, several days may elapse before *sulcuam*. Every evening the *kukusiut* gather to practise the songs. [209]

[The Dance of Noakanim]

975 the affair, and so many differences of opinion are voiced that it is often difficult to understand how the ritual can be carried
976 out as smoothly as it is. The masks are tried on, adjustments in the rope fastenings made, and final selection of the wearers approved. In fact, the summoning of the *kukusiut* is regarded by them as an invitation to open the masks and it is said that the herald sometimes calls thus with a cryptic:

"Moisten your heads, *kukusiut*," the significance of which the uninitiated fail to grasp.

At last those who are to wear the masks are chosen. They conceal themselves in one of the two matting shelters, while the other is full of those *kukusiut* who have prerogatives as Cannibals, Scorchers, or Beaters. It is these who are most [977] feared by the uninitiated, and if a slight accident should take place they rush forth suddenly, frightening the non-members to such an extent that they fail to notice a mistake which would otherwise expose the mystery of the rites.

Meanwhile *Anutlilumkais* at intervals sticks her head around the corner of the door to mock the uninitiated.

"You stupid ones!" she gibes. "You and you [naming two uninitiated] almost found my [illegible]. You came so close to me that I put out my [illegible] and tripped you up. [A safe comment since everyone stumbles over half-buried roots some time or another.] You were so blind that you did not see me. Look where you are going, keep your eyes open, and then you will become a *kusiut* instead of remaining a nonentity."

The uninitiated, sick at heart over the missed opportunity, resolve to be more alert in future. Difficult though it is for [978] the white man to understand such credulity, yet different elderly informants apparently recalled the chagrin with which they had listened to such remarks when young. Childhood impressions of respect and fear are too deeply ingrained for doubts to arise.

At last all is ready and one of the marshals tells a *kusiut* to open the door and call the non-members. In they rush, to crowd near the door and gaze upon the marvels with which X has been in contact. Their attitude of uncertainty as to whether they are gazing upon real supernatural beings or on representations of them has already been described, but the uninitiated do not theorize on the point—they are seeing strange sights about which X and the *kukusiut* know; that is enough for them. 575 796

Behind the fire they see a canoe-shaped erection, a model of *Nuàkpnem*'s craft, with six or eight masked heads, his passengers, appearing over the sides. Near this are four more disguised figures, three standing and one sitting. *Anul'ikwutsaix* ranges in the vicinity, while X himself stands behind, at intervals sweeping one arm over the heads of the strange beings and uttering a droning cry. *Anul'ikwutsaix* explains to the uninitiated that the figures have come from afar, that they are powerful, but not to be afraid, since X's drone gives protection to them from the supernatural ones. She points to one of the figures whose mask is painted with the design of a salmon.[23] 575 796 592 776

"See!" she says, "There is *Nuàkpnem*; unless he brings the salmon they cannot come to our river."

Another of the standing figures is described as *Dukdukáin-mem*, and the other as *Alkilamkanum*. In each case she states briefly the functions of the being. The seated figure, who wears a large hat and rests on a mat, is the Resident. Great is the mystification of the uninitiated at seeing these supernatural beings[24] normally visible only to X. How they envy him! Another frequent display is of a group of masked figures playing *slali* (II, p. 381). If this has been done, *Anul'ikwutsaix* explains that this game is of interest to the salmon and that it is therefore played in *Nuàkpnem*'s canoe. [781]

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[23] There is no doubt that in former times the Bella Coola attached greater importance to the designs painted on masks than they do at present. Except for a few vague notes it was impossible to obtain information on this subject; in fact, in 1923 there was only one Bella Coola alive who understood the symbols used. This man was drunk so often that he proved an impossible informant. It is fortunate that Professor Boas recorded a considerable number of designs (op. cit.), to which the reader is referred. [177]

[24] As already described, the uninitiated undoubtedly believe that they are actually gazing upon supernatural beings.

575 Among the passengers in *Noâkxnum*'s canoe are a number
796 of singers, who replace the usual ones on this *sxlxcam*. Each
592 wears the same type of mask, painted with red diagonals, and
593 with white feathers[29] projecting from the top.[30] After the uninitiated have gazed for some time upon the wonders, their leader, *Snakwsanimtaix*, takes his place and his followers begin to beat out an ancient song, believed to be sung in *Noâkxnum*'s craft as it nears Bella Coola. The theme is:

"See me, mortals, I am *Nunuosaixidaimut Noâkxnum*, the dancer of *Noâkxnum*."

As the music starts, a figure rises from among the singers, wearing a mask with heavy eye-brows[31] and carrying a light staff about six feet in length, wound spirally with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with a tassel of dyed bark. Holding this in his hand he begins to
575 dance lightly, running back and forth a few steps at a time
796 in time to the beating of sticks, lifting his feet firmly from the
[335] ground, and bending back and forth in airy grace, all the while waving his wand to and fro. There are no fixed steps, the only essential is that he convey the impression of being light of foot and a good dancer; accordingly, the person selected for this purpose is one with these qualifications. As he moves, *Anu'litmulsais* explains to the uninitiated that this is *Nunuosaixidaimut*, a dancer of great repute who accompanies *Noâkxnum* and guards his singers. At this point *Anu'litmulsais*'s own song may or
[593] may not be sung. It never varies, and is believed to have been handed down from dim antiquity. X himself must be the singer, accordingly it can be sung only when the dancer has a good voice. If this is the case, the marshals request him to perform, and, if necessary, teach him the exact words. X, standing behind the fire, sings alone and unaccompanied, then the singers repeat the song in unison with the beating of their
[533] sticks, and *Anu'litmulsais* herself dances, using, of course, the feminine style. At this juncture the uninitiated must be ex-

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[126]

[29] Golden feathers are now used.

[30] One of these masks was purchased for the National Museum of Canada.

[31] One of these masks was obtained for the National Museum of Canada.

3: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

-pelled; a Cannibal (II, p. 71) begins to growl and those who are not members of the society leave hastily. 575* 946*

The next event is the burning of the masks. The wearers remove them and lay them on the floor in front of the back-room at the point marked O in the accompanying sketch. Then X asks a friend to help him. The person chosen picks up any two of the masks and carries them around the fire, sunwise, through B, where X is standing, to the point marked A (see Fig. 1). The helper throws one mask on the fire, and as he does so X lifts his arms, as if throwing up some heavy weight, at the same time uttering *hoip*, which has a beneficial effect in returning the mask whence it came. [989]

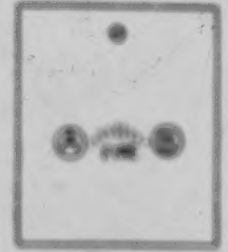

Fig. 1.
Diagram showing positions of participants during mask-burning.

As one informant put it: "May you have a safe journey."

The assistant throws the second mask on the fire, and again X throws up his arms and cries *hoip*. He crosses to A where he twice repeats the same cry, then returns to B. The assistant picks up two more masks and throws them on the fire at the same place and in the same manner as the two preceding, X also doing as he did before. The masks are taken two at a time until all have been burnt. The explanation given is to avoid [522] the danger of the uninitiated seeing them, but whether or not this is a mere rationalization is doubtful. The Bella Coola say [171] that the Bella Bella do not burn their masks. Next the singers strike up the first of X's songs and he dances, while musicians and audience join in; this is repeated for each of his songs. If it is desired to hasten the ritual, the lengthy singing and dancing is replaced by X giving only a short dance, unaccompanied by music. The Bella Coola do not appear to understand why they dance at this time, although it is said that it makes easy the departure of the masks.

In Kimsquit the ritual of mask-burning is slightly different. [184]

[The Dance of Noakenim]

4 575 8 796 184 since a certain *kusiut* has the definite prerogative of throwing them on the fire. As each is tossed into the flames he calls out:

"Please return directly to the supernatural ones."

The only exception is for the mask of *[illegible]* for which his cry is:

"Please return directly to your repository."

4 575 8 796 787 Before X can again take his normal place in the community it is necessary to remove from him the call, which is conceived as being something physical that has entered his body. This is the belief taught to the uninitiated so emphatically that the *kukusiut* themselves appear to believe it; at any rate, whatever their inward thoughts, they act as if the call had substance. As soon as the masks have been burnt one of the *kukusiut* suggests that it is time to expel the call. All the *kukusiut* in the house crowd around X, as many as can reach his body pressing against his stomach with their hands, always in an upward direction. Higher and higher they go, from stomach to chest, from chest to neck, as if massaging some object. At last it is thought to have been expelled, and X brings his hands together, as if holding something with great care. Suddenly he throws them up in the air, opening them as he does so, and calling out:

[illegible], "Go back to your ancient home."

These ritual words have been handed down from ancient times and are used by every *kusiut* to dismiss his call. Whither it is sent is problematical. Some say to X's repository, others to *[illegible]*; the Bella Coola do not know. Often one of his songs has been sung on the sidewalk outside X's house; the call may be returned from there.

This rite ends the ceremony and the *kukusiut* disperse. It is obvious that every *[illegible]* must vary according to the person of the dancer, but the above is typical of the ritual. A call can now come to any *kusiut*, and one often descends at this time, so that X's *[illegible]* is [illegible] for another dancer.

4 [illegible] 8 [illegible] For the rest of the ceremonial season X has to observe certain rules. He must wear his collar of cedar-bark and

attend every *kusiut* dance. Usually all *kukusiut* do so in any case, but the attendance of all novices and those who have had calls is obligatory. If the dancer's face has been blackened, it must be kept so during this period. At every potlatch he dances to his eight songs, and throughout the ceremonial season has the power of attracting to himself the spirit of an uninitiated person. He sleeps in whatever house a dance is taking place, but is forbidden to hold sexual intercourse except in his own, which, of course, is possible only when a call comes to another housemate. Failure to obey this injunction was formerly punished by the marshals with death. These rules apply to every dancer. 55* 76* [772 773 774] [784 788]

Alquntam sends *Nusqalsemaits* at the winter solstice, and at that time calls come to those *kukusiut* of whom he is patron. It is uncertain whether or not this entails the regular ceremony of four nights' duration. On the order of the supreme being, *Nuskliyum* seizes his paddle (or pole?), returns to *Smaiee-a*, and then descends the Bella Coola River. It is believed by the uninitiated that X can see him as he passes, and the singers compose a *kusiut* song for him. The words describe how the departing *Nuskliyum* empties a large number of olachen into the river.[24] X dances to it, but no call comes to him. This final episode of the complicated ritual occurs, of course, after calls have come to other *kukusiut*. 55* 76* 77 73 85

It sometimes happens that no *kusiut* of whom *Nuskliyum* is patron has enough food to give the lengthy dance just described, but some type of ritual is necessary to inaugurate the ceremonial season. Accordingly, someone with the proper prerogative is asked by the marshals to see *Nuskliyum* when at *the mouth of the river*; then, when he passes upstream four days later, a call can come to any *kusiut*. This abbreviated ceremony, termed *Snuklwaikaysilem*, is carried out in the manner described above, except that it is completed in four days with only two songs. 55* 76* 77

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[24] *Nuskliyum* is accordingly often called *Nusqalsemaits*. [776]

THE DANCE OF *Wá·a*

575 996 556 Although potlatches and *kusiut* dances cannot take place simultaneously in the same house, and although the former are supposedly completed before the beginning of the ceremonial season, they often overlap the lengthy preliminaries of the *Noäkxnum* dance. In such cases, when visiting the houses of the village, the *kukusiut* are careful to pass by the one in which the potlatch is going on. It often happens that foreign guests are still present when *Noäkxnum* ascends the river and their host wishes to provide entertainment for them in the shape of a spectacular *kusiut* display. This is possible if a *kusiut* with a *wá·a* prerogative is willing to have a call come to him. It [424] is probable that in every village there is at least one *kusiut* with this prerogative; in *Tcomatl* the owner is a certain *Lakwala*,[66] in Kimsquit a woman named *Nuxaxemlaix*. An ancestor of the former received his designation at the direct wish of *Alquntäm* as leader of the supernatural *kukusiut*. It is unnecessary to describe the ritual in detail in both places, although certain differences must be mentioned. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X. He has ten patrons, the nine brothers [774] *Xemxemálaitu, Xemxus, Omqomkilika, Alimálaitu, Aliamkilika, Ilpmxus, Ilqulaxusna, Kulilias Nuxkámpta, Alimák·m*, and their sister *Tlincápilita·a*.[67] These supernatural beings remain in *Nusmáta* except when summoned below by X, or when *Tlincápilita·a* appears for her own purposes as already described.

If X accedes to the request of the donor of the potlatch and is willing to summon his patrons from above, one or other of them interviews the marshals, and if these acquiesce, the rite can proceed. In Bella Coola X asks the help of four *kukusiut* 575 who are termed his "Path Clearers"; no special prerogative is 996 required to perform this service. For four days X lies on the floor of his house, near the door to the back-room, while his

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[66] The rite has not been carried out in Bella Coola since the death of the former owner about 1915; the name has passed to his brother's son's son.

[67] Boas (p. 33) gives the same list of beings although in slightly different order.

[The Dance of Wila]

"Path Clearers" see to it that no one passes between him and the fire. The uninitiated are not expelled from the house and their curiosity is aroused. Meanwhile the singers prepare songs for X, describing his supernatural patrons, and some *kukusiut* carpenters are instructed to make in secret ten small pieces of wood, about one foot in length and six inches wide, sometimes half-moon shaped. They cover these with dyed cedar-bark on which they paint the designs appropriate to each being.[illegible] On the morning of the fourth day,[illegible] X blackens his face with soot or charcoal, obtained by pouring water on a fire, and dons the usual *kusiut* costume. A herald then invites the *kukusiut* to assemble in X's house. Presently they proceed to the lowest house of the village, where the singers beat out the tunes of the "Path Clearers," remembered from a previous year. They dance, while X stands, shifting his feet and moving his apron as if he also wished to perform but was too weary to do so. This is repeated at every house of the village, except that in which the potlatch was held; most of the *kukusiut* follow the procession, as do some of the uninitiated. Finally, with X last of all, they enter the potlatch house, where foreign guests and many uninitiated have assembled. 575 796

In Kimsquit the preliminary four days of watching are omitted, but from this point on, the rites of the two areas are practically identical.[illegible] As X enters, all the *kukusiut* who have pounding sticks begin to beat on the floor and the women drum. Without delay, and without attention to the timeless thumping, X begins to dance, sunwise, around the fire, at intervals casting on it particles of eagle down which have the effect of making the supernatural ones there take their places. He calls out intermittently that he can see the beings there sitting down, and a herald repeats his remarks loudly. In Bella Coola the four "Path Clearers" walk close behind X. [532] [802] [536 789 787]

The distinctive designs are given by Boas, to whom the reader is referred.

It is probable that X comes first to dance when [illegible] reports that the canoe is at the mouth of the river.

It is uncertain whether the differences in ritual are typical of Bella Coola and Kimsquit, or merely represent variations in individual perspectives. [186 424]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

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[The Dance of Wil-a]

575 796 782 The last to seat himself is *Kulilias Nuchâmpta*, an obstreperous individual, who always wants more presents than anyone else. When X announces that the beings above have taken their places, a carpenter brings forward the object covered with cedar-bark and painted with a design of *Xemsomdlaila*,* holds it above X's head, and then gives it to a herald who casts it into the fire. At the same time X throws on the flames some dyed cedar-bark, some undyed cedar-bark, a little eagle down, and some olachen grease, saying:

"Please *Xemsomdlaila*,* accept this offering and be present," and throws his hands up in the air as if casting some object upwards.

Still dancing, X calls out *haiy* several times.

The painted representation and the cedar-bark are objects which *Xemsomdlaila* likes to receive; the olachen grease supplies the flame on which they ascend to him. The same procedure is repeated for the eight other brothers, with slight variations in the words addressed to each. To *Omqomtlila*, for example, X says:

[534]

[illegible] Woodpecker coloured?*	*[illegible]* in the place where he sits,	[illegible] the recipient,*

[illegible]
Omqomtlila.*

When the time comes to invite the hungry *Tlitcapilitsa*, an offering of food instead of bark is cast upon the flames. X continues to dance after the food gift, and presently a chud is heard on the roof while some *kusiut*, chosen beforehand for the purpose, compresses a hidden bladder-whistle which the uninitiated know is the voice of the call. Whether they be-

575 796 787

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[184] In Kimsquit the offerings are made by a kusiut who has this prerogative in connection with the same [illegible].

[772] His other name is [illegible], "The Recipient of Many Gifts."

[illegible] is one of the larger woodpeckers; the species could not be identified.

This designation, properly applied only to *Xemsomdlaila*, is often used for the brothers as well.

[724] These words are [illegible] sung, each vertical line marking the end of each subdivision. A record was made of the words for the National Museum of Canada, record VII D [illegible], singer, Jim Pollard.

[The Dance of Wil·a]

Save the thud on the roof, which is made by an accomplice, is 575*
the call itself, or a being bringing it to X, is problematical. 786*
All non-members are expelled immediately, including guests [787]
other than Kimsquit or *Tālio kukusiut*. One is tempted to
conjecture whether or not the donor of the potlatch does not [556]
use this rite as a means of getting rid of his guests if they show
a disposition to linger too long.

The call having come to X, this is the day of *lustimem*. In the early evening a herald goes up and down the platform outside the houses, calling out in effect:

"He has been pressed to earth beneath the weight."

No mention is made of who "he" may be, although the uninitiated are well aware. The herald then enters each house in order, starting at the bottom, to invite the *kukusiut* to
assemble in X's. After he has been aided by the beating of 575*
sticks, four times repeated, the singers seat themselves behind 786*
the fire, where X joins them. The fiction is always carried
out that the call has brought him a song, which he pretends 554
to sing or recite to the singers who appear to be listening [787]
intently. Usually he says nothing, or talks about something else, though sometimes the deception is furthered by X first learning the words from the musicians and repeating them as if teaching.

The theme is always of the supernatural persons and how the offering concerns them. Since only *kukusiut* are present and since they all understand the methods, this part of the ceremony may be slighted.* The singers hum over and sing the song a number of times, softly, as if practising, then more loudly for the benefit of the audience, and finally at full strength while X dances. Later in the season when many *kukusiut* have performed, and there is danger of the songs being forgotten, it is customary to sing them over on the night
of *lustimem* while the owner of each song dances. Throughout, 575*
the whistle sounds, to the awe of the uninitiated in the other 786*

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*Even when no uninitiated are present, the *kukusiut* always surround their ceremonials with an air of mystery which ultimately affects themselves.

[The Dance of Wila]

*575 *796 houses. The night's ceremony concludes with a meal and the admonitions of the marshals.

No further description is needed of the rites taking place the next day, that of [illegible], when a second song is composed, again dealing with X's patrons, and wood for masks is cut. The evening's ceremonial does not last as long as that of [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible] [575] The next day, [illegible], the carpenters work at the masks, some of which must be finished by nightfall. Late in the evening both *kukusiut* and uninitiated prepare themselves by painting and washing; at this time the young men provide pots of warm water for their female friends. As already described, the *kukusiut* are the first to enter, followed by the uninitiated when all is ready. In Kimsquit they see the masks [184] of at least some of X's supernatural patrons suspended by cords of dyed cedar-bark from a sloping pole that stretches from the floor at the base of the back-room to the cross-beam behind the fire. It is said, although the informant could not guarantee the truth of the statement, that long ago masks had to be displayed at this dance, though it was optional at others. It is a serious and sacred time, one at which frivolity is quite out of place, and the marshals are in readiness to punish any [557] offender. One very old informant told of having seen a marshal strike down and kill a *kusiut* from another house for holding intercourse with a woman on this night. The heralds *[illegible] [331] stay near the door, repeating and enlarging on the remarks of the marshals; the fluency of these functionaries always adds appreciably to the success of any Bella Coola rite. On this occasion X and the dancer of *[illegible]* must perform, followed by those who have danced in former years, according to the desire of the singers; later in the season, when many *kukusiut* have performed, the rite may continue almost till dawn, for all must dance. After the departure of the uninitiated the *kukusiut* eat leisurely, while a marshal addresses them, commenting on the ritual and, perhaps, asking a man

[The Dance of Wil·a]

575*
796*

to allow his son to be initiated on the next day. Then X dances once more and the *kukusiut* disperse.

There is no need to repeat an account of the preliminaries of *nuhuram*, including the construction of the two shelters in the back corners of the house and the summoning first of the *kukusiut* and then of the uninitiated. When all is ready, a masked figure representing *Xemxemálsla* appears from one of the shelters, and dances around the fire, sunwise, revolving sunwise at the same time, while the *kukusiut* men pound violently, the *kukusiut* women drone, and the uninitiated stare with open mouths. As he dances he sings: [535]

"I am *Xemxemálsla*. The supernatural beings call continually on me as they give me presents. See me."

Then he stands in the centre of the space behind the fire, holding in his hand a stick that has just been given to him and which is decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark and a tuft of swan down at the top and middle. The beating of sticks died down while *Xemxemálsla* was making his announcement, but it now breaks out afresh as *Xemxas* appears. He too dances around the fire, announces his name and stands on *Xemxemálsla*'s right. There is more pounding, and out comes *Ánaˀlikumlaia*, who circles the fire and stands on *Xemxemálsla*'s left. But instead of remaining motionless she constantly moves about the house, now here, now there, talking to the uninitiated and assuring them that it is *Xemxemálsla* whom they see. She takes care not to come into close contact with the uninitiated as her identity might be detected. One after the other the other patrons emerge, dance around the fire, and take their stations alternately to right and left of *Xemxemálsla*. *Kwlikas Nuskámpta* keeps leaving his place as if to seek things from different parts of the house, while *Álmák* ᵋ, who is a kingfisher, moves to and fro in quick, hopping steps, imitating the actions of that bird. A few minutes after *Tlixápliláx-a* has joined the others, *Xemxemálsla* begins to hum loudly: [535]

[The Dance of Wil·a]

*575 *796 *I···*, and *as···*,"[illegible] revolving sunwise at the same time.

Ano'likwalsaix does not fail to point out to the uninitiated:

"That is the way he sings up above. Look at him! That is what he does in his own home."

*575 *796 552 If foreigners, guests for the potlatch, are in attendance, *Ano'likwalsaix* adds that the supernatural beings are disappointed at having been called too late for it. Then the uninitiated are expelled, the masks burnt, and the *kukusiut* disperse.

A few further notes are necessary on this dance. If a potlatch is to be given after the *kusiut* season, the calling of these supernatural beings is sometimes reserved as the last *kusiut* dance, and any foreigners present, as uninitiated guests, are told that the beings have come for the ceremony. [776] There is thus a superficial appearance of confusion between these *kusiut* patrons and *sisauk* deities. It is nothing more than a resemblance, since the nine brothers do not appear at the potlatch, and nothing is said to explain their absence; it is merely a subterfuge to increase the interest of the rite. Nor is any connection necessary; [787] in fact, X usually obtains his call like any other *kusiut*, without the spectacular throwing of presents on the fire. In this case X and the marshals consult and select the proper day for the beginning of the ceremony. *575 *796 787 On the night preceding that chosen, the *kukusiut* are called to X's house and one of the marshals announces that he can hear X's call wanting to come to him. He answers simply:

"I am afraid."

The uninitiated are not expelled from X's house, so that they learn what is to take place. No ritual occurs on that evening, but one of X's friends remains constantly with him, as if to assist in any emergency. *Kukusiut* are often sent up the slopes of the neighbouring mountains with whistles which the uninitiated hear, and which lead them to believe that supernatural beings are in the vicinity.

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[121] [illegible] A phonographic record was made of this; National Museum of Canada, record VII D 60; singer, Jim Pollard.

[The Dance of Wil·a]

About dusk on the following day X, who is in his own house, 575*
suddenly stands up and cries out: 796*

"Yes. It has come. I am afraid. Yes! I will do as you 787
bid me."

The *kukusiut* women begin to drone and the uninitiated are expelled. Heralds announce that a *kusiut* has been pressed to earth, and presently they go to every house inviting the *kukusiut* to gather in X's. From this point on, the rite of *kusiutem* continues in the manner already described.

The ability of X to summon these nine brothers from above [424]
is a special prerogative; other *kukusiut* have one or other of them as patron, but lack the power to call the whole number to earth. One *kusiut* has exclusive knowledge of the mat which is spread for *Omqomtikla* when the other supernatural beings summon him to a ceremony; another of the place where the brethren obtain their eagle down. Detailed information was not obtained about these ceremonies.

THE CANNIBAL DANCE

Of all *kusiut* dances, the one of which the uninitiated are 575*
most afraid, and which is, therefore, the strongest, is the 796*
Cannibal dance. It is believed that the performer is exposed 424
to greater dangers than in any other rite, and observers have
the most spectacular ocular demonstrations of his powers. The [981]
patrons of most Cannibals are *Alquntäm*, *Sinxolítlix*, or [776]
Kāmai in, who implant in their protégés a wolf, bear, or eagle,
causing them to devour strange foods. The Bella Coola con- [787]
sider that a man is equally a Cannibal whether he has the prerogative of eating corpses, biting the living, eating dogs or raw salmon, or biting himself. The most common of these is the right to bite the living, and few of the older people are not
scarred thereby. Fear of Cannibals is one of the strongest [781]
causes for the respect with which the uninitiated regard the
kusiut society, but though the holders of prerogatives of this [171]
type are regarded with awe on account of their powers, they [622]
are not considered as chiefs, as the Bella Coola say is the case

[the Cannibal Dance]

575 among the Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and Rivers Inlet people.
796 Indeed, in Bella Coola a poor man may be the most dreaded Cannibal of all, if he has been able duly to validate and per-
[171 form his right in this respect. Nor is the dance carried out
622 with the same rigour in Bella Coola as among the tribes of the outer coast.

424 The ritual of different prerogatives varies to such an extent that several accounts must be given, in spite of the repetitions
184] that this form of presentation entails. On account of the length of time necessary, a Cannibal dance usually begins early in the season. The following describes the manner in
[115] which *Kāmāitolaks* of Kimsquit, who can bite the living, carried out his rite; it was obtained from his brother, who is thoroughly conversant with the details. It will be convenient to refer to *Kāmāitolaks* as X, and to use the present tense throughout.

A meeting is held at which the marshals and others choose, in agreement with X and his relatives, a day suitable for him to commence his performance. Under normal circumstances
[787] it is on some pötlos that a marshal announces that he can hear X's call, and on the following evening, when the ritual has been completed, the uninitiated are startled to hear continuous whistling from the slopes of the mountains near the village.
[534 The instruments used are of the usual bladder type, but the
796] long-drawn-out sound, termed *Atiläna*, is said to be the voice of the kindly supernatural woman, *Snitsmän-a*.[28]

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[28] The sole function of this being seems to be the restoring to life of those who appear to have been killed in the performance of *kusiut* rites. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether or not she is identical with *Tlaiqotlimo-a*. The noise which heralds her coming is produced by the whistles of four *kukusiut* who throughout the night range the forests and mountains within ear-shot of the village. By bending their heads up and down, they are able to increase the weirdness and apparent elusiveness of the sound. The four travel in single file, the leader blowing, and when his breath is nearly exhausted he presses the hand of the second man, who starts whistling forthwith, while the original leader drops to the rear. As the second becomes weary, he signals in the same way to the third, and so on; in this way the whistling is continuous, and the uninitiated are convinced that it cannot be caused by mortals, even if such an idea should occur to them. If a non-member
[288] should meet the four, they would at once kill him or make him a prisoner, keeping him out of sight until he could be initiated into the society.

[The Cannibal Dance]

Towards dawn, a herald goes through the village crying loudly: 575* 796* 787

"Get up, you young men! Get up all ye people! Something strange has come upon the young man."

The uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house where he is acting as if demented, biting any of his associates except other Cannibals, Scratchers, Breakers, or those whose patrons are ghosts. Meanwhile those who are not members of the society cower in their own houses, and are told that if they dare to look out, X, scenting them, will bite them to death. At intervals during the morning, X goes around to the other houses, naked and savage, snapping at everyone he sees. The uninitiated hide in the bedrooms, but peek out occasionally and hear his growlings and the shrieks of mock terror with which his associates greet his bites and threats. The *kukusiut* tell non-members when it is safe for them to leave their hiding-places for necessary purposes, but at all other times they remain in concealment, listening with fear to the dangerous maniac.

About midday X returns to his house where a large number of *kukusiut* have assembled. [172] The uninitiated certainly, and perhaps some of the *kukusiut* as well, believe that Cannibals are carried away to the land above where they are exposed to great dangers, and to prevent this an effort is always made to bind the dancer. The marshals and X's relatives have made the necessary preparations, consisting of the manufacture of a long rope, in addition to the usual dyed cedar-bark collar and a bear-skin. [292] The *kukusiut* enter whole-heartedly into the dramatic spirit of the rite, and the robe is thrust over X in spite of his furious struggles. Then the collar is forced over his head, while the women drone and the whistles sound eerily, to the wonder of the uninitiated listening from adjacent houses. The thick, cable-like rope is doubled and a circle of *kukusiut* form around the seemingly demented dancer, each man holding a section. X rushes against one part of the circle after another, as if to force his way out; sometimes he bends down, and those

*575 *796 787 restraining him bend too, throwing him back into the centre of the circle with the aid of the rope and their bodies. Meanwhile the women are droning, and some of them pound on the floor with sticks; intermittent calls of *heip* and the sound of the whistle add to the weird confusion. The circle of *kukusiut* often revolves around X, each man jumping in time to his neighbours, so that the din is increased. After about ten minutes, the circle gradually contracts to a double line, and the rope is slipped over X's head, as if tying up a dangerous beast. One end is given to a *kusiut* willing to have a call, and he goes around leading X as if he were a captive animal. The heralds go to every house to report what has taken place.[illegible]

Towards dusk two young *kukusiut* are sent up the mountains. Soon after the sun has set, members of the society gather on the sidewalk outside X's house, to which X is led. He is still struggling, and the *kukusiut* press close around him, as if to restrain him; thereby effectually concealing everything from the uninitiated watching from the doorways of their houses. At a signal from one of the senior *kukusiut*, all the members of the society shriek out *ye* ·· at the top of their voices. At the same time X, aided by his fellows, slips from his rope and hides himself within a box-drum, which is then carried back to his house. Warned by the cry, the two lads up the mountains forthwith begin to growl. This furnishes clear proof to the uninitiated that X has been able, owing to the power within him, to slip away from the closest bonds of his fellows and travel aloft. In answer to the growls from above, a *kusiut* with a powerful voice calls out:

"Go aloft on the right road. Your power will enable you to escape the dangers. But do not stray from the narrow trail."

[184] In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, the *kukusiut* then go to every house, crying and wailing, thinking of the Cannibals

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[illegible] It is not clear whether or not the uninitiated are sometimes present at the roping.

who have gone aloft and never returned,"[*] and of course in- 875*
creasing the fear of the uninitiated. They then go back to X's 796*
house where a marshal speaks, asking all to keep silence so that 787
they will be able to hear X when he returns from the land
above. No noise is permitted during his absence, even the [784]
discharge of muskets being forbidden. The man who carries the rope from which X escaped always receives a call on this night, because the supernatural beings have seen the important part he has played in the rite, and his patron recognizes it in this way. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated and, accordingly, the rope-holder is some *kusiut* who wishes to have a call. After the usual curing,* one song is composed for the rope-holder, and sung very softly, since the night's ceremony is termed *[illegible]*, "The Anxious Night," or *[illegible]*, "The Silent Night." The uninitiated believe that the *kukusiut* are filled with woe and foreboding at the fate before X. It is early morning before they disperse.

The next day, *[illegible]* for the rope-holder, the usual 875*
ritual is omitted since the pretence of grief and fear must still 796*
be preserved. Thus the necessary wood for the rope-holder's masks is cut silently. The collar and rope from which X escaped are hung on the wall of his house, and when a herald summons the *kukusiut* during the evening, he bids them assemble to watch over these objects. Although a second song, composed during the day, is practised for the rope-holder, it is done so softly that the uninitiated from neighbouring houses imagine that the *kukusiut* are really brooding over their loss. The only sound that reaches them is an occasional *[illegible]*, accentuating their fear. After the customary distribution of work and food the *kukusiut* disperse.

On the morrow, the rope-holder's potlatch, the uninitiated [789]
are summoned, because it is assumed that members of the

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[*] If a Cannibal dies during his period of retirement he is buried secretly. [766]
The uninitiated are told that his power enabled him to create a yawning chasm in
the land above, but that it failed him, so that he was unable to return to his friends. [772]

*This consists of the standard beating of sticks, repeated four times. [761]

[illegible]
[illegible]

[The Cannibal Dance]

[illegible] society have recovered from the shock of X's disappearance. Thenceforth the *kusiut* dances continue night after night, but the Cannibal remains hidden. Sometimes he is carried to a dance, concealed within a drum; more often he remains within the back-room of his own house or hides in some lonely part of the mountains. Throughout this period he eats little or nothing, and formerly used to devour a kind of roots that produced emaciation. The length of concealment depends entirely on X. If he desires to impress the uninitiated with the dangers which he has survived, he remains hidden for a long time; consequently, the period varies from a week to two months or even more. On every occasion that a marshal addresses the *kukusiut* he warns them to watch for X's return, and garbled accounts of this reach the uninitiated.

When X's relatives and the marshals have decided that the Cannibal has been long enough absent, they make arrangements for him to reappear. The time selected is always the night of a [illegible], and after the departure of the uninitiated on the preceding evening the marshals discuss arrangements with the *kukusiut* and allot tasks to various individuals. Several *kukusiut* shave X's head, except a small patch above the forehead, to support the story which he will tell of the high winds prevailing in the land above, which blew the hair from his head.*

After the dismissal of the uninitiated on the following night of [illegible], the *kukusiut* make their final arrangements. When they judge from the passage of the stars or the state of the tide that dawn is at hand, several members of the society climb to the roof of the previously selected house. First they sound a whistle, then thump on the roof with their feet, and call out:

Ama, ama, ama: this is a cry used by Cannibals returned from above which is supposed to indicate a longing for meat.

The *kukusiut* sleeping within, knowing that their house has been selected, are ready as soon as they are awakened. The

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*One old man mentioned that in his youth this was done with a sharpened piece of iron; he was unable to state what was used in earlier times.

[illegible]

[illegible]

women dance, while the men rush out to capture the returning X. The uninitiated hear the sounds of feet rushing over the roof, as if a furious chase were taking place, and presently a loud yell comes to their ears. Having been told on previous occasions that the novice, a Cannibal who is compelled to travel through space, they realize that he has escaped but would be captured and returned alive.

Then the herald goes around the village calling:

"Young boys! Get up, see, the Cannibal is at hand!"

In the early dawn, whistling is heard from the upper slopes of a near-by mountain and the uninitiated, watching eagerly and fearfully, behold a man clad in a bear-skin, who moves around, running fast across cliffs, and finally dashes down one and disappears into the forest, when the whistling ceases. They assume that this is the returning Cannibal; in reality, it is a dancer who has been sent out to perform this deception. Two go together, one to be hidden and use the whistle, his companion to appear; the latter must be a strong man, able to run easily over rough slopes because it would lessen the Cannibal's prestige were the uninitiated to see him fall. After about five minutes' silence, the whistling is heard on the river bank at a point over a mile from where the supposed Cannibal vanished into the forest, and as before a bear-skin clad figure appears. The non-members assume that it is the figure previously seen, and that he has been able to penetrate the dense forest in some mysterious manner; in reality it is another pair of helpers, one of whom shows himself while the other uses the whistle. Meanwhile other helpers go to X's house where they paint themselves black and don cedar-bark ornaments. When ready, they set out to catch the Cannibal, travelling in two canoes across which planks have been laid, but not tied, and manned by a skilful steersman at bow and stern. They land at the place where the Cannibal was last seen, and pretend to hunt him. For the benefit of the uninitiated, watching from the village, they spend a considerable time at this, failing at first, but at length succeeding. Sometimes they drive their [illegible] McIlwraith [illegible] (1922-1924) 1948

[illegible] McIlwraith [illegible]

quarry into a converging "V" of hunters, or someone may lie down as bait to attract the Cannibal so that the other lurking pursuers can secure him. No effort is spared to make the man-hunt realistic. Then they carry the captive, struggling and biting, to the canoe and set out for the village. The performances are lengthened or curtailed until the tide is favourable for the navigation of the craft; about two hours is the usual time consumed. When in mid-stream, the cry, [illegible] is again raised; the supposed Cannibal has once more escaped! All this time X himself has been hiding in or near the village, and he now appears. Instantly the dancers left in the neighbourhood set off in pursuit, those returning in the canoe hurry their passage and join the chase. After a struggle they succeed in capturing X and bringing him to the village.

The Cannibal acts like a demoniac animal, struggling, kicking, and biting as if his adventures had entirely destroyed his reason. He drags his captors, a number of strong dancers, to the various houses, and they are barely able to restrain him within the doorways and to force him out, biting and roaring at them. A skilful actor is able to impress the uninitiated to a considerable extent, and of course he is supported by his associates. When every house has been visited, X is carried back to his own and a herald summons all the dancers to cure him. The uninitiated are [illegible] to crowd near the door to watch.

The assumption is that X has had the nature and instincts of an animal come into him; if this [illegible]* can be driven out by [illegible], he will be restored to sanity. Two long [illegible] boards have been prepared previously, as well as a number of [illegible] sticks with which the dancers beat time. One man stands up to lead the [illegible], and the sticks rise and fall in unison with his movements, in the manner previously described. As [illegible] X [illegible] around the house,

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*The [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

closely guarded by his attendants, but as the [illegible] continues, 975*
he gradually becomes quieter and at last consents to sit down 976*
in a certain spot with other dancers ranged on either hand. 977
After four rounds of dancing, there suddenly appears beside X the head of an eagle, wolf, or bear, according to his prerogative. This is his [illegible] drawn from [illegible] by the constant beating of time. The head, usually a carved one, has been carefully fixed by the carpenters so that it can open its mouth, move its eyes, and give other signs of life. If it is a wolf, assistants concealed behind the row of dancers flashing X [illegible] lending further realism to the performance. The [illegible] gives [illegible] of meat, presumably the pieces of human flesh which X has devoured; in reality they are [illegible] passed into the back of the head by carpenters, concealed behind the row of dancers. The uninitiated see the flesh fall into a box placed before X's feet and smell steam arising from it, but they do not know that hot stones have previously been laid within to cook this. As the meat passes out through the animal's mouth X bends down and [illegible] while all the dancers present stand up and call out [illegible] four times. After the fourth dance the animal's head is concealed, though the uninitiated believe that it has returned to the land whence it came to serve X. The Cannibal is now calmed by [illegible]; his guardians no longer press so closely round him and [illegible] and many of the dancers leave the house.

Another subterfuge to improve the [illegible] is sometimes employed. Instead of permitting the departure of the [illegible] animal, another Cannibal is chosen to [illegible] it from X. While two guardians hold X firmly, other dancers seize the [illegible] so that the two are coming face to face, each held motionless. The second Cannibal stretches his head forward and pretends to draw something from X. At once he begins to growl and throws himself to and fro as if in frenzy, while the uninitiated are told [illegible] comes to harm. They used [illegible] especially [illegible]

[[illegible] 116, p.88 (B) – [illegible]]

[The Cannibal Dance]

775 is writhing so violently that it appears as if it would be only a
776 few moments before he breaks loose and runs amuck. Closely
777 guarded by a band of *kukusiut*, the second Cannibal is now taken to every house of the village. He seems to be striving to escape, and to be restrained by the *kukusiut*. All the time he growls and calls out:

ā .....

The call of *ā* can be used only by a Cannibal who has returned from the realms above. X meanwhile remains in his own house, to which the initiate is finally brought and the cannibalistic incubus returned by the call of *pa* .... four times repeated.

It was impossible to learn the details of a rite that occurs during the afternoon of this day. The singers have composed [559] two songs for X, one describing his adventures in the land aloft, and the other the return of the incubus which made him a flesh-eating being. It appears probable that during the afternoon the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to learn these songs. It might be added that the ritual of a Cannibal dance differs widely from that of most *kusiut* ceremonies, since there is no pattern and no substance; the uninitiated believe that the whole affair is so serious that they are not surprised at ritualistic eccentricities.

In the evening the *kukusiut* are first summoned to X's house, and later the uninitiated. X is sitting close to the singers, with a number of *kukusiut* grouped around him in case he should become frenzied. The singers first sing over the [559] song describing the return of the Cannibal power, with the *kukusiut* joining in softly. The chorus of every Cannibal song consists of the words:

Hāmāmai, hāmāmai, hāw', hāw'.

[71] It is said that this same refrain is used in all Cannibal songs by the Bella Bella and Fort Rupert people; the Bella Coola, ignorant of the meaning of the words, affirm that they have none.

[559] X now talks in a low tone of voice to the singers, as if

575* 776* 787 553

telling them of his adventures, and presently they begin to sing the song, as if they had just learnt the chorus from X. Frequently the deception is increased by X first learning the song and repeating it to the singers in a voice sufficiently loud for the uninitiated to hear. The theme of this, and every other song used for Cannibals, is of the land above and the dangers which X has survived. The singers add new facts and information to vary the monotony, but the subjects usually described are:

575* 776* 787 553 772

The fire land above with its many trails and the river that flows through it.

The gale constantly raging there which has blown the hair from X's head and the dirt from his body.

The trail across a yawning chasm over which his supernatural strength enabled him to leap. If a Cannibal dies when in retirement, the kusiut bury the corpse secretly and tell the uninitiated that his power failed him on the other side of the abyss so that he was unable to return. [764 761]

Alquntam under his various names.

How his powers helped him to escape the *[illegible]*, "They of the Huge Jaws," evil beings who tried to kill X by sucking him into their gaping mouths. [776]

The tide-flats which are found at the edge of the fire land above.

The kindly being *[illegible]*, who gave him the necessary power to recross the chasm. The uninitiated believe that unless a Cannibal meets this being he will be unable to return. [776 761]

No one song for any Cannibal contains references to all these beings and events, but it is on these that the singers draw for their themes, always altering and adding to produce a fine effect.

On this occasion X does not dance,* and the uninitiated are most mystified. As the kusiut are eating, one member after another praises X for what he has done, and gives the most solemn warnings to all as to the necessity of complying

575* 776* 787

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*There is difference of opinion on this point.

C. McIlwraith B-3 (1922-1924) 1948
[illegible] BellaCoola [illegible]

775 the rites satisfactorily. Towards midnight the gathering
776 breaks up.

777 Many of the younger and more athletic *kukusiut* sleep in X's house, ready to assist him in the "Running Song." About an hour and a half before dawn the uninitiated are awakened by confused dancing and growling from X's house; above the din rises X's ghostly, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

[778] The dancing and noise lead to a spot at the rear of the village, whither X has gone with the musicians and about twenty *kukusiut*. Presently the singers begin to chant forth a new song, X's third, of which the theme is again the Cannibal's adventures in the land above; the uninitiated readily believe that he has taught the singers these words, though they had been unable to hear them from within the house. There is more dancing as X runs to a second place behind the village, where the same song is sung once more. When this has been repeated four times, X is led back to his house.

For four days the uninitiated remain in a constant state of terror. Although the expulsion of the cannibalistic instinct has tended to temper X's ferocity, he is still wild, unable either to eat or sleep. Twice every night the madness conquers him, and he dashes from his house, loosely restrained by his faithful *kukusiut* attendants. Eager for the flesh of human beings, he rushes at the doors, tramples them down if they should be closed, growling fiercely, but his guardians always succeed in dragging him out before he does any real damage. This is repeated at every house of the village. Since the uninitiated are too frightened to look out, it often happens that a substitute takes the place of X on these semi-nightly excursions. During the day he remains within his own house, concealed, on a platform built for him between the fire and the back-room.

On the fourth evening, the fifth after his return from above, the *kukusiut* are summoned to his house to soothe him so that he will lie down on this platform and rest. The uninitiated, listening eagerly but fearfully, hear once more the sound of the familiar stick-beating. The heralds inform them that X is now sufficiently tamed so that he can lie down and rest, and thenceforth the cannibal raids on the village are discontinued.

X remains concealed on the platform, supposedly without eating, for four days. On the fourth day occurs the ceremony of washing. Early in the morning a herald goes to every house in the village asking for urine and grease extracted from the heads of [illegible] salmon. The [illegible] gather in X's house, to which full chamber-vessels and pots of grease have been taken. No uninitiated are allowed to be present, but from adjacent houses they hear sounds of furious struggling, combined with growling. Presently they see a number of [illegible] carrying X, covered with liquid, to the river. Some informants state that he is actually covered with urine and fish-oil, others that these are secretly emptied within the house and water poured over X, that their collection is merely to deceive the uninitiated. At any rate he is taken to the river, where, in spite of his [illegible], kicks, and struggles, he is four times ducked by his guardians. Often he seizes stones from the bed of the stream and hurls them at his captors, sometimes bruising them severely. This washing assists in the restoration of X to sanity. He is taken four times to every house in the village, no longer growling and struggling, and a herald announces that he will dance that evening.

Soon after dusk the [illegible] are summoned and they practise the four songs composed for X. Then the uninitiated are called in. As his songs are sung, X dances in the usual [illegible] style, but more violently than most, and growling at intervals. The women dance and his four guardians stand close by, spitting into his ears to soothe him.[8] This is done by calling [illegible] loudly close to his head, so that a spray of fine saliva is spurted over him. After dancing, X sits down once more and a [illegible] calls out that food is to be given to him; he is supposed to have eaten nothing but morsels of human flesh since his departure for the upper world. The women are danc-

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[8] Spitting [illegible] frequently in connection with curing by reason of the [illegible] healing of saliva.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[The Cannibal Dance]

many days as friends can witness a Cannibal's first meal. These kukusiut are dispatched to ask for food, as if they were begging on behalf of X. Chicken grease, dried salmon, dried [illegible], and other luxuries are always given to them and the uninitiated women are invited to witnessing this collection of food. Sometimes a request is made during the day and the messengers are entitled to call upon any individually named, to provide grease or some other delicacy.

The actual feeding is done by a shaman who is also a dancer. He first dips his hands in the grease, warms them at the fire and rubs them over X's face as the struggling Cannibal is held by six or eight kukusiut. Members of the party keep calling out loudly to soothe X, who is supposed to be like a wild animal, and to have lost all desire for ordinary food. Like a maniac he snaps at the shaman's fingers, while the kukusiut cry out and the uninitiated watch with fear and amazement. After rubbing the Cannibal's cheeks four times, the shaman shouts out that he is almost ready to eat. The heralds take his words, and go through the village to inform all of what has taken place. The shaman next puts a few morsels of food in a spoon and tries to feed X, who struggles and [illegible] to blow pieces out of the crowd. Undiscouraged, he puts small pieces of food actually into X's mouth, heedless of the snapping jaws, and at last persuades him to swallow a little.

"He has eaten," the shaman calls out joyfully, and the heralds repeat the great tidings.

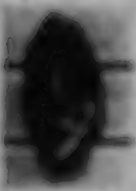
An effort is next made to force him to drink, but X only bites the vessel and the fingers of the shaman, and succeeds in drenching himself with the liquid. But at last he swallows a few mouthfuls.

"He has drunk," calls the shaman, and as before the heralds repeat his words.

The shaman now tells the uninitiated that X will be all right, but that it will be safe for them to depart, as they leave willingly. Heralds keep everyone in the village informed of the events.

575
592
976

PLATE 1



Photograph by H. I. Smith,
National Museum of Canada

Mask representing [illegible]

[p. 34 (a)]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
534

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[p. 84(B)]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

PLATE 1

[illegible]

[illegible]

[p. 84 (e)]

J: McIlwraith T.F. (1922-1924) 1948
MSS Bellacoola MSS

575
*796
778

PLATE 2

[illegible]

[illegible]

[p.84 (2)]

575
196
142
842
252
787

PLATE 1

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Cannibal with headdress in form of a bear

[p. 84 (E)]

PLATE 6

Photograph by H. I. Smith National Museum of Canada

Repository of a dog-eating councillor

[p. 84 (F)]

5775

McIlwraith T. F. (1899-1964) 1948
The Bella Coola Indians

30

[The Cannibal Dance]

X, now almost sane, rushes around the house, shouting 575*
xwa·, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, while his call sounds loudly, as the whistle 796*
is pressed firmly beneath his armpit or against his stomach, 787
tied under a belt. Often the *kukusiut* slip a rope over his shoulders to prevent him escaping again. Finally, he rushes from the house and all the *kukusiut* crowd close about him on the sidewalk without. As many as possible press upwards against his body with their hands, while they shout, *ye* ··, trying to expel the call upwards. On the fourth repetition it is supposed to have been driven forth, and in answer to the tumultuous shout of the *kukusiut*, there is heard the sound of a whistle from above. The uninitiated do not know that a *kusiut* has been dispatched with one to a mountain peak for this purpose.

The *kukusiut* now return to X's house for a meal. The first 575*
dish of food is placed before X himself, while one of the mar- 796*
shals addresses him and the audience in the following strain: [539]

Yâ'ouwadjinont, alsiwas ko! Âlaix di pâautla!
Greetings, comrades! Hail to the dreaded one [the Cannibal]![29]

Wal, pâautla[30] *Nusim. Nuqqlanixl*[illegible]*dudaya.*
More, dreaded one, *Nusim*.[31] Eat to repletion.

There is no ritual significance attached to any particular words; marshals use their own discretion as to what they say, but the above may be considered a fair example of the kind of remarks addressed to a Cannibal at his first meal. After X has started eating, the other *kukusiut* commence and the marshals deliver their usual admonitions, praising X for what he
has done and urging others to emulate his example. Then pre- 575*
sents are distributed to those who have been bitten. It is 796*
considered that a Cannibal compliments a man by taking a
piece of his flesh, and that he is under obligations to the one 431
bitten for the latter having allowed him to exercise his preroga- 424

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[29] *Pâautla* means "The Dreaded One" or "The Fearless One." X is so called on account of the uncanny cannibalistic intruder that has taken possession of him. [787]

[30] This is the vocative form of the word.

[31] *Nusim* was the name of the performing Cannibal on the occasion that this speech was recorded. [195]

*575 tive. Hence compensation must be given. Payment for wounds
*796 inflicted is really parallel to payments to witnesses of any other
prerogative; without their assistance X would not have been
431 able to display his right. Long ago Cannibals are said to have
424 had teeth of such sharpness that they were able to take pieces
[773] from the bodies of their victims with ease and quickness. In
more recent years, it has been customary for a person about to be bitten to cut himself with a knife so that, when the Cannibal seizes him, a simple sucking at the chosen part will bring forth blood. In view of the honour attached to being bitten, no person to whom such a proposal is made would think of refusing. As previously mentioned, Cannibals do not bite other Cannibals, Scratchers, Breakers, or those whose patrons are ghosts, otherwise their victims may comprise any *kukusiut*.[14] Presents received by those bitten are called "Bandages." At the time of such payment gifts are usually given to all *kukusiut*, with additional compensation for the sufferers.

*575 Now that X has eaten ordinary food it is supposed that he
*796 is again normal, although special precautions must be taken
for the rest of the winter since he is subject to returning fits of frenzy. Consequently, he is never allowed to be alone, but is always followed by a number of *kukusiut* whose function appears to the uninitiated to be to guard them from the Cannibal. The sight of strangers suffices to rouse him, so that when a canoe from *Tāl·io* or Kimsquit approaches, a herald bids the uninitiated conceal themselves. On their arrival X rushes to the beach, apparently in spite of his guardians' restraint, and honours several of the strangers by biting them, as he did before he was able to eat ordinary food. On such occasions he then visits every house, attended by his escort, before returning to his own. Inside each dwelling he growls, cries out *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, and sometimes shakes or tears off the

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[752] [14] Every effort is made to convince the uninitiated of the severity of the wounds inflicted. For example, if a *kusiut* woman is suffering from some malady of the breast which requires an operation, a Cannibal bites her there and non-members are told that the incision, made about the same time, was caused by his teeth.

planking around the walls, much to the terror of the uninitiated who cower in their blankets, afraid to peer out lest they be bitten. If X should step upon a loose board on any of these rounds of the village, either before or after the expulsion of his cannibalistic incubus, he is partially deprived of the power of movement. He can only tread up and down, marking time on the teetering plank, until repeated cries of *haip* have finally soothed him so that he can proceed. Sometimes the stomach of a seal must be shown him before he can leave the spot. Although no one knows why this should so affect Cannibals, at sight of it he rushes forth immediately. 575* 796* [787]

That evening the herald summons the *kukusiut* and the strangers to X's house. His songs are sung, whereupon X becomes excited and must be cured by the beating of sticks and the four times repeated *haip* before he can be induced to sit down. Food is then distributed, while a marshal speaks, and presents are given to the bitten strangers, provided by X or one of his relatives. Such gifts are often of trifling value but the recipients must never show that they think so. [431]

For the remainder of the ceremonial season X goes to all dances under the guardianship of a number of *kukusiut*. His apparent wildness and ferocity overawes the uninitiated and helps to convince them of the force of the rites. Sometimes in sheer bravado and with an overweening desire to terrorize, X's guardians will cry out that he has become excited; the uninitiated hastily hide and the Cannibal rushes from house to house, ripping off boards and acting as if demented. If friction should arise at some ceremony when only members are present, X often plays a prominent part. For example, in one dance the *kukusiut* rush around the fire, guided by a rope; sometimes a mischievous man will double it so that the participants are thrown violently against each other. Everyone is excited by the noise of the beating sticks, and the growling of the Cannibals, so that loss of temper is not uncommon. But if X rushes out of the door, the necessity of maintaining his prestige with the uninitiated overrules every other considera-

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time and those quarrelling follow him as he goes to every house growling and crying *ema·*, *ema·*, *ema·*. By the time he returns home their anger has cooled. It is then customary to quiet X by means of the elaborate beating of sticks. This is repeated four times, while a *kusiut* spits violently over him.

Before leaving his own home to attend a *kusiut* dance, a little food is always given to X in case he should become hungry and start biting people. On *gatlas* he always dances after the donor of the ceremony,[illegible] and when the *kukusiut* eat together he always receives his portion immediately after that of the marshals. [626] [781] Fear of all Cannibals is one of the most potent deterrents to the uninitiated, but the most dreaded are those, like X, who have just returned from the land above and may at any moment break forth into an orgy of biting. Several elderly informants recalled vividly the terror with which they regarded such a Cannibal when they were young.

The *kukusiut* take full advantage of the fear which X inspires in the uninitiated. On *gatlas* nights when the time arrives for the latter to depart, they are often chased forth by the frenzy of X, or one of his fellow-Cannibals who has likewise been to the land above. X starts to call out, *ema·*, *ema·*, *ema·*, and rises to his feet; the singers at once begin to beat out one of his songs and the uninitiated hurriedly flee, while the Cannibal's guardians press close around him as he dances as if to prevent him running amuck among the frightened people crowding out of the door. As he dances and hears his song, he becomes more and more excited; he growls and only the repeated *haip* of his guardians and their pressure upon the back of his neck appear to restrain him. [781] Non-members and even those *kukusiut* who do not understand the full mysteries of the Cannibal dance cannot fail to be impressed. The raising of the arms is supposed to inflame a Cannibal, so if it is desired still more to impress the uninitiated, one of the *kukusiut* lifts his arms, and is bitten by X. The heralds at once go

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[illegible] If several Cannibals have performed in a single year, the order in which they dance is subject to arrangement.

[The Cannibal Dance]

through the village announcing what has taken place. Meanwhile X, maddened by the taste of blood, dashes from the house, closely guarded by a number of *kukusiut*. Growling, he enters the lowest house of the village and, to the uninitiated there, it appears as if the restraint of his guardians is all that prevents the biting demon from breaking loose among them. This is repeated at every house in the village, and then X returns to that in which potlatch is taking place, where he is guided to his usual corner and a *kusiut* throws cold water over him. Any senior *kusiut*, often one who is also a shaman, calls on those present to beat time, and the frenzied confusion of sticks sounds forth. X remains quiet and more water is thrown over him. This pounding of sticks is four times repeated, and after each more water is thrown over the Cannibal, until at last his temporary fit of frenzy is stilled. Then the *kukusiut* eat in comfort and leave. It must be remembered that the uninitiated hear the beating of sticks from adjacent houses, and their awe is perhaps increased by the fact that they cannot actually see what is taking place. 575* 796* [781]

This liability to madness lasts throughout the ceremonial season, effectively suppressing any venturesome uninitiated, and at the same time serving as a bond of union among the *kukusiut* themselves, who must sink individual differences of opinion in face of the absolute necessity of upholding X's prestige. A Cannibal novice can likewise become frenzied at any time during the summer following his initiation. [626]

The Cannibal dance entails a considerable amount of physical and mental effort, while if X bites many individuals, as he likes to do as a means of demonstrating his prerogative, he is forced to expend a considerable amount of goods as "Bandages." These two factors often deter a man from performing this dance. A Cannibal who has just been initiated as a *kusiut* at once begins to bite, and is carried away to the upper regions. He is required, moreover, to give his ceremony the following winter, like any other novice. During the summer he generally remains hidden within his house, and when he goes 575* 796* 556 [831] [824]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[The Cannibal Dance]

556 to the woods he is always accompanied by a number of *kukusiut* to drive the uninitiated from his path. If it were necessary to perform the full rite just described, it would, in effect, limit this dance to wealthy individuals. One reason why it is possible for a poor Bella Coola to become a Cannibal is that on his second, or subsequent, ceremonial, he can give an abbreviated rite, known as *[illegible]*. The essence of this is that a kindly supernatural being has visited X on earth, saving him from the perils of going aloft. In this case the ritual closely follows that of a normal *kusiut* dance and is concluded in four days.

After the unknown rites of some other *kusiut* have been concluded, the call comes to X, who responds by growling and biting a few people. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house. Thanks to the friendly intervention of the supernatural being, usually *[illegible]*, X's mental powers are unimpaired so that he does not become infuriated and bites only a few individuals. As with ordinary *kusiut* rites, the singers [593] beat out a song composed for the occasion, describing the beneficent being who came down to X, and the *kukusiut* practise and learn it. No other songs are rehearsed on this night, owing to the extreme solemnity of the occasion; it is a Cannibal rite and nothing can take place at the same time.

The next day is [illegible]; a second song is composed and a number of the *kukusiut* are sent to collect wood for [592] [776] masks. Six of these must be constructed representing the following supernatural beings:

[illegible], who has benignly interfered to save X from risking the dangers of a trip aloft.

[illegible], a supernatural man-eater from whom the call has come impelling X to eat flesh.

Three *[illegible]*, "Holders," who restrain *[illegible]*. In the land above their function corresponds to that of the *kukusiut* who guard a Cannibal.

[illegible].

In the evening, after the work has been allotted, X's two songs are sung, all that are needed once a Cannibal does not go to the land above. 575* 796* 787

On the following day, *pulim*, the masks are manufactured and the ritual proceeds in the normal manner. In the evening the uninitiated are invited to watch the dances, at which X is the first to perform, lengthening his face and protruding his lips to their greatest extent in order to frighten his beholders.

The ritual of the next evening, *[illegible]*, corresponds to the usual pattern. Before the entry of the uninitiated, X has concealed himself so that nothing can detract from their awe at sight of the masked figures. *Alquntam* stands in state behind the fire, sometimes announcing his own name, while *Anu'likwotsaix* moves to and fro, adding to the solemnity of the occasion with her exclamations, echoed by the heralds. *[illegible]*, represented with blood-stained lips, moves around the fire, encircled by the three [illegible], and the audience is told that this is how they act in the land above. When the guests have gazed sufficiently on these marvels they are sent away, and the masks are burnt in the usual manner, accompanied by the gentle singing of one of X's songs. Late at night a number of *kukusiut* go with X to the sidewalk outside his house, where they expel his call by pressing upwards with their hands against his stomach and calling *hap*.

For the rest of the winter X conducts himself in the manner of any *kusiut* who has danced. 575* 796*

Although similar in outline, the prerogatives enjoyed by Cannibals differ so considerably that no clear picture of the rites can be obtained without detailed descriptions of several. The following is an account of a dance carried out by *[illegible]*, a biting Cannibal of *[illegible]*. It was obtained from one of the marshals who, of course, understood the details of every performance. The origin of the name is unknown, although the informant believed that it had been created in this world by the chiefs in consequence of the manner in which a shaman ancestor of the dancer had been in the habit of biting people [424] [115]

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[884]

without apparent cause. It will be convenient to refer to *kukalimut* as X.

Having first obtained sanction from the members, X begins his preparations. The continuous whistling that in Kimsquit presages a call to a Cannibal is lacking, but on the morning when it has been decided that X will start his dance, he discards his clothing and goes to the house in which a *kusiut* ceremony is taking place, and from which the uninitiated have accordingly been ejected. After dancing for an instant, he suddenly leaps at a man and bites him. The "victim," warned of what is to happen, has probably prepared himself by making a small cut so that his blood can gush forth easily. Then X rushes from the house, growling ferociously, and biting a number of *kukusiut*, either men or women, on arm, neck, or leg. Several co-members accompany the Cannibal, while the uninitiated cower within the bedrooms, hoping to be unobserved. A herald goes continually through the village, calling out:

"The dreaded one [*Páusta*] has bitten three [or whatever the number may be] people."

X spends a considerable time rushing around biting people, the effect being greatly magnified by the outcry of his assistants and the terror of the uninitiated who cringe in fear lest they should be bitten by this seeming maniac with the strange power. When weary, X dashes off into the forest to rest; his followers go with him and sit down in two groups, men in one, women in the other.

About noon a herald goes to every house calling out, *ipámap*, which means, "Hold him down."

Two or more *kukusiut* have been sent up the mountain above the village while the others go to X's house, from which the uninitiated were expelled at the first signs of his fury. A rope, previously prepared, is lashed around X in spite of his struggles, and tied to pieces of wood on which several *kukusiut* sit to increase the weight, but arranged so that X can slip out of his bonds without the ruse being apparent. As a dog-eating

[illegible]
[illegible]

Cannibal is excited by the snarling of dogs, so is a man-eater aroused by the sound of people, his prey, talking together. Presently he hears voices from an adjacent house and staggers to his feet, drawing with him those who seek to hold him down. They endeavour to restrain him, and for a short time succeed, but soon he breaks the weighted stick, throws off his cloak, and rushes madly from the house. Of course this is done with the connivance of those who seem to be holding him. When the *kukusiut* arrive outside, after delaying one another by all trying to push through the door at the same instant, X has vanished. They cry out *ye* ·· loudly four times to assist him on his journey, and the men on the mountain, hearing the noise and seeing the people rush forth, drone without exposing themselves. The sound is heard in the village and a shout is raised:

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776*

"He has gone up as a bird on rising from the ground."

The *kukusiut* return to X's house where they hang the rope on the wall and sit down to a meal during which a marshal admonishes them. There is no singing or other noise because X has gone forth into danger; they are sad at his sudden departure from their midst and full of forebodings for his welfare. Besides, all wish to keep silent so that they will be able to hear the first sounds of his return. After the conclusion of the meal they disperse quietly.

Meanwhile X is lurking in concealment in a near-by house where the utmost pains are taken to ensure that no uninitiated should see him. When it is decided that he shall reappear, two accomplices are sent up the mountain, and one evening when all the *kukusiut* have gathered for a ceremonial there is heard a loud thud on the roof. Out rush the *kukusiut* and grip X, whom they carry struggling into the house where he dashes around biting the arms and legs of all who come within his reach. Then with a rush he dashes from the house, eluding those who, apparently, seek to detain him, and has vanished by the time they emerge. All cry out *ye* · · · four times, and the accomplices from the mountain drone in reply. The un-

[illegible]

[illegible]

[The Cannibal Dance]

The un-

* 575
* 796
781
[826]

initiated, who have seen or heard of X's imposture, readily believe the fiction that he has returned for a meal, and has once more gone aloft. One informant stated most emphatically that this was his belief when a young man; he had been warned by his father of the seriousness of the ceremonial and told that if he should dare to speak or think disrespectfully of it, a *kusiut* would "grip him by the ankle causing the flesh to become rotten." During a Cannibal's absence the uninitiated remain in a state of terror, fearing that, on returning, he may chance to light beside them and devour them. In consequence, they seek refuge in their bedrooms, or at any rate in the immediate vicinity of their houses.

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After an absence of thirty or forty days it is decided that X shall return at a certain time. During the night preceding, he washes and shaves his head to further the belief that he has been to a land where the great wind has blown away his hair as well as the dirt from his body. Several accomplices are sent out, to a mountain above the village, to a house in the valley below, and to an island in the vicinity. In the early dawn the man up the mountain drums and growls, usually four times, according to the arrangement made. The people listen expectantly. After a short pause, the man in the valley makes the same noise; no mortal could cover the distance between the two places in the time that has elapsed, but all things are possible to a Cannibal. A herald goes through the village, crying out:

"We are left behind, we are left behind."

The *kukusiut* dash off upstream towards the place from which the sound is still coming, but as they draw near it is stilled, only to break forth presently from the island behind them. The herald goes through the village informing everybody that:

"He has gone away."

Presently X dashes out into a clearing on the island, naked and with arms reddened; he runs around madly while an accomplice in concealment uses a whistle. The *kukusiut* pursue

[illegible]

[illegible]

him and bring him back, struggling, to the village where he snaps at all within reach. As soon as a person is bitten, an assistant covers the wound with shredded cedar-bark. A number of young men and women *hahaciat* accompany X wherever he goes, without any special prerogative for doing so. When he is weary, he rushes off into the forest where his followers sit down in two groups until he has recovered from his exertions; then he returns and bites more people. About noon the herald goes through the village calling out:

Ipūnap, ipūnap, hahaciant, "Come to hold him down, ye *hahaciat*."

About two in the afternoon a number of *hahaciat* women assemble on the beach. X, apparently in spite of his guardians, dashes into the lowest house of the village where he growls and bites a few people, while any women present drum. Then those on the beach begin to drum and X rushes out of the house towards them. They become quiet, and when almost upon them, he appears to change his mind and hurries back to the house immediately above the one that he has just quitted. Again the women on the beach drum, and again he runs out, only to return to the house next above. This is repeated until he has visited every dwelling, his course up the village being a series of Ws. He returns finally to his own house and sits near the back-room.

Two sounding-boards and some beating sticks are brought in and a number of *hahaciat* range themselves in a double row under the leadership of a shaman to beat time madly to cure X. Four times the ritual is repeated, amid the droning of the women, and as the leader concludes with the short double jump, the sticks strike the floor with an ear-splitting crash. X now takes one of the sticks and starts to beat time for his own song, but almost immediately goes off into a wild beating like that of a maniac. Everyone cries out *haip*, which ultimately soothes him. Once more he takes the stick and essays to beat time, but as before goes into a frenzy, and throws it away. The singers have been listening carefully, as if striving to learn

[illegible]

[illegible]

[The Cannibal Dance]

[illegible] his song, which they now pretend to sing as though they had obtained it from X in his carriage; they have, of course, composed it themselves in advance. The words describe the experiences of X in the regions aloft. When the song has been practised, food, and later presents as "bandages" for the [illegible] wounds, are distributed. Other gifts are often given to everyone, irrespective of whether or not the recipient has been bitten. A nusmhal functions as usual; then the people disperse.

Presently as night falls and the people are preparing for sleep, X goes outside with a number of *kukusiut* followers. On the sidewalk the singers, a number of *kukusiut* women, and men with drums have assembled. X begins his high pitched call of *ooo-*, *ooo-*, *ooo-*, as if longing for more; the whistle sounds at intervals and the singers begin their song with the women joining in. When the melody has ended, the party moves to a position outside another house where the same ceremony is repeated. X suddenly becomes frenzied, rushes madly from place to place, his *ooo-*, *ooo-*, *ooo-* resounds, and he dashes into a dwelling, growling ferociously. The musicians pay no attention to his actions, but complete their singing of the same song outside every house. When this has been finished, the *kukusiut* gather in X's house to make him sufficiently heavy so that he can lie down. This is done by [illegible] calling upon those individuals who have the prerogative of using the crystals at initiation. They come forward and, with wild gyrations, extract them from their stomachs and insert them into X's body through his ears, thus partially deafening him so that he can relax. The people disperse when this has been accomplished. As usual, the heralds have informed those living in the other houses of what has been taking place.

The next morning the *kukusiut* construct a strong platform behind the fire on which X is supposed to rest for the next four days. In practice he can do almost anything he likes, provided that he is not seen by the uninitiated. The crystals pressed into his ears deafen him to small noises, but if he hears people talking loudly together, he at once becomes excited and rushes

[The Cannibal Dance]

forth, followed by a number of *kukusiut* who remain constantly 575* 796*
in attendance on him.

X enters the lowest house and sits down near the door, too heavy, with the weight of the crystals, to proceed further. He growls persistently, while the *kukusiut* women present drone monotonously, and those who have accompanied him utter their cry of *haip*. These measures at last persuade the Cannibal to move, but only to the next house, where the same procedure is repeated, and so for each in the village. The uninitiated peer curiously and fearfully from their bedrooms, but would never dream of joining in the cry of *haip*. If X should be asleep or otherwise engaged when the voices are heard, some of his assistants awaken him and send him forth. The arrival of strangers also excites X. One of his followers tells him of their coming and when a canoe reaches the river, he runs down into the water and bites as many of the newcomers as he desires. The herald, watching the approach of the strangers and knowing what will happen, cries out to the uninitiated to conceal themselves prior to X's appearance. The guests pro- 575*
ceed to the dwelling of their host, but that evening the Can- 796*
nibal's father, or whoever acts for him, calls them to his house
where he gives them presents to validate the biting. If foreign- 431
ers have been expected, gifts are always saved for them from [609]
the previous distribution. The value of the present depends [554]
in part on the rank of the recipient, but more upon the feeling of like or dislike with which X's father regards him. A chief naturally receives more than a person of lower rank, although these donations are not returned.

On the morning of the fifth day of X's retirement, some of 575*
the *kukusiut* collect chamber-pots and towards noon he is 796*
immersed in the river in the manner previously described. Then he goes through the village four times, on each round visiting every house. The uninitiated are told that the washing has caused his call to depart, and the whistle is heard no more.[34]

Towards dusk all the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house. He

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[34] The dismissal of the call at this time may not be the correct procedure.

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takes one of the beating sticks and starts as if he were going to act as leader of his own orchestra. As before, however, he becomes frenzied and goes off into a wild spasm of beating, while all present call out *haip* to soothe him. As no uninitiated are present, someone usually acts as a substitute for the Cannibal. A marshal now takes the stick away from X, or his substitute, and gives it to the proper leader, so that the song shall not be "lost" through the imbecility of X. The singers chant it over with everyone joining in. By this time it is evening and food is distributed, while marshals in turn give good advice. When the meal is ended the people adjourn.

Later on in the evening all the *kukusiut* are called back to X's house; when they have taken their places, the uninitiated are summoned and range themselves near the door. The musicians sing X's song, accompanied by the *kukusiut*, while X acts as if he were trying to dance but is forcibly restrained by his assistants, so that he can do no more than sway back and forth in their arms. The non-members, terrified lest he should escape and bite them, often withdraw before the completion of the song, and under no circumstances remain after it has been sung. The time has now come for X to eat, and a shaman is called upon to feed the recalcitrant Cannibal. The elaborate means previously described are tried, but without avail. X cries *haip*, dashes outside with a few followers and proceeds, growling and baying, to every house in the village, effectively wakening and impressing the uninitiated, who have long been asleep. On his return to his own house, all the *kukusiut* help him to lie down by pressing downwards on his chest with cries of *haip* and *yulale*, meaning, "All right." After some time X answers by saying *yulale*; he lies down, and the others leave.

X is now supposed to remain on his platform for four days, although actually he merely takes care not to be seen by any uninitiated. On the fifth morning a herald goes through the village calling out,

Arwilānap X.

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Towards evening he summons the *kukusiut* to the Cannibal's house. As before, X starts to beat time, but swiftly goes into a wild frenzy of pounding from which he is soothed by repeated cries of *haip*. Then the singers take the stick from him and sing over a new song which they have composed for him; this being the fourth time that the *kukusiut* have assembled, it is X's fourth song, with the usual Cannibal theme. At dusk food is given, the marshals admonish their associates and the gathering breaks up.

Presently, as night is falling, the *kukusiut* return. When they have taken their places, they call the uninitiated, who enter, but remain standing near the door. X passes to and fro around the fire, not completing the circuit, but stopping and retracing his steps when he has passed as far as the upper, upstream, side of it. He assumes a threatening appearance, holding his arms stretched out to their full length, his fists clenched, while, as if to prevent him running amuck among the non-members, two *kukusiut* go constantly with him, one on either side, uttering the cry of *haip* at intervals. At times these two guardians simulate an attempt to shove him into the back-room, but he always eludes them and continues around the fire. Meanwhile the singers, with the *kukusiut*, sing over X's songs; as each is finished the Cannibal's ferocity appears to rise within him so that he growls, and his guardians call out *haip* at the back of his neck, accompanied by the emission of considerable saliva. This is repeated four times, after each of the songs. When these are finished the uninitiated are sent out and the *kukusiut* eat together while a marshal functions; then they too depart.

A number of *kukusiut* always remain with X to act as guardians; they replace one another at intervals without specific order, and there is no compulsion upon anyone to assume the task. When the *kukusiut* have departed, one of [787] these attendants takes the leading part in forcing downwards from X his *sqiols*, the muzzle-like power which binds his mouth against ordinary food. All the guardians crowd around X,

775 placing their hands against his mouth and neck and pressing
776 downwards to the chest as if forcing some object from his
throat, constantly uttering the cry of *haip*. When the ob-
777 stacle has been driven down, X is offered his first food, choice morsels of dried salmon. He eats some of this but bites a small piece from the spoon, and does the same with the dish in which water is held to his lips. The assistance of a shaman is often required to feed the Cannibal.

The powers of, and restrictions upon, X for the remainder of the ceremonial season are identical with those already described. At the end of the period, however, the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to rid him of his spirit which, it will be remembered, had been forced from his mouth down into his chest. By means of a violent repetition of *haip* and pressing with the hands, this is extracted and cast into another *kusiut*. As soon as the latter has received it, he acts as if he had become a Cannibal. Dashing out, he enters each house in turn, growling and calling out *ɛmɛ·*, *ɛmɛ·*, *ɛmɛ·*, and at intervals ripping up the planking from the floor or pulling off boards from the wall. Then the substitute re-enters X's house, where the power is returned to X himself, who, this done, rushes to every dwelling and repeats the growling and destruction. Though the uninitiated realise that two different indi-
[781] viduals have appeared as Cannibals, they are too awe-stricken to feel anything but wonder. When he gets back to his own house, X is surrounded by the *kukusiut* who call out *haip*, in unison four times, while as many of them as can find places press upwards with their hands against his neck and throat to expel the *spirit*. This succeeds in sending back X's power to the mysterious regions above whence it came. While most of the *kukusiut* beat time vigorously, a number of them pull down the platform and cast it into the fire. They then have a meal, while a marshal gives weighty advice about the care that must be exercised during the coming year in guarding their sacred secrets from the uninitiated; whereupon they all disperse.

[184
424] The chief contrasts between this rite and the one previously

described for Kimsquit are the lack of the cannibalistic [illegible] and the presence of the spirit. It must be emphasized that these are differences of individual prerogative alone; many Kimsquit Cannibals perform with spirit, many Bella Coola with [illegible]. 595* 796* 787 136 424

Although every effort was used to obtain not only the general principles of the rite, but also confirmation of details, it must be remembered that many of these were omitted at the performances observed, so that reliance had to be placed upon the accounts of participants. It is probable that errors of omission have been committed in consequence; these may account for some of the discrepancies, but the most potent factors are undoubtedly lack of uniformity in individual prerogatives, and failure to enforce absolute rigidity in ritual. The two accounts just given by no means illustrate all the variations possible in this dance; others will become evident in descriptions of the rites of Cannibals other than those who can bite the living.

The following is an account of the ritual of a Dog-eating Cannibal, *Olxán·i*, of *Sṇal*. Long, long ago one of the ancestors of this man saw a pack of wolves devouring some dogs. In some mysterious way, which even the Bella Coola do not profess to be able to understand, the power of a wolf entered the beholder so that he was impelled to eat dogs. He was then carried away to the mysterious land above where he saw and was assisted by several supernatural beings. The first *Olxán·i* was able to transmit to one of his relatives his ability to eat dogs, and the prerogative has since been carried out by his descendants. Should the holder of the name fail to tell his destined heir the details of the experiences which are to be embodied in his songs, his successor can obtain these from the singers who, of course, are familiar with the themes used on previous occasions. The repository of the name, *Olxán·i*, is beneath a huge boulder not far from some carved rocks behind the village of *Sṇal* (see Plate 6).$/A It is said that many years ago some reckless uninitiated placed poles as levers beneath 595* 796* 787 773 [424] 595* 796* [778]

$/A [see category 116; p 84(F) - ANALYST]

5775 796 the rock and endeavoured to pry it over, but were driven away in fear by the sound of the snarling of wolves which came forth from beneath. It will be convenient to refer to *Olxán i* as X.

After the customary consultation with the marshals, it is [787] decided that the call shall come to X on the morning after the nuhusam of some other *kusiut*. Soon after dawn he begins to growl and stands up naked; the call has come to him. He acts as if dazed, tries to talk, but the words seem to choke in his mouth. The uninitiated are expelled from the house and a herald goes out, crying through the village:

"X has been smitten with the power of eating dog."

One is killed and handed to X; he pretends to eat, but actually gives the body to an assistant who disposes of it in some hidden spot. As X takes the animal, a herald shouts:

"X has eaten a dog."

During the day he leaves his house at intervals and parades through the village, accompanied by a crowd of *kukusiut*; his arms are half-folded as if holding a burden which is supposed to be a dog. As he does so, the herald goes from house to house saying:

"The Cannibal has eaten a dog," and "The Cannibal has eaten another dog."

Late in the afternoon the *kukusiut* are called to X's house in order to tie him up and so prevent his escape to the land above. A bear-skin robe is thrown over his body, a rope is bound about him and weighted with sticks, but he frees himself and disappears from sight while members of the society shout *haip* four times and an accomplice whistles with varying pitch from a near-by mountain.[40] The uninitiated, listening from adjacent houses, are filled with awe and wonder.

The *kukusiut* gather once more in X's house where the rope from which he has escaped is hung on the wall. Marshal after marshal impresses on them the solemnity of the occasion and the dangers to which X is exposed, while some of his female relatives weep to further the deception. It is late at night before they finally disperse. 575 796

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[40] In these later accounts of the Cannibal dance, details previously described are omitted. It is unnecessary, for example, to repeat the manner in which X breaks from his bonds and the rites entailed thereby.

Like other Cannibals, X is now concealed for an indeterminate period of time, during which the uninitiated believe him to be in the land above. It is needless to repeat the details of this part of the rite, nor allude to the shaving of X when about to return. Sometimes the mystery is increased by sending a young *kusiut* to the mountains with a whistle which he sounds at dawn to prove that X is far aloft. When the time comes for his return, the process of catching him is identical with that already described, except that a dog is used for bait instead of a human being. After the capture, the *kukusiut* drag X, struggling violently, to his house, where a dead dog has been left near the doorway. The Cannibal seizes it and pretends to eat, while a herald announces in every house what he is doing. Accompanied by a number of *kukusiut*, X goes through the village carrying the carcass in his arms, and carefully shielding his eyes to further the belief, circulated among the uninitiated, that if he should open them, anyone on whom his gaze fell would die. After some of the houses have been visited, the dog is passed to an assistant who conceals it, but those who are not members of the society, having seen him tear chunks from the body and apparently put them in his mouth, naturally assume that the Cannibal has devoured it. This procedure is repeated at intervals throughout the day, and always the herald announces how many dogs X has eaten. The bodies of the animals are weighted with stones and sunk in the ocean at night.

About 4 P.M. X is given a black bear-skin to which the carpenters have attached the head of his cannibalistic incubus, a wolf, in such a way that it hangs beneath his left arm-pit. [787] Considerable ingenuity is displayed in the manufacture of this. The skin of the head is carefully removed, the bones are cleaned, replaced, and gummed together, and a hidden string enables the wearer to make the animal's jaws clash. With his

575 usual escort, X goes to every house in the village; with one hand he shields his eyes, with the other he pulls away pieces 796 of dog flesh, some of which he pretends to eat, while others he 787 thrusts into the wolf's jaws. As he enters, his associates shriek and the women drone. The Cannibal does not circle the fire in each house, merely steps within the doorway and then withdraws, making the round of the village four times. Curiosity impels the uninitiated to peer forth from their bedrooms, and the bloody spectacle increases their fear.

X then returns to his own house where an elaborate structure of rising tiers of steps has been built between the fire and the back-room. The *kukusiut* take their places on this, while X kneels immediately in front, on the left[47] side. A *kusiut* brings from the back-room a cedar box with an upright row of eagle feathers around the upper edge; immediately below there is a ribbon-like girdle of dyed cedar-bark, and below that a similar band of undyed bark. He carries the receptacle around the fire, revolving sunwise on himself four times, and sets it down before X. The box contains hot stones and alder dye, but the uninitiated, who have been allowed to crowd within the doorway, do not know this, nor are they aware that a carpenter is concealed behind X to manipulate the head. This accomplice thrusts pieces of meat through the wolf's mouth from the rear so that they fall into the box, as if the animal were vomiting. At the same time he causes the tongue, that of one of the slaughtered dogs, to go in and out, and X pulls the cord so that the jaws clash together. Steam rises from the box as the meat strikes the heated stones as if it were food warm from the stomach, and clever management makes the scene strikingly realistic. The belief is that the dog flesh eaten by X has passed into the wolf and is now being ejected. When enough has been vomited to give countenance to an assumption that all the animals devoured have been voided, the carpenter pulls the head from sight, as if it had suddenly vanished. The *kukusiut* cry out four times, and someone throws eagle down on the fire; these two actions have the effect of "Making smooth the path of the wolf to the place whence it came." 575 796

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[47] As one looks inwards.

X, now freed from the malignant influence, rushes out, and a number of *kukusiut* accompany him to every house, calling out in effect: 787

"I have lost my power."

When X returns, he takes a stick and pretends to endeavour to beat out the time of his own song describing his experiences in the land above. Madness overcomes him, however, and he begins to pound rapidly and aimlessly, requiring to be soothed by cries of *heip*. The singers ultimately chant forth a song supposedly taught them by the Cannibal, but the details of this subterfuge have already been described. Crystals are sometimes thrust into him at this juncture, or the rite may be deferred until the following night. When thus weighted, X retires to his raised platform behind the fire.

The Cannibal remains on this for four days. If necessary for him to leave the house, an accomplice first clears away all uninitiated persons from the vicinity. If, however, X hears the snarling or barking of dogs, he becomes excited and rushes forth. Consequently, the *kukusiut* at intervals bring several animals near to his house and beat them until they yowl. The Cannibal becomes excited, howls like a wolf, rushes out, and, with a few *kukusiut* in attendance, dashes into the lowest house of the village. But the crystals have made him heavy; he can only sit on his heels near the door and gnaw his fingers. The *kukusiut heip* at him repeatedly, until he is sufficiently pacified to rise and walk out. Then he howls again and runs into the next house, where the same procedure is repeated; every dwelling in the village is visited in this way, X finally returning to the platform in his home. During the four days he repeats this performance whenever he hears the yelping of dogs, whether natural or instigated by his fellows.

On the fifth morning, two *kukusiut* gather chamber-vessels. Later in the day the crystals are extracted and water thrown

575 over him,"[44] followed by the usual immersion in the river. X
996 goes to every house, then returns to his own where another song, describing his experiences *aloft*, is rehearsed. In the
787 evening the *kukusiut* assemble once more and tie on X a long, tail-like appendage of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. Then a shaman gives him food, and at once he runs to the lowest house in the village. He enters the doorway and calls out:

"I can smell."

This announcement is repeated in every house, signifying that the Cannibal can again appreciate ordinary food.

X spends four more days on his platform, leaving it only when infuriated by the snarling of dogs. On the fourth evening the *kukusiut* assemble once more to learn a song of the usual Cannibal type, and to listen to admonitions from the marshals.

For four days longer X is secluded on his platform. In the evening the *kukusiut* gather to practise another song, but this time X dances, while the uninitiated watch with fear and wonder from the doorway. After their departure, X's *spiols* is
[424] extracted. In this particular dance, its removal is the prerogative of a certain *kusiut* who presses his hands along the Cannibal's collar-bone, forcing the malignant muscle-like power upward and outward. Sometimes his first meal is delayed until this has been done.

575 This concludes X's dance, though he must obey the same
996 restrictions as other Cannibals for the rest of the ceremonial season and, if he is a novice, for the following summer as well.

[424] Other Cannibals have the prerogative of eating raw salmon. Since these are unobtainable during the winter, carpenters construct imitations consisting of skins of trout stretched over wooden frames filled with the flesh of deer, dogs, or trout. The resemblance is increased by a mechanical device which wiggles the tail. The Cannibal rips these apart with his teeth so that the uninitiated see the meat inside, and readily assume that they are real salmon, while their wonder is increased in view of the difficulty, or impossibility, of obtaining fresh fish in mid-winter.

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[44] This expels his soul.

[The Cannibal Dance]

The most feared of all Cannibals are those who have the unusual prerogative of eating corpses. At present (1922), there is only one man with this right, whereas at least seven can bite the living. His prerogative was recently obtained from the people of Rivers' Inlet, although the ritualistic devouring of corpses was well known to the Bella Coola in former days. All informants agreed, however, that the actual eating of a body was practically unknown.[*] Even when one was provided and the Cannibal dragged it from house to house, accompanied by an escort of *kukusiut*, though he sank his teeth into the flesh and pulled forth morsels of the carcass, he invariably disposed of them as soon as he was out of sight of the uninitiated, as in the case of the dog. Of course, blood and small pieces of flesh must have been swallowed inadvertently, but the rite was always essentially ritualistic, not real. More often, the "corpse" consisted of a wooden frame-work, shaped like a human body, and covered with the scraped skins of deer or dogs. The interior was filled with the flesh of an animal, and the whole buried in the graveyard until the meat had become foul. The uninitiated, from a distance, watched the exhuming of this object and concluded that it really was a long-buried body. Fear prevented them from making a close inspection, so that the defects of the imitation were not apparent. The frames were kept hidden from year to year; an inquisitive non-member who chanced to stumble upon one would have to be initiated or die. 575 796 [824] [177] [688]

On account of the long time that has elapsed since a complete corpse-eating Cannibal dance was carried out, it was found impossible to obtain a detailed account of the ritual. This deficiency is unimportant since all informants agreed that it closely resembled other Cannibal dances.

Like other Cannibals, one who has the prerogative of eating dead human flesh can perform as often as he desires, subject only to the approval of the marshals, who have no hesitation [824] [177] [266]

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[*] Apart from this ceremonial eating, no trace of cannibalism was found among the Bella Coola.

[The Cannibal Dance]

787

575 796 [824] in banning the rite if they do not think the dancer will be able to carry it out properly. When the call comes, the uninitiated are at once expelled from the Cannibal's house; later he rushes to the graveyard and exhumes one of the meat-filled frames previously buried. Non-members watch with horror as he sinks his teeth in the "flesh." Closely guarded, he is then taken to every house where, if they are bold, the uninitiated peer forth from their bedrooms and watch his performance. He carries part of the corpse in his arms and periodically sinks his teeth in the repulsive mass. As usual, apparent attempts are made to tie him to this earth, but in spite of them he escapes to the upper regions where he remains for an unusually long period. [824] Great efforts are made to reduce him to a state of emaciation, for which purpose he drinks large amounts of water in which cedar-wood has been boiled. When the Cannibal ultimately returns to earth, the cannibalistic incubus is expelled and he at length becomes normal. [535] When dancing, a corpse-eater constantly bends both hands towards the floor in front of him and upwards, as though raising some heavy object towards his face. Then his head sinks towards this, only to be thrown quickly upwards and to one side, with a wild expression in his eyes. The uninitiated are told that this represents the manner in which he lifts a corpse towards his mouth and bites, only to be revolted by its putrescence. He has, they hear, no actual liking for human flesh, but his incubus fills him with an irresistible craving for it. [532] Frequently he wears on his blanket wooden representations of skulls (see Plate 7), symbolic of the corpses devoured.

575 796 567 641 Rarely, a corpse-eating Cannibal kills a slave and pretends to devour his body as a means of impressing the uninitiated,[*] but usually this is done only under the driving force of revenge or jealousy. If a man hears that a near relative, slave of a foreign tribe, has been killed, he often determines to wipe out blood with blood. He consults a corpse-eating Cannibal, and

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[*] Eating of corpses has long ceased among the Bella Coola; the present tense is used merely for consistency.

[see category 116, p 164 (A) - ANALYST]

[The Cannibal Dance]

if the latter agrees to undertake the commission, he must 575*
next obtain a slave, a matter of no difficulty if he is at all 796*
wealthy. An effort is made to find a victim from the tribe
that has committed the murder, though any alien will suffice. 567
The details are worked out with great care so that the slave is 648
sent to the river for water, or on some other errand at the time the call comes to the Cannibal. A shout is raised, and the uninitiated hurriedly run out of the house, followed by the dancer and a body of athletic *kukusiut*, who pounce on the unsuspecting foreigner. The Cannibal cuts his throat, and the corpse is carried back to his house, where all members of the society are assembling. Part of the body is cut off, then the *kukusiut* accompany the Cannibal to every house of the village. He carries the mutilated remains, and the uninitiated readily believe that he has devoured the missing portion. The corpse is later dismembered and the bloody pieces displayed, convincing proof of the gruesome meal. It is needless to say that they are carefully buried where there is no danger that they will be found. The rite then proceeds in the usual manner.

If two biting Cannibals, or their parents, quarrel, they may 575*
be shamed into killing and "eating" a slave. Angry words lead
to insults, insults to scorn at each other's prowess, until one of 796*
the Cannibals throws a stone at the feet of the other, an action 567
which has the significance of: 578

"Eat that!"

Since a stone is always symbolic of a slave, the Cannibal so taunted knows what is expected. If he accepts the challenge, he throws a stone at his adversary's feet, bidding him do likewise. The one challenged soon receives a call and kills a slave in the manner previously described; his rival must do the same unless he is willing to admit himself outdone. The occasional killing of a slave under such circumstances
does not give to either the right of doing so habitually. Of [558]
course the challenged individual is not bound to accept, but if he declines the "dare," he sinks in popular estimation. This

* 575 * 796 type of rivalry can be carried out only during the ceremonial season.

[567] [578] After killing and eating a human being, a Cannibal must conceal himself for a considerable period, sometimes as long as four years. The uninitiated are told that the great power within him has taken him so far into the upper regions that one or more years must elapse before his return. During this time he can be seen only by *kukusiut*. The writer was told of one unfortunate corpse-eating Cannibal, *Xekalus*, who was virtually secluded for eight years, since a stone was cast at his feet every time he reappeared, thus forcing him to kill and eat. [123] This name had been dormant for a number of years until conferred on the writer, who failed to uphold the prerogative.

* 575 * 796 424 773 539 One other type of Cannibal prerogative remains to be described, namely, that of biting oneself. This is even less common than that of corpse-eating, being enjoyed only by two individuals, *Qolliaolmg* of *Stuix* and *Snmq* of the Kimsquit River. The following account of the origin of the latter's prerogative was obtained:

> Many years ago, soon after the first people came to this world, the ritual of the *kusiut* dances was much more exacting than it is at present. At that time the inhabitants of the earth were still endowed with such semi-supernatural powers that they were able to perform rites that people of the present day can represent only with the aid of carpenters' devices. There was then living in one of the villages on the Kimsquit River a certain *Snmq* who had the prerogative of biting himself. He once went hunting on one of the mountains, and when he failed to return the people were convinced that he had eaten so heartily of his own flesh that he had died. Although search was made for his body, it was not until the following year that a professional hunter found the skeleton. From the position of the bones it was judged that their conclusion was correct: he had killed himself by eating too much of his own flesh. The chiefs and other influential *kukusiüt* held a meeting at which it was decided that henceforth *kusiut* dances would only be acted, not carried out in reality. The following winter the name and prerogative were transmitted to the son of the dead man, who bit himself, but not sufficiently deeply to cause serious injury.

In the course of generations, *Smmq* has combined with his 575*
self-anthropophagic prerogative that of eating dogs. As al- 796*
ready mentioned, such a merging of rights, obtained from
different ancestors, is by no means uncommon. The following [424]
account of the manner in which he carries out (or carried out,
for the dance has not been performed for a number of years)
his rite was obtained from one of the Kimsquit marshals. [115]
Many details are omitted which have been fully described in
former Cannibal dances. It will be convenient to refer to
Smmq as X.

As with other Cannibals, when the call comes to X he [787]
begins to cry out and the uninitiated are expelled from his house, but not before they have seen him sink his teeth into his own arm, and apparently inflict a serious wound. In reality the Cannibal usually cuts himself in anticipation, so that the application of his teeth merely serves to reopen the incision and cause the blood to flow freely. Dogs are given to X, as to other dog-eating Cannibals, and he is escorted to every house, so that the uninitiated may stare with awe upon his blood-stained body and dripping jaws. Later, when he and the *kukusiut* have returned to the Cannibal's home, a herald goes to every house, announcing that his fellows are going to fasten X. The rope used in this particular rite is long and thin, with a small loop in the centre for his neck. It is forced upon X with the usual struggling, and again the herald makes his round, announcing:

"We are measuring his arms for cords of dyed and undyed cedar-bark."

These too are placed upon him, and the *kukusiut* march X, pinioned, to every house, while he growls and gives every indication of being half mad with anger at his bonds. He is taken back to his own house and at intervals throughout the day a herald informs all in the village of the number of dogs he has eaten, and of the number of wounds he has inflicted upon himself.

That night X eludes his captors and is carried away to the

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#796

realm above. The method of escape and the rites that occur during his absence do not differ from those previously described for other Cannibals, and the means taken to capture him on his return are likewise similar. But soon after dusk a rite occurs which has not been previously recorded. The *kukusiut* assemble on the sidewalk outside X's house, each carrying a torch made of resinous wood, liberally smeared with gum and rendered more inflammable with frayed cedar-bark. X himself, well guarded, is escorted to the middle of the group, while a herald calls out that he is going to make what he has consumed fly upward. In his arms he carries what appears to the uninitiated, watching from a distance, to be a dead dog; in reality, it is a dog skin, stuffed with eagle down. Four times he turns around, uttering his cry of *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, while his men call out *i* · · · · and the women drone. Then, in some way, the down-filled dog-skin is thrown upwards and disappears. One informant had seen this done in his youth, but was unaware of the method employed. The group then disperses and X is taken back to his own house.

[416]
[824]

About midnight a herald goes to every house, summoning the *kukusiut*, and especially the singers, to X's. They practise a new song for the Cannibal, and towards dawn it is sung as the "running song" previously described, accompanied by the weird *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*. At day-break, a *kusiut*, chosen for the purpose because he is a fleet runner, pounds at the door of every house, and calls out:

"Come to eat dried salmon," and dashes on to the next.

Thus invited, the *kukusiut* duly assemble in X's house for a meal.

For four days X remains concealed on his platform, except when, aroused to fury, he makes a tour of the village; and except when making his nightly circuit, during which the frightened uninitiated cover their heads with blankets, fearing that he will smell their breath and devour them. On the fourth day X is carried to the river and washed, in spite of his struggles. While this is taking place a number of *kukusiut* visit

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Cannibal Dance]

each house in succession, borrowing filled chamber vessels. 575*
Five or six men are waiting for X with these, and as he enters 796*
his house, they pour urine over him. Thus restored to partial sanity, he cries out in a different tone of voice, and at once visits every house. The *kukusiut* are still with him, but need not guard him as closely since he is now less liable to frenzy. The uninitiated are greatly relieved at this removal of peril from among them. Later in the day *kukusiut* go to the different houses, asking for choice salmon-grease with which the Cannibal will later be fed. The giving of the first food to X, the later sending aloft of his call, and the restrictions which he observes for the rest of the winter do not differ from those described for other Cannibals.

Snumq's patron is a *snumq* of the Mountain which became [776]
petrified in the beginning of time. At his repository there is a [778]
spring beneath a large boulder. Uninitiated persons passing the spot are often terrified by hearing the growling of a Cannibal from beneath the stone. It is in this place that persons [757]
suffering from virulent skin disease are washed by X, as described in a previous chapter.

Few particulars could be learnt of the rite as carried out by *Qolliaohms*, though it is said to resemble the one just described
in every respect. The prerogative was obtained in a vision of [424]
one of the Cannibal's early ancestors, who located the reposi- [787]
tory of the name beneath a large, flat stone, directly in the [778]
old trail up the valley. When anyone treads on it, reverberation is heard. The writer was a spectator when the present 575*
Qolliaohms gave his dance in January, 1924, but the rite was 796*
performed in such a perfunctory manner that little could be 178
learnt from it. The Cannibal wore two bands of dyed cedar-bark on his left forearm, under one of which was a container of red paint. Uttering his cry of *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, and looking around with a wild air, he frequently buried his face in his arm, between the bands. The red paint made a realistic representation of blood, especially as it dropped with red smudges on the floor. On this occasion, the dancer appeared

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*575 *796 178 in a flesh-coloured bathing-suit, imitating the nakedness of earlier years. The writer was talking to one of the marshals, a very old man, and remarked how different the present rites must appear to him.

"Yes," replied the old man. "But after all, the change is not so great. In former years we imitated what the supernatural beings did, now we imitate what our fathers did."

Many ethnologists, acquainted with the elaborate rituals carried out on the coast early in this century, have expressed surprise at the rapidity with which these have dwindled to mere shadows. The writer believes that one factor for the Bella Coola decline in ritual, is the realization that the rites are imitative, and that accordingly their significance need not be lost when further imitation is added.

*575 *796 Further research would undoubtedly have added particulars of the manner in which other Cannibals carried out their rites, but to obtain the full details of all would have been detrimental to other types of investigation; it is believed that the above descriptions are typical. Before passing to other dances, a few general remarks on the Cannibal ritual may prove useful.

*575 *796 424 [562] In view of the arduous character of the dance, and the necessity for impressing the uninitiated with the great power of the Cannibals, the marshals usually prohibit a man from acting unless he is physically strong. Rarely, however, a woman is allowed to be a Cannibal if she has the necessary prerogative, but usually only if she is the last survivor of her family. In such cases the shorter rite is the more common.

[538] [173] As before stated, *kusiut* origin myths are supposed to be remembered, but in practice few *kukusiut* know the history of their prerogatives. The process of forgetting has undoubtedly increased in the last few years, but the writer feels confident that they were never maintained with the same care as origin myths connected with the first people.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Cannibal Dance]

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myths connected with the first people. The following tale explains the reputed genesis of the biting prerogative embodied in the name *Nunuqwalaiuts*.

Many years ago, a number of lads were playing near the village of *Snulle·tl* when they were alarmed by the howling of a wolf and ran back to their homes. Next day the sound was repeated, and again they discontinued their play in fear. The third day the same thing happened, while on the fourth the boys not only heard the howling, but saw an enormous white wolf on the mountain above them. Fascinated, they forgot to flee, even when the animal drew near with phenomenal rapidity. It rushed up to a lad named *Nunuqwalaiuts*, and vanished. At once he became mad and ran to and fro, biting people; the beast had entered into him, and he had become a Cannibal.

His frightened comrades attempted to restrain and confine the lad, but they could not prevent him from escaping at times and biting people. That night he vanished from their sight, though they knew he had gone aloft because they heard his growling as he ascended. For two months he was absent, then suddenly reappeared among them, even wilder and hungrier than before, while his whole appearance had altered owing to the loss of his hair and emaciation. Again the people endeavoured to restrain him, but *Nunuqwalaiuts* had demoniac strength and could not be tied down. That evening a shaman was called upon, and he used the frenzied beating of sticks in hopes of curing the lunatic, for such he appeared to be. To the amazement of all, in this way he succeeded in expelling the head of a wolf, the cause of *Nunuqwalaiuts*'s anthropophagous tendencies. Thus restored to sanity, he told of what he had seen in the land above, whither he had been carried.[61] Some time after the return of *Nunuqwalaiuts* it was discovered that the repository of his name was behind a waterfall near *Snulle·tl*.

Another myth explains the origin of the dog-eating prerogative embodied in the name *Hai·alakila*. Long, long ago, soon after the first people had reached this earth, a chief of that name lived in Bella Coola. One day his slave, *Qalsmus*, set out to hunt ducks which were resting on a small pond near the base of the mountains on the south shore of the Bella Coola River, not far from its mouth. Before reaching his destination he heard many people beating time with sticks and, judging that the noise could not have been caused by mortals, returned to tell his master. *Hai·alakila* at once set off for the spot, taking his slave with

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[61] Since that time the *kukusiut* have imitated this rite with the assistance of skilled carpenters, and have been able to deceive the uninitiated.

*575 him as guide. Both heard the beating, and soon saw a pack of supernatural wolves eating dog-flesh. The men were able to steal away with-
*796 out being observed and *Hai·alakila* told *Q̣ālsmus* to say nothing about
424 what they had seen. A little later he gave a dance in which he wore a wolf's mask and pretended to eat dog-flesh. His neighbours, ignorant of
539 the vision by which this dance had been inspired, were tremendously impressed.

Another exploit of *Hai·alakila* and *Q̣ālsmus* may here be recorded, although it is unconnected with the Cannibal dance.

One night when they were spearing fish, a forest suddenly arose before them. *Q̣ālsmus*, startled and terrified, began to cry, but *Hai·alakila* quieted him.

"I am master here," he said. "We are in this adventure together and your task is to keep quiet."

Then a house appeared before them from the depths of the ocean. It was really a *spāmtsk*, with its ferocious mouth as doorway, and though *Hai·alakila* naturally feared to enter, he climbed to the roof, so that he could gaze within through what corresponded to a smoke-vent. The house was filled with valuables of all kinds, guarded only by gulls. *Hai·alakila* reached inside with his pole, hooked forth one object after another and swung each across to his slave on the mainland to hide in a tree. Unfortunately, a canoe happened to draw near, whereupon the house slowly sank back into the depths.

*575 Mention might here be made of a *Stuux* repository, said to
778 be unique in Bella Coola, that contains five Cannibal names.
551 It is in the form of a human being with a tail, kneeling and bent forward so that hands and head touch the ground. A repository is at each point of contact. The names are:

Q̣itlia, the head of the creature; *Ánuximān·a*, the left hand; *Sinuximātl*, the right hand; *Álximān·a*, the left foot; *Xuximān·a*, the right foot; *Álquntām*, the tail.

In this repository there lives a *mātsqus* with a copper lining to its mouth.

*575 It will be seen that these myths help but little to explain
*796 the *kusiut* society, or even the origin of the Cannibal dances;
they appear to be only rationalizations attempting to account
424 for established customs. For this reason they have been in-
539 serted after a description of the Cannibal dance.

Several Bella Coola were questioned concerning the Cannibal spirit which Boas has described for the Kwakiutl. Some had never heard of such a creature, others had vague knowledge concerning it, and two men were able to give it a name. The one called it *Bāxbāxqwanālocīwa*, the other *Bāxbāxqwaiwa*. All informants agreed that this creature was not a part of the Cannibal rites of Bella Coola and one man suggested that the cannibalistic incubus rendered it unnecessary. The Bella Coola believe that this Cannibal spirit is used in Bella Bella. During 1923 there came to Bella Coola an old Kimsquit Indian who had left his home many years ago and had since been living at Smith Inlet(?). With him came his son, a grown man, who had inherited from his mother a Kwakiutl Cannibal prerogative which he displayed in the winter of 1923-4. After the dancer had, theoretically, returned from the regions above, a large masked figure representing *Bāxbāxqwaiwa* entered through the front-door. As the singers beat time, it hopped to and fro, up and down, with snapping beak. The Bella Coola were intensely interested, and one had only to listen to their remarks when wondering what it might be, to be convinced that the Cannibal spirit is a strange concept to them. The most frequent hypothesis was that it was a *haohao*, since the masked figure did resemble this supernatural bird. The Bella Coola greatly admired the dance, and were by no means ashamed to confess their inferiority as dancers to the Kwakiutl. After the disappearance of the masked figure, the singers sang the Cannibal's song and he danced in normal fashion, which was commented upon as another difference in custom.

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THE SCRATCH DANCE

Only less awe-inspiring than the Cannibal dance is the Scratch dance. Those *kukusiut* who have this prerogative are able to scratch the bodies of their fellows, so that long, bloody weals result. The privileges and restrictions of Scratchers are closely akin to those of Cannibals, as the following points show:

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[796]*

[The Scratch Dance]

* 575 424 They^{s} do not blacken their faces on receipt of a call as do most *kukusiut*.

[302] [787] [533] The theme of their songs is of the land above, instead solely of their patrons.

On visiting a house where a *qatlim* or *nuhuram* is taking place they sit with the Cannibals in one of the back corners; this group is given food before any of the other guests.

They do not exercise their prerogative on fellow-Scratchers, Cannibals, or Breakers.

[787] They are liable to frenzy both when the call is upon them and after its departure. In such cases they run forth, apparently guarded and restrained by other *kukusiut*, and rush into every house to frighten the uninitiated.

They must recompense those whom they have scratched.

[578] They act as peace-makers among the *kukusiut*, since the necessity of accompanying a Scratcher who pretends to be frenzied overrules all petty causes of strife.

[554] Though any definite concept of graded rank in the *kusiut* society is quite foreign to the Bella Coola, it is generally felt that Scratchers and Breakers are only slightly less important than Cannibals. [776] The patron of every Scratcher is *Sno'olelts Älquntäm*, one of the sons of *Älquntäm*; this supernatural being scratches the supernatural ones in the land above, and his father alone can restrain him. The prerogative is fairly common, and it is probable that in early days there was at least one Scratcher in every village.

* 575 * 796 [424] The following account of the ritual was obtained from one of the Bella Coola marshals and describes the manner in which the dance should have been performed by the Scratcher, *Älaskmais*, his daughter's daughter's son, who had recently obtained the prerogative formerly possessed by his deceased mother's father. It will be convenient to refer to *Älaskmais* as X and use the present tense in recording the proper ritual, though it was largely omitted on the last occasion the dance was given.

X arranges a suitable day with the marshals for receiving

s/a [i.e. - the Scratchers - ANALYST]

[The Scratch Dance]

his call, and when this has been settled, he informs those *kukusiut* 575*
whom he plans to honour by scratching. Since each will 796*
have to be recompensed for allowing X to display his prerogative,
their number depends on X's wealth. Early in the [424]
morning of the day chosen, which is always immediately after
the *nebusam* of some other *kusiut*, the call comes, and X gives
a low hoot. At once he starts wildly rushing around and
scratching, so that the uninitiated are only too willing to flee
from his terrifying presence. Throughout the day X is escorted
by a number of *kukusiut* to every house, where he rages
around the fire, throwing his arms to and fro in an infuriated
manner, sometimes scratching one of his fellows, but more
often merely acting as if he desired to do so. The uninitiated
hide within the bedrooms, greatly impressed by what they see
if they dare to look forth.

Towards evening the *kukusiut* are summoned to X's house,
where a dramatic representation, into which the members fully
enter, is made of binding him as if he were a wild animal or a
lunatic. A rope is stretched around the fire, held by the *kukusiut*,
with X inside. He pretends to be trying to escape, while
the rope-holders bend down and move around to hold him
within their bonds. Meanwhile a shaman, or some senior [757]
kusiut, leads a frenzied beating of sticks which is four times
repeated, to cure the madness. A *kusiut* then grasps the
Scratcher's face and moves his mouth four times, to make sure
that his jaws can move properly; the meaning of this is unknown.
X now takes one of the beating-sticks and sits down
among the singers as if about to teach them both tune and
words of a song describing his knowledge of the land above,
derived from his call. For a few moments he beats sanely,
and appears to speak in a rational manner, but soon he goes
off in a wild frenzy of senseless pounding. *Hoip, hoip*, cry
the *kukusiut* to soothe him. After this has been several times [533]
repeated, the singers announce that they have learnt X's song,
though of course, they have composed one themselves in readiness
for the occasion. They now sing it; the audience listens,

[The Scratch Dance]

*575 and the heralds keep telling all to be attentive. The chorus
*796 for every Scratcher's song consists of the supposedly meaningless
[533] words, *'aii*, *'aii*, as if a child were crying. It is said that the
same refrain is used for Scratch dances by every coastal tribe.
[171] After this practice the singers chant forth X's song more
loudly, the audience joins in, and he dances. The Scratch
*575 dance differs from all other *kusiut* ones in that there are no
*796 fixed movements, with the exception of keeping time to the
535 beating of sticks with the feet. The dancer sometimes bends
down and forward, with arms closely pressed between his legs,
or he bends back with arms thrown upwards; to and fro and
back and forth he goes with high steps or short mincing ones,
with hops or jumps, his arms waving like the arms of a windmill.
The best Scratch dancer is the one who can put most
action and originality into his movements. The weird effect is
increased by moving the facial muscles to cause strange grimaces.
Four *kukusiut*, two before and two behind, accompany
*575 X. At intervals he becomes excited and seizes his own hair
*796 as if in internal agony, whereupon his guardians press the back
of his neck and call *hoip* to soothe him. His dance completed,
he sits down, and no other performers follow him. The
[431] presents provided by X and his relatives are then distributed,
those scratched and the song makers being the chief recipients,
although everyone receives something. Then there is the
usual meal, accompanied by admonitions from the marshals,
followed by X dancing once more to his song.

Unlike most *kusiut* ceremonials, this does not complete the
night's rites. Accompanied by a number of *kukusiut*, X visits
every house in the village, and dances around the fire with
wildly waving arms while the whistle sounds eerily. Since the
[535] musicians do not beat time, his dance is without rhythmic
qualities, otherwise it follows the lack of pattern just described.
When he is brought back to his own house, the frenzied
beating of sticks is twice repeated to soothe him, and
water is thrown over him. Thus pacified, X goes to sleep and
the *kukusiut* quietly disperse.

[The Scratch Dance]

The ritual of the following day, *nusiutălsap*, is of the regular 575* *kusiut* type, so requires only a brief description. A second 796* song is composed, wood for seven masks collected, and the platform is built. As soon as X has returned with the wood-gatherers, he again visits every house, frightening the uninitiated by his wild appearance as he circles the fire, but without scratching anyone. In the evening the *kukusiut* meet in his house to share in the allotment of work for the mask-making [592] and to practise the songs. The following masks are made:

Ălquntăm;
Sno'olxults Ălquntăm, displayed as an ugly-mouthed monster;
Four Holders, similar to those who restrain a Cannibal;
Ăno'likwolsaix.

After the usual meal the gathering breaks up.

On the next day, *qotlhm*, X is still so frenzied that at intervals he visits the various houses with his escort and frightens the uninitiated. After some time these visits cease, though the uninitiated do not know that X has been pacified by seeing the completed mask of *Sno'olxults Ălquntăm*. The *kusiut* to whom the manufacture of this has been entrusted hurries his work in order that X may be quieted as soon as possible. In the evening the usual *qotlhm* rites take place, the *kukusiut* being often invited before the uninitiated to practise the many songs composed for different dancers; this is done especially near the conclusion of the dances. When the regular ceremonial commences, X is the first to dance, restrained by two couples of *kukusiut*, as if to prevent him from running amuck among the uninitiated. Afterwards the singers strike up the songs of the *kukusiut* who have already performed, and each dances. Sometimes, if the rite becomes too protracted, only one song for each is used. Then the uninitiated are sent away and the *kukusiut* eat together, followed by X dancing to one of his songs. Occasionally, two or three *kukusiut* are also called upon as part of the ceremony.

[The Scratch Dance]

*575 *796 On the following evening, *nubusam*, when the uninitiated have been called in, they see *Álquntäm* standing in the centre of the space behind the fire, wearing a large mask and a blanket decorated with tufts of dyed cedar-bark. *Áno'likwotsaix* moves to and fro as she gives her customary explanations, which are echoed by the heralds. The masked representation of *Sno'olcults Álquntäm* rushes back and forth behind the fire, waving his arms to and fro as if he had an uncontrollable impulse to scratch someone. The four masked Holders move with him, as if to restrain him from dashing among the uninitiated.

"See!" says *Áno'likwotsaix*. "That is what they do in the land above."

After gazing upon these wonders for some time, the uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* perform a dramatic act. As many as possible crowd around *Sno'olcults Álquntäm*, pressing with their hands against the back of his neck, the seat of [826] the spirit, calling *hoip*, in an effort to soothe him. This is done four times, without avail; he remains as wild as ever. Then one of the marshals removes the mask, and the same methods are used to try to soothe the wearer. But still they are of no avail. The mask is replaced, and *Sno'olcults Álquntäm* rushes forth, with the four Holders in close attendance, and followed by a large number of *kukusiut*. Starting at the lowest house, he enters each in turn, dashing around the fire and startling the uninitiated in the same manner that X had done, but not actually scratching anyone. Non-members cower in terror at this invasion of their houses by a supernatural being. On the return to X's home, *Sno'olcults Álquntäm* is pacified by the frenzied beating of sticks. The masks [532] are burnt in due course, after which the *kukusiut* assemble on the sidewalk outside X's house to sing one of his songs and thus further the return of his call to the land above. Sometimes X himself wears the mask of *Sno'olcults Álquntäm*, more [834] often it is entrusted to another *kusiut*, but the wearer must

[The Scratch Dance]

obey one prohibition; he must not sleep with his wife for four 575*
days. 796*

Like a Cannibal, X is liable to frenzy for the rest of the [834]
ceremonial season. During this period he remains secluded
within his house, and the uninitiated willingly avoid him, [828]
believing him to be mentally deranged. He attends every
kusiut dance, where his latent madness helps to frighten the
uninitiated. If strangers from Kimsquit or *Tál·io* visit Bella
Coola, he at once becomes frenzied, rushes to the beach and
scratches them, precisely as a Cannibal would do; in this case
he must be pacified in the same manner. A Scratcher always
saves goods to recompense scratched foreigners. If it is the
first time that X has danced, he must remain secluded for the
following summer, and give his ceremony the next winter.
During the warm months he remains within the back-room of
his house, and though some of the uninitiated know of his
presence, still believing him mad they do not intrude upon his
privacy. The coming of foreigners during this period excites
him to frenzy and he scratches them, irrespective of the time
of year.

It might be mentioned that some Scratcher names are indi- [551]
cative of the dancer's function, and others, such as "The Cause
of Fear," have reference to his prowess.

THE BREAKER DANCE

When a Bella Coola speaks of the fear which *kusiut* dances 575*
cause the uninitiated, he almost invariably cites in order the 796*
Cannibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances. *Kukusiut* with these 424
three prerogatives have no more privileges than other members [781]
of the society, nor are they considered superior in rank, but
similarity in their functions leads to an almost automatic [554]
association. If questioned further, a Bella Coola will usually
say that he regards the Cannibal dance to be first, with the
Scratch and Breaker equal, but less important. Breakers share [302]
with Cannibals and Scratchers the prerogatives of not black- [533]
ening their faces; of having as theme for their songs the land [264]

[The Breaker Dance]

*575 above; of sitting in one of the back corners and receiving the
*796 first food at ritual meals; of paying those on whom they
[424] exercise their prerogative, and of liability to frenzy on arrival
[533] of strangers. This last prerogative, if it may be so termed,
[264] lasts for the ceremonial season, and in the case of a novice, for the following summer as well. Moreover, Breakers do not destroy the goods of fellow-Breakers, Scratchers, or Cannibals.

*575 In view of the similarity of this rite to those already de-
*796 scribed, no effort was made to collect full details. Different
424 Breakers have minor variations in ritual, similar to those al-
539 ready illustrated. The following is an account of the manner in which the Breaker, *Sȝek* of *Snulɔli*, performed the rite a number of years ago. As on previous occasions, it will be convenient to use the present tense, and to refer to the dancer as X. *Sȝek* gave the following account of the origin of his prerogative.

> Long, long ago, soon after the first people had come to this earth, a marriage was about to take place in the village of *Snall-at*. At that distant period the people were so powerful that they could themselves initiate *kusiut* dances, and the bridegroom determined to do so in honour of the event. He chose to imitate the actions of *Sānalipmalsls Ālquntām*, one of *Ālquntām*'s sons, whom he remembered having seen throwing stones in his father's house before he, the bridegroom, was sent down to this world.[illegible] When goods were piled up ready for distribution as marriage presents, the man began to hurl stones around; one of them ricochetted from a box, struck his bride and killed her. This unforeseen accident solved the question of his name, as by universal consent it was decided that he should be called, *Sȝek*, "He of the Faulty Aim."
>
> Since that time a law has been enforced that no Breaker may throw a rock except ceremonially during his dance, and the marshals punish one who disobeys this injunction. If a Breaker is in the forest with a number
> [231] of *kukusiut*, it does not matter if he fails to uphold this tradition; the essential is that the uninitiated do not see him cast a stone, even at a yelping dog, the usual reason for doing so in Bella Coola.

*575 When X wishes to dance he must first obtain the consent of
*796 the marshals in the usual manner. He also arranges with *kukusiut* to have boxes and other wooden objects placed within

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[776] [illegible] This being is also called *[illegible]*, "The Cherished One."

[The Breaker Dance]

the house to serve as targets, and stones as ammunition. As 575*
soon as the call comes, X cries out, begins to throw stones at 796*
these objects, and the uninitiated are at once expelled. X is
usually led, closely guarded, to every house where he casts [787]
more rocks, and may break a number of utensils. Since it is well known that, under normal circumstances, he must never throw a stone, the uninitiated are convinced that he must indeed be animated by a strange power. This being *lsaitámem*, 575*
the *kukusiut* gather in X's house during the evening to learn 796*
and practise one, or sometimes two, songs for him. If X is a
novice, the theme is of his ancestor and the accident which 533
originated the dance; on later occasions it is of his patron and the land above. All Breakers do not have *Sänoligumalalis Älquntäm* as patron; some have *Snukilmáls*, a supernatural being who causes wealth to curl up and come to him. The chorus is the same as for Scratchers, the meaningless words, *'aii, 'aii*. It is said that this same refrain is used by the Breakers of all coastal tribes, so that their songs can be distinguished
from those of Scratchers only by the words. With the food, 575*
presents are given to recompense those on whom X has dis- 796*
played his prerogative, that is, those whose utensils have been
broken. Sometimes canoes and other valuable objects are [431]
destroyed by Breakers, depending entirely on their desire to [424]
exhibit their right.

Next morning, *nusiutálsap*, X again becomes frenzied and rushes from house to house, destroying property. Of course this is later paid for, but the uninitiated have no idea that arrangements had been made for the boxes and other objects
to be placed in suitable spots. During the day a number of 575*
kukusiut are sent to collect wood for nine masks. When mem- 796*
bers of the society gather in the evening the songs are prac- 532
tised, and the making of the masks allotted. One of these is
of *Sänoligumalalis Älquntäm*, four are of Breakers in the land 424
above,[*] four of supernatural beings who sing there for the 776
supernatural Breakers, and one of the inevitable *Anu'likwu-* 1548

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[*] The relation of these Breakers to the patron is not clear.

[The Breaker Dance]

* 575 * 796 [424] *lsaix*. X is one of the few *kukusiut* having the prerogative of using supernatural singers. The evening's ceremony concludes in the usual fashion.

[424] [554] [787] [828] Until the departure of his call, X is liable to fits of frenzy so that on both *qatlim* and *nulusam* he often visits every house and breaks utensils, though his guardians appear to be making every effort to restrain him. Breakers, irrespective of their exact prerogative, are enabled to act in any unusual manner they desire, and strive to excel in peculiar behaviour. A favourite trick is to smear themselves with excrement, either real or imitation. It is difficult to over-estimate the enormous prestige which such actions call forth in the eyes of the uninitiated, to whom it appears that the coming of a call entirely alters the mentality of the recipient, a belief which the *kukusiut* make every effort to maintain. Nothing further need be said of either *qatlim* or the preliminaries of *nulusam*, both of which follow the usual pattern.

* 575 * 796 781 When the uninitiated are admitted to X's house on *nulusam* evening, they are filled with wonder at the sight of the masked singers, of *Sänaliqumaluts Älquntäm*, and of the four supernatural Breakers who move wildly to and fro as the songs are sung, as if only the eagle down which the *kukusiut* blow upon them restrains them from destroying property. The fluent *Anúlikwalsaix* makes the most of her opportunity to describe the wonders which are before their eyes. Then the uninitiated are told that it will be safer for them to withdraw, and hurry out. Presently they are startled to hear the sound of people moving, and the four supernatural Breakers, followed by all the *kukusiut*, leave the house and proceed to the lowest one in the village. Around the fire go the masked four, picking up stones and hurling them at any destructible property. Most [252] [578] [635] houses contain a number of stones which have been used in boiling liquids, so that there is no lack of missiles. *Kukusiut* who are wise take care to hide or remove valuable property before this inroad begins, since the wearers of the masks take advantage of the opportunity to destroy the goods of those

[The Breaker Dance]

they do not like. No compensation can be claimed, on the theory that supernatural beings do not have to pay for any damage they may do. Although the property of some *kukusiut* is destroyed, the chief sufferers are the uninitiated; this serves to increase their fear and respect for the society with which such all-powerful beings are in league. After visiting every house in the village, the party returns to X's, where the masks are burnt, the call sent back, and the proceedings conclude in the usual manner. 575* 796* 781 [578] [685]

A certain amount of information concerning the history of the Breaker dance was obtained from *Sγak*, the owner of the prerogative just described. He is a well-informed man, but the writer had no opportunity of comparing his beliefs with those of his associates, so the following must be regarded as unsubstantiated evidence. This man stated that the Breaker dance is the most important of all in Bella Bella, and that many Bella Coola prerogatives have been obtained from this source, although some of their first ancestors likewise enjoyed it. He further stated that the term, *nalcrista*, by which the Bella Coola always designate a Breaker, is of Bella Bella origin, and that the ancient Bella Coola term was *dstia*.[61] *Sγak* also told of an occasion when a number of Bella Bella, present on the *qatlm* night of a Bella Coola ceremony, were disturbed when eating by the thud of a stone thrown, from outside, against the wall of the back-room. Out rushed a number of *kukusiut*, incensed at the disrespect shown to their gathering. They caught the offender, but released him when he was found to be a Bella Bella Breaker, foolishly demonstrating his prowess. The marshals decided to retaliate and arranged with two Bella Coola Breakers to exercise their rights and destroy the canoes and food-boxes of their guests. They did so, and later paid for the damage. The Bella Coola were thus able to demon- 575* 796* [115] [171] [177] 575* 796* 648 688

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[61] *Sγak* and several of his children are the only Bella Coola known to the writer who habitually use the sound "r." For example, he says "*Snalori*," instead of "*Snalil*." He says that he is himself unable to distinguish any peculiarity in his own pronunciation, although other Bella Coola are aware of it. [197]

[The Breaker Dance]

*575 *796 648 688 [921] strate their own superiority; they had paid those who had witnessed their prerogative, whereas the Bella Bella Breaker had merely cast a stone without solemnity. Speeches were made, and it was decided that henceforth instead of waging true war in case of an error in ritual, it would be sufficient if the Breakers exacted punishment by destroying property. That is the explanation offered by this man as to why foreign war-parties have not more frequently upheld the law by raiding. As before stated, the writer is uncertain whether such beliefs are generally held by the Bella Coola and of course the historical accuracy of the information is still more doubtful.

THE *Kusiotem* DANCES

*575 *796 424 [775] More awe-inspiring, though less terrifying, than the Cannibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances, are the *kusiotem* dances. In these the dancer undergoes mutilation and death, but his supernatural power enables him to return to life—at least so it appears to the credulous non-members. The five dances known as *kusiotem* are:

The Stomach-Cutting Dance;
The Beheading Dance;
The Drowning Dance;
The Burning Dance; and
The Swallowing of Hot Stones Dance.

Each of these comprises a distinct ceremonial of great complexity, but only one prerogative is required. That is, a man who has the *kusiotem* right may allow his stomach to be cut one year, and when he next performs will choose to display his ability to swallow hot stones. In this respect, it differs from all other *kusiut* ceremonies. Although a *kusiotem* dancer is entitled to exercise his privilege as often as he wishes, provided his marshals consent, the rite is so difficult that it is rarely carried out.

[773] As far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola of today have no

elaborate myths dealing with the origin of the *kusiotem* dances. 575*
They believe that they are performed by the supernatural 796*
beings in the land above, and that long, long ago *Älquntäm* and 424
his associates held a meeting at which it was decided to send
them down to mortals. They chose as recipient a certain [773]
Onixmalicua of Kimsquit, and the prerogative of giving [551]
kusiotem dances has since been possessed by the owner of that
name.* The following accounts are of the dances performed
by a certain *Onixmalicua* whom it will be convenient to
call X. He has six repositories, one for each section of [778]
his dance.

As with all other *kusiut* prerogatives, the impetus to dance
can come only on receipt of a call from a supernatural patron, [776]
the being *Kulslkäkmidjut* in the case of all *kusiotem* dancers.
The uninitiated are told that a call "falls" on the recipient, and
moreover that for *kusiotem* dances it can take place only when
the supernatural beings are rushing out of the house above on [821]
the entry of the sun at the winter solstice. Thus *kusiotem*
dances should take place after the winter solstice, although
this requirement has not been enforced in recent years.

The Stomach-Cutting Dance

In the early summer X decides to exercise his prerogative
the following winter. He informs one of the marshals of his
wish, and the latter summons his associates to the secret
meeting-place where the matter is debated at length. Danger
of exposure of details to the uninitiated is so great that the
marshals refuse permission for the performance unless the
would-be dancer is a man of proved reliability. Once this consent 575*
has been obtained, X quietly proceeds with his preparations, 796*
laying in supplies of food and asking his *kusiut* friends
for their assistance. When the dances begin, X attends as do
all other *kukusiut*, though his secret mental excitement increases
as the time draws near for him to perform. The exact
time of starting is discussed with the marshals, and a prelimi-

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*There are other *kusiotem* dancers in Bella Coola.

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

*575 nary announcement made to the *kukusiut* on the night of some
*796 *qotlum* in the following manner:

> As the *kukusiut* are eating, one of the marshals rises, saying: "I hear a supernatural one close at hand; some powerful being is drawing near."

The other marshals agree that they too hear its approach and the *kukusiut*, always eager for dances, impatiently await further information. After further suspense, one of the marshals announces that it is coming for X. No mention is made of which dance is to be performed, and the intimation is wrapped in that veil of secrecy so essential to the *kusiut* society that they practise it even among themselves until it becomes habitual. During the night four young *kukusiut* are sent out to the mountains near the village carrying small whistles. The
[776] uninitiated, hearing their weird sound, realize that a supernatural being is in the vicinity. This whistling is repeated twice during the night.

*575 Sometimes the actual call comes to X on the following
*796 afternoon, but more often after the *nebusam* in the evening.
787 When the display, whatever it may be, has taken place, whistling is heard from the mountain slopes. The uninitiated are at once expelled, ignorant, of course, of the fact that the noise is made by *kukusiut* dispatched for the purpose. As they
[776] hurry out they are told that the noise is the droning cry of a supernatural being, equivalent to the droning done by *kusiut* women whenever they are present at a manifestation of the supernatural. X, who appears to be listening, calls out:

"Please say what you want, I will do it."

Then he utters a low hoot-like whistle and sits down, while the women drone. When several minutes have elapsed, X moves, sunwise, to another part of the house and repeats his answer to the whistling which is still continuing. This is done a second and third time, but on the fourth, the call is supposed to have entered X, who cowers as if something had struck him, while the women drone more loudly than before. Then sticks are beaten madly four times and a herald goes to every house

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

in the village announcing that a call has come to X. Meanwhile 575*
forty or fifty *kukusiut* have surrounded X and accompany 796*
him as he leaves his home and proceeds to the end of the village
furthest downstream. He enters the lowest house, followed by 787
his escort, and stops before the central fire to call out:

"Please say what you want; I will do it."

He circles the fire, sunwise, repeats his call a second time and leaves. The same procedure is repeated in every house in the village, in order from bottom to top, before he returns to his own home. The uninitiated are told that some power has come upon him, but that it is so strange that even he cannot comprehend it. After a short pause, X again sallies forth, accompanied as before, and calls twice in every house of the village. The same ritual is repeated a third time, but on the fourth round, which soon follows, he carries a knife in his hand. Thus it becomes plain to all that X has received power enabling him to have his stomach cut, and the *kukusiut* show signs of grief at the danger to which their fellow is about
to be exposed. Needless to say, the delay in interpreting the [781]
call adds to the mystification of the uninitiated, and their
wonder at X's power. The heralds do their part by repeating his words with their own comments.

When X finally returns to his own house the heralds summon 575*
all the *kukusiut* to it and the customary ritual of *lsuxtämem* 796*
takes place. The singers beat out and practise a song composed 533
by one of their members for X, the audience listens
attentively and then practises it until all are proficient. The theme of every *kusiotem* song is of the land above and the supernatural beings resident there. The wordless chorus consists of *wai'aiye'iu*, which the Bella Coola state is the refrain of all *kusiotem* dances up and down the coast.

The second day, *nusiutälsap*, a second song is composed 575*
and a party sent to the forest to bring in wood suitable for 796*
masks. In the evening part of the work is allotted[44] and the 532
songs practised. For *kusiotem* dances, in addition to masks, a [533]

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[44] Some is kept for a later distribution.

*575 number of puppets is always made. Certain *kukusiut*, known
*796 as *änuyax*, have in connection with their dance prerogative, the
532 ability to summon and display supernatural objects in the
[424] form of small puppets. These are sometimes patrons, more often
not, and include not only beings having human form, but
[787] snakes, hummingbirds, and other creatures. By calling his
being, an *änuyax* receives strength which can be transmitted
to someone else—so the uninitiated believe—by passing it into
[775] the recipient's body. Non-members are told that X suffers
death from which he is resurrected by his own powers, reinforced
[787] by those passed into him by other members of the
society through the transference of their puppets. The most
potent "patron-puppet" is the giant toad. It is difficult for a
[781] white man to understand how intelligent people, as are many
of the uninitiated, can be deluded into believing that the somewhat
rudely carved wooden figures which they see moving
before them are supernatural beings. Emphasis must again
be laid on the awe, mystery, and power of the ceremonies in
the eyes of those who do not understand them, and the very
great skill shown by the carpenters in making use of hidden
strings, trap-doors, and other devices to increase the dramatic
effect. Puppets are guarded very carefully by their owners
and are usually hidden in some cleft of the mountains. A well-constructed
one is used when necessary for many years.

*575 Other preparations must be made for the stomach-cutting.
*796 As in all other *kusiut* dances, deception is practised and X is
not really disembowelled. Instead, a wooden, or copper, frame
is made to shield his stomach; over this is arranged the skin of
a deer or a dog, cut to cover him from chest to thighs, with even
the navel imitated. This camouflage is held in place by his
breech-cloth and by a strap passing around his chest. He wears
a blanket which conceals most of the fastenings so that the
artifice is not noticeable in the dim light of the house. The
chief difficulty is to find a dog with skin the same colour as X's.
[281] Many animals are killed, and the fur removed by immersion
in boiling water, but sometimes half the dogs of a village must

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

be slaughtered before one is found with skin to match.[67] The 575*
marshals carefully supervise all these arrangements, but of 796*
course on this night the work alone is allotted. The entrails of [281]
several dogs are kept and worn by X between his false stomach and the wooden frame.

After the allotment of tasks in connection with the mech- 575*
anical work required, the marshals ask four women to come 796*
forward. Those selected are usually old people with good 533
voices who, from long experience at the dances, have mastered the two[68] songs used at each *kusiotem* dance. The theme of these never varies and is believed to have been handed down from the distant past. No prerogative is attached; the marshals and singers merely choose four women whom they think will be good performers. The songs resemble those sung at mourning ceremonies; in fact, they are used with that significance when X has been "killed" by disembowelling. The singers, the women chosen, the marshals, and any other *kukusiut* who feel competent to do so, discuss in an animated manner the exact wording and tunes of the songs. Then the musicians beat out the time and the women sing one after another, while the audience drones. In view of the solemnity of the occasion, it often happens that senior singers from adjacent villages are invited to be present to render assistance. The necessity for practising X's songs, apportioning the carpentry, and rehearsing the mourning songs has taken up more time than is usual on a *nusiutälsap* night, and it is late before all is completed. Then, after the usual meal and admonishments, the people disperse.

Early the following morning the carpenters and those to 575*
whom work has been allotted gather early in X's house. A 796*
band, about two feet long, composed of alternate strands of 211
dyed and undyed cedar-bark is prepared and placed on the

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[67] Informants offered no explanation as to why this wholesale slaughter of dogs failed to arouse curiosity and suspicion in the uninitiated. [781]

[68] Or four; there was difference of opinion among Bella Coola informants on this point.

* 575 *796 [211] outside of the house above the central doorway. The middle of the strip is pressed together so that it forms a projecting point, some four inches in length. This sign is a warning to the uninitiated that the *kukusiut* are working within, and none but a member of the society must enter or even pass on the sidewalk outside the door.[89] The central fire is moved forward to leave a larger space than usual between it and the back-room, and two mattings are raised to form two enclosures, one in each of the rear corners.

All day the carpenters work feverishly, and in the evening the *kukusiut* are once again summoned. When last performed, the rite on *qotlɩm* was curtailed, and informants could give only [533] an outline of the proper procedure. It appears that X's two songs are practised, as well as the two mourning songs sung by the chosen women. Then all sit silent as if in grief, while the women occasionally utter mournful ejaculations, dreading the danger to which X will be exposed. At this juncture the uninitiated are summoned; they are impressed by the gravity and obvious fears shown even by the members of the powerful *kusiut* society. In the tense silence, one of the *änuyex* suddenly bursts forth:

"I will get my puppet-patron and bring him near so that he will be available tomorrow."

He reaches up his arms and makes the motions of drawing something towards him from above, while the *kukusiut* women drone and the singers and others provided with sticks keep up a clamorous beating on the floor. Presently another *änuyex* does likewise, and so on until as many as wish to do so have drawn down their puppet-patrons. The heralds maintain a running fire of comments to aid in impressing non-members. The customary lengthy dancing of *qotlɩm* is omitted, and the uninitiated are expelled at once. The *kukusiut* have the usual

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[532] [89] If it is necessary to make numerous puppets this band may be placed in position the previous evening and the carpenters start work a day earlier on the more important tasks.

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

meal with admonitions from the marshals; then they too disperse. 575*
791*

During the following day a hole is dug behind the fire of sufficient depth to conceal X, when standing in it, as high as the thighs. Towards dusk he takes up his position in this pit; his face is blackened and he wears the customary cedar-bark collar and a belt-apron to hold the frame in place. An assistant lies down on the floor immediately in front of him with his head in the hole beside X's feet so that the two men, instead of appearing as such, seem to be only one seated upon the ground. As night falls the *kukusiut* take their places and the more influential members of the society press forward to see that X and his assistant are properly disguised so that the fact that they
are really two is not apparent. When all is in readiness, the [184]
Bella Coola practice is for a herald to summon the waiting
uninitiated, but in Kimsquit one of the marshals orders some of the younger men to extinguish the fire, before this is done, so that as the non-members come to the door their fears are increased by finding the house in deep darkness. The heralds guide them to their places in the front corners, where they sit in shuddering expectancy for about an hour. The stillness is broken only by the occasional sound of a whistle and the laboured breathing of the guests. Suddenly the hush is shattered [192]
by the voice of a *kusiut* calling out four times *än·än·ai·*, the [152]
ejaculation used in pain.

To the spell-bound uninitiated it seems as if the supernatural beings surrounding him had become too much for him, so that he cried out in the agony of his soul. Resinous sticks have been placed in readiness and a fire is quickly kindled. The Cannibals growl savagely in their corners and the uninitiated shiver. From this point forth the ritual in Bella Coola [184]
and Kimsquit is identical.

X circles the fire, sunwise, four times and appears to seat himself on the floor with outstretched legs though in reality he is standing in the hole. One of the *änuyex* stands up and announces:

*575 "I will get my puppet-patron."

*796 787 A whistle sounds, the *kukusiut* women drone and the uninitiated see one of the puppet figurines move across the back of the house, though they do not see the concealed ropes by which this is managed. The figure disappears as if it had entered its owner who goes to X and makes the motion of passing something into him. The other *änuyex* do likewise. Sometimes the dramatic effect is increased by sending a *kusiut* to the roof to strike one of the boards as if the puppet had landed from above with a thump; or the owner may come in from the back-room, walking backwards and drawing his puppet after him by means of a string matching the floor in colour and fastened to his foot. Another device is to have the puppets suspended from the roof by means of similar cords, invisible in the darkness. The owner of one of these takes it in his arms and revolves sunwise on himself as he moves to X, and at the same time conceals the figurine beneath his blanket. The last puppet is always the giant toad, the most potent of all.

*575 *796 When X has thus been strengthened for the perils which he is to undergo, a number of the uninitiated are invited to come forward to see him. As they step forth, one of the senior *kukusiut* kneads with his fingers against the back of the neck of each to strengthen his spirit so that it will not be drawn from him with fatal results. The uninitiated come forward, see X, without realizing that they are really gazing on two individuals, [412] and shudder at a knife which is lying near. This was always of copper or obsidian in the old days.

The actual cutter is one of the uninitiated, though efforts are made to have as operator a son or other near relative of a prominent *kusiut* so that he may easily be initiated into the society if anything should go amiss. One informant, who was called upon to act when about fifteen years of age, vividly recalled the experience in the following manner:

He was sitting with ten or twelve lads of his own age, each of whom was asked by a marshal:

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796*

"Are you brave?"

Not one of them was willing to display his courage, even after repeated questionings. At this impasse the lad's uncle, a prominent *kusiut*, requested that his nephew be asked; so the question was put to him. He answered in the affirmative as his uncle had advised him to do. To the further question:

"Are you willing to do what this man [the performer] may demand?" he also answered:

"Yes," without knowing what he might be called upon to do.

Further preliminaries took place and the frightened boy asked several of his companions to stand near him to lend him their moral support. He was told to go to X, where one of the assistants gave him the knife and told him to examine it. It was a real knife and, as he announced to the assembled gathering, very sharp. X showed him where to insert it, under the left bottom rib, and told him to draw it firmly across to the corresponding point on the other side. The boy did so; the victim cried out as if in pain, his hands shook, and when the entrails fell out, he dropped back as if dead. The youth, believing that he had killed the man, was terrified. Years later he learned all about the ceremonial, but at the time the deception was complete.

A subterfuge sometimes employed at this time is to place a bladder among the entrails, so arranged that it can be inflated from a distance through a tube, making it appear that the intestines are quivering.

As soon as X has fallen, pandemonium breaks out in the house. The *kukusiut* women weep and wail, whistles sound at intervals, and the effect is like bedlam. Presently two or three of the uninitiated move to the door and harangue the *kukusiut* in this fashion:

"You have gone too far, you powerful people. We know you are powerful and in league with the supernatural ones, but now you have slain a man. Your power is too great, it is

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

*575 *796 dangerous. Unless he is restored to life before dawn we will slay you."

The other uninitiated marvel that any of their number should be bold enough to taunt the *kukusiut*, ignorant of the fact that those who do so are really spies whose part in the performance has long since been arranged by the marshals. [688] Instances are remembered when the wooden or copper frame was defective and the performer was killed; in such a case the spies actually slew one or more *kukusiut* to preserve the prestige of the society. Exact details were unobtainable, but it seems clear that the victims were selected with the aid of the marshals during the night; they were, of course, men of little importance in the community.

The spies prevent anyone from leaving the house and gradually the din subsides, except for the constant wailing of the women, particularly X's relatives. The *kukusiut*, granted a respite until dawn, allow some of the uninitiated to come forward and pass sunwise around the fire to see the corpse of X with the bloody entrails exposed. At this juncture, the old *575 *796 533 539 women selected for the purpose sing the mourning song, of which the words and tune never vary; they are believed to have been handed down from time immemorial. The theme is of *Snitsmän a*, a kindly supernatural woman[70] who restores to life *kukusiut* killed in the performance of their rites. The singer in the upper, eastern, rear corner of the house sings the following words:

Nunusxeqsam·ixwakotsk' | *yao disiaiyäkmidjutnu* | *siyalaqailaoals*
Perhaps you[71] saw correctly[72] | hence you did so;[73] | it is too much
iawanutciyekeltst
that has been given to you.[74]

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[70] Some informants state that there are several of these beings.

[71] Referring to X.

[72] Each vertical line marks the limit of a word or word-cluster, emphasized in singing, and the translation of it.

[73] That is: "You performed your dance in accordance with what you saw."

[74] That is: "You have received power that is too great and too dangerous." The specific reference is to the knife.

After a short interval, she is answered by the singer in the 575* lower, western, rear corner of the house as follows: 796*

Saqankotsänitwawit	*itlasnitsman·aatdja*	*skäpälpälqälosdus*
Let there come to earth	the voice of *Snitsmän·a*	to revive
diyäläkaiqm·ilsutdai		
the one who has so injured himself.		

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The general meaning of this song is obvious, although there are several obscure expressions which serve to increase the wonder and fear of the uninitiated. Silence follows the singing, 575* then whistling is heard and a herald announces that one of the 796* puppet-patrons inserted into X has left him and gone to the 787 region above. Similar whistling announces the departure of others at intervals. When several have done so, it is time for the first to return. A thud, made by a hidden accomplice, is heard on the roof and whistling breaks out afresh. Sometimes the puppet-patron returns to X, but more often to its invoker, and the transference previously enacted is repeated over the body of the dancer who continues to lie as if lifeless. Now and then the uninitiated are invited forward to look at him and they notice that the gaping wound is slowly closing, an easy matter to arrange in the dim light of the house. At intervals the puppet-patrons go and return from the land above, and the proceedings are sometimes enlivened by the owners telling a herald, who in turn informs the audience, what the puppet-patron saw on its journey aloft. Usually each goes and returns four times in the course of the night. Each of the [533] women selected to sing the mourning songs performs once, standing in a corner of the house and waving a wand wound with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. So the 575* long night passes. Towards dawn continuous whistling is 796* heard. This is made by several men with a whistle apiece; each begins to blow as soon as the breath of his partner is [776] nearly exhausted. It is known to be the voice of *Snitsmän·a*. [184] In Kimsquit, but not in Bella Coola, this is the signal for the entry of the giant toad. Carpenters have made a wooden [532] figure of the amphibian and by means of concealed strings it is

*575 made to hop towards X and bend four times over him. The
*796 wound gradually comes together, and the excitement grows
[532] ever greater. Those near X cry out that his little toes are moving, as indeed they are, then in succession his fourth, middle, first, and big toes begin to twitch convulsively. It is often difficult to find an assistant capable of moving his toes in the proper order.

"He is alive again," call the heralds, and some of the uninitiated come forward to watch the marvel of the dead man's toes moving.

*575 X grows gradually stronger and begins to shake his hands
*796 as if he were trying to dance. Then, in a feeble voice, he begins
533 to sing, though the only word which comes clearly is *Snitsmän·a*, the name of the supernatural woman through whose kindly mediation he has been restored to life. This song has actually been composed by the singers and taught by them to X preparatory to the rite. It resembles a shaman's, since it is assumed that X has practically been made a shaman by the intervention of *Snitsmän·a*. The singers pretend to be listening intently, and then chant it over, as if they had just learnt it, while X shakes his hands as if dancing. The wailing and weeping of the *kukusiut* women has given place to joy, and those who had been singing mourning songs dance in time to the
*575 music. One after the other the *änuyex* who had cast their
*796 patrons into X now go to him to recall them. Each bends over him and pretends to extract something by pressure with cupped
787 hands, at the same time crying out *hoip, hoip*.

Each *änuyex* then goes through the motions of casting something up into the air with cries of the same nature; this serves to return his patron to the mysterious region whence it had come. The uninitiated are now expelled and the *kukusiut* soon
*575 follow, without receiving a meal.[76] Those who have taken a
*796 leading part in the ceremony usually linger with the marshals

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[76] According to one informant, the youth who cut X's stomach was formerly detained and initiated into the ranks of the *kukusiut*.

to discuss the event and lay plans for the future, but as it is 575*
now daylight they too soon retire to sleep. 796*

The *kusiotem* ceremony resembles a double *kusiut* rite since it comprises two sets of four days and nights. The one on which X's stomach was cut is considered to be *lsuxtämem*. Accordingly, the heralds call the *kukusiut* to X's house early on the afternoon following and the regular ritual of *nusiutälsap* takes place. Some of the younger men are at once sent to the forest for wood to be made into more masks but, with the love of drama typical of the *kukusiut*, it is assumed that X himself is too feeble to accompany them. Accordingly his power is transferred to a substitute by means of the frenzied beating of sticks
and repeated cries of *hoip*. On the return of the wood col- [482]
lectors, who carry their burdens as usual on tump-lines and set
them down carefully, this power is restored to X in the same
manner. The work of making the masks is now allotted. For
kusiotem, and several other *kusiut* rites hereafter to be de- [424]
scribed, the dancer is entitled to show as many of the beings in [556]
the Bella Coola pantheon as he desires. Consequently if X is
wealthy and wishes to have a spectacular *nebusam*, he orders
many masks. Then the *kukusiut* practise a number of songs
composed by the singers. One, or sometimes two, prepared for
X is couched as if he himself were telling what he had seen in
the upper regions. They describe *Älquntäm*, his messenger
Oqolikts Älquntäm, and, especially *Kulslkäkmidjut*, the super- [776]
natural being whose stomach is periodically cut in the land
above. It is he who has entered X and impelled him to suffer [787]
the same mutilation from the effects of which *Snitsmän·a* has
restored him. X himself usually remains concealed behind the matting in the rear part of the house, but sometimes, if he wishes to practise what he will perform the next night, he comes forward for a rehearsal. He still pretends to be very ill, and instead of dancing in the usual violent manner, totters around the fire, supported by several assistants, while he feebly shakes his hands. The women drone, and the uninitiated in the other houses realize that more exciting events are impending.

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

* 575 The singers have also composed a song for each of the *ánuyax*
* 796 and these too must be practised, while the men dance or remain
533 still as they think fit. Since no uninitiated are present the
affair is purely a rehearsal. The words of each of these songs
is of the manner in which the patron helped X to survive his
ordeal. By this time it is late and the *kukusiut* disperse after
the usual meal and admonitions of the marshals.

* 575 The next day, *qothm*, the carpenters assemble early in the
* 796 morning to start work. Since X is entitled to portray any of
532 the supernatural beings who are companions of his patron in
the land above, it follows that there is wide variation in his
choice of masks to be manufactured. The principal supernatural
beings are always shown, and any animals, since all
are supernatural, can likewise be displayed. As usual, a few
kukusiut are invited at midday to share the meal provided for
the carpenters. The number of masks to be provided is often
so great that two days or more are necessary for their completion,
in which case no ceremony takes place on the night
[533] which would normally be *qothm*; the *kukusiut* merely gather
and again practise their songs.

* 575 But the day after is *qothm*. At dusk the *kukusiut* are called
* 796 in for a final rehearsal of the songs, and then a summons is sent
[515] to the uninitiated, who have been washing and beautifying
themselves in eager anticipation. In Kimsquit it is customary
[532] to hang some of the masks on a sloping pole behind the fire and
[184] the sight of these amazes the non-members. First the singers
[781] beat out the song of one of the women mourners and she dances
in time to it, while the heralds near the door keep up a steady
[535] stream of remarks, encouraging the woman to perform yet
[834] more strenuously and to have no modesty about shaking her
breasts. Then another of the women dances, followed in succession
by the third and fourth if that is the number who sang
the mourning songs. Next the *ánuyax* perform, each in succession
accompanying the song composed for him. Now comes
the central feature of the evening, the performance of X himself.
As the singers strike up the shaman's song which he is

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

supposed to have taught them, he appears, supported by two 575* *kukusiut*, and attempts to dance, but is too feeble to do more 796* than be assisted around the fire, feebly shaking his hands. He retires, but comes forth once more as the singers beat out the song of regular *kusiut* type composed for him and which his fellows have practised. If two have been composed, he appears a third time. After X has finally withdrawn, the ritual proceeds in the usual manner, by the dancing of every *kusiut* who has had a call in time to his two songs. It is late before all have danced; then the uninitiated are given a little food and sent [574] away. The *kukusiut* eat more leisurely, and listen to the admonitions of the marshals. On account of the solemnity of the 575* occasion, their words of wisdom are even more grandiloquent 796* than usual. The following may be regarded as a typical 537 address:

"You have done well, ye *kukusiut*, in thus carrying out the ceremony so admirably. I thank you. You have done well X, you have done as our fathers did. None of you must ever forget the precepts and example of our fathers who have handed down this rite from dim antiquity. Perhaps when we marshals are dead some of you will become careless and want to alter the ceremonial. Do not dream of anything so foolish. The proper method is that which you have just seen. Try no other."

When the marshals have finished, X dances once again, and the weary *kukusiut* at length disperse.

The next day, or rather later in the same day, for it is long 575* after midnight before the ceremony is completed, is *nukusam*. 796* Many of the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house about four o'clock in the afternoon to try on the masks and attend to the innumer- 532 able details. A representation of *Āno'likwotsaix* is always prepared, as well as those of *Ālquntām*, *Sexsexḳālaix*, and *Snusḳāls*. The last-named is the "Wise One," "He of Whom Questions are Asked," the supernatural being who decides [776] points of ritual in the dances in the land above. No paint is used on his mask, but a coloured effect is obtained by means

*575 of the darker hue of the inner part of the wood. His nose and
*796 forehead are wrinkled as if in deep thought. Masks of many
532 other supernatural beings and animals have been made, in-
cluding two which are reserved for *kusiotem* dances alone. The
first of these is X's patron, *Kulslkäkmidjut*, who is capable of
having his stomach cut. A face mask is made for him of the
usual human type, and in addition a wooden stomach with a
slit which can be moved by strings to display entrails painted
on a frame beneath. The second distinctive mask is that of
[776] *Oqolikts Älquntäm*, the herald of *Älquntäm*. Above his mask
is fastened a bird, made of wood, the wings of which can be
made to flap by pulling on a cord which runs down under the
wearer's blanket. He carries a staff, decorated with alternate
spiral bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with
another wooden bird likewise provided with flapping wings.
By the time the masks have been adjusted it is quite dark.

*575 The uninitiated, listening from their houses, hear first the
*796 frantic, but measured, beating of sticks that always accom-
[955] panies a curing ceremony. Then *Oqolikts* leaves X's house,
followed by all the *kukusiut* who have danced the same year
and accordingly wear dyed cedar-bark collars, and many others
as well. The party goes to the bottom house of the village
where *Oqolikts* pounds on the floor with his staff and cries out:
Xwe · · · .

The *kusiut* chosen to wear this mask is one who has powerful lungs. The heralds, always in attendance, echo his words and explain to the wondering uninitiated who their supernatural visitor is, and that this is the way he summons the supernatural beings to the dances in the land above. *Oqolikts* causes the wings of his birds to flap, the party moves to the next house, and thence in succession to every one in the village before returning to X's. After a short delay the uninitiated hear another crash of the frenzied beating of sticks, and again *Oqolikts* parades to every house in the village. On this, his second round, his announcement is:

"I act as herald; prepare to come."

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A third frenzied beating is followed by a third round of the 575*
village with the announcement: 796*

"The fire is ready."

For the fourth time the *kukusiut* in X's house beat time furiously, and again *Oqolikts* sallies forth.

"Everything is almost ready," he says in each house.

By this time any lagging *kukusiut* have taken their places in X's house, and when everything is in order one of the heralds calls out to the uninitiated that they may enter. In they rush, and sit quietly in the corners near the front-door. *Oqolikts*, his work accomplished, stands at one side of the space behind the fire, while the inevitable *Åno'likwolsaix* moves to and fro, keeping up a constant flow of conversation. Sometimes *Kulslkäkmidjut* stands behind the fire; on other occasions he has been known to walk through the house, accompanied by two assistants blowing eagle down over him. He moves his face as if in pain, and then lies down behind the fire, where the uninitiated can see his stomach contracting and expanding as if it had been ripped to expose the entrails. At the distance from which they view the spectacle it is easy to carry out the deception. *Oqolikts* sits down behind the fire and another 575*
supernatural being comes from one of the enclosures. As far 796*
as could be learnt, the order of their appearance on the occasion when X performed was as follows, though there is no 776
ceremonial significance attached thereto:

Oqolikts.

Ålquntäm. He always wears a huge mask and the actor must have a powerful voice for at intervals he bellows out:

"Mortals! See me, I am *Ålquntäm*," while the heralds and *Åno'likwolsaix* echo and confirm his remarks. He stalks from one of the enclosures to the central position behind the fire, where he remains standing.

Snusulkäls appears and stands near *Ålquntäm*, his nose and forehead wrinkled in deep thought.

Sexsexḳälaix joins the group. These three supernatural ones remain standing for some little time, then they pass into

575 746 776 the enclosure in the opposite corner to that from which they had emerged.

Anumuntskmum. Three or four masked figures appear together to portray these beings. Their function is to remind *Alquntäm* of those whom he should invite to his ceremonials above.

Snunq. As this dreaded monster appears, the uninitiated cower convulsively and the *kukusiut* women drone. Several [789] masked figures accompany the *Snunq* around the fire, blowing eagle down over the creature, and *Ano'likwotsaix* explains to the uninitiated that this is to protect them from the monster. The heralds as usual echo her remarks. After one circuit of the fire, the *Snunq* disappears into one of the enclosures behind the fire.

Haohao. This supernatural, mythological denizen of the mountains, is in the form of an enormous bird with long beak and bony wings. The mask worn with the disguise is usually [592] about three feet in length, in the shape of a bird's head with long beak. A stick passes from its butt down the wearer's back and is held in place by his belt, thus balancing the heavy, projecting bill (see Plate 8).§ It is hinged so that the performer can make the mandibles snap together by pulling a cord concealed under his blanket. A good actor, and such is [535] always chosen to represent this creature, bends forward and downwards so that the snapping beak almost brushes the floor, then he rises and pauses like a bird when listening and half startled. Next he runs a few steps, in a mincing manner, thus slowly circling the fire, and ultimately passes from sight into the enclosure other than that from which he has emerged. Several *kukusiut* accompany the actor, blowing eagle down over him, the women drone and *Ano'likwotsaix* keeps up a string of comments. After a short pause a second *haohao* appears and circles the fire with its attendant *kukusiut*. The same procedure is repeated for a third and fourth.

Alcwuläkmum. This is the supernatural herald for Thun- [592] der, the leading *kusiut* among supernatural beings. He wears

§ [see category 116, p 164 (B) – ANALYST]

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a mask representing a man and carries a stick with which he beats on the floor as he cries out: 575* 796*

"Come, ye supernatural ones. The most famous *kusiut* of all [Thunder] is about to dance." 776 532

Thunder. The mask representing this creature is large and of fearsome appearance with hooked beak and overhanging forehead; it is always carried by a man of powerful physique (see Plate 9).§ A box has been placed beside the enclosure so that, when Thunder first appears, standing upon it, his apparent size is increased. He bends to and fro, and up and down, in an amazing fashion, blowing through his clenched teeth, while *Ánoʼlikwotsaix* informs the uninitiated who he is, and expatiates on his powers. 575* 796* 776 535 After twisting and turning for several minutes, Thunder leaps to the floor of the house, and as he does so there sounds a peal of thunder. The uninitiated do not know that this is caused by a number of *kukusiut* rolling stones to and fro in large wooden boxes within the enclosures at the back. Then he starts to dance sunwise around the fire, bending down and up, shaking himself and stamping violently, his amazing gyrations being constantly accompanied by the reverberation of rolling stones. Escorted by several *kukusiut* he circles the fire, and after a final stamping and twisting, disappears into the enclosure. In a few minutes he appears again, and repeats his dance. Since no one man is strong enough to carry out this athletic performance twice in succession, the mask has been transferred to another *kusiut* within the enclosure, but of course the uninitiated are unaware of this. Thunder always comes out four times in all, on each occasion dancing once around the fire. Sometimes four different men perform; sometimes the one who danced first has recovered sufficiently to be able to repeat on the fourth round. The usual explanations by *Ánoʼlikwotsaix* add zest to the rite. On this occasion the customary dance of Thunder with a fire rattle was omitted.

Sxnxwaxdax. Twelve of these beings appear together, disguised behind masks representing young girls. They are the 575* 796* 776 [532]

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§ [see category 116, p 164 (c) - ANALYST]

*575 pre-adolescent children of various supernatural beings in the
*796 land above who play together outside *Nusmāt·a* and refuse to
776 allow any man to approach them. As they circle the fire they sing a song of which the theme is their refusal to have anything to do with a man.

[532] *The Hermaphrodite.* This being wears a mask representing a cast of countenance midway between a "man and a woman," and speaks in a nasal tone difficult to describe. He circles the fire immediately behind the twelve *Syngnesäxs*.

As the young girls are about to disappear into their enclosure, the figure of *Sxaiaxwax* bursts forth from the other and at once the *Syngnesäxs* hurry from sight, shepherded by
[532] the Hermaphrodite. *Sxaiaxwax* wears a mask representing an ugly and licentious man and carries beneath his bear-skin robe a partly concealed stick. He rushes around the fire as if in pursuit of his quarry, then likewise disappears.

*575 As before stated, the number of supernatural beings shown
*796 depends on the wishes of X. On the occasion now being described, the informants agreed that more had been used, but which they were had been forgotten. Sometimes the number is so great that all cannot appear on one night, so the uninitiated are expelled when the marshals think fit and the rite continued on the following evening, making two *nebusam*. In either case, after the withdrawal of non-members, the *kukusiut* burn the masks in the manner already described.

For the rest of the ceremonial season X behaves as if he were recovering from a severe illness. He attends the *qotlum* of every *kusiut* but, like Cannibals, Scratchers, and Breakers, does not blacken his face, sits with them in the rear corners where they are served with food before the other dancers. X is called upon to perform rather late on *qotlum* nights and does so in a feeble manner. Towards the end of the ceremonial season, however, he has regained sufficient strength to move around freely, though he still maintains the mien of one who has suffered a terrifying experience. During the following summer he must likewise remain in comparative concealment,

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and must never gossip or mingle casually with the outsiders. 575*
In addition to a band of dyed cedar-bark on his head he wears 796*
one around his stomach.

A number of years ago, when the influence of the white man 575*
had become strong enough to undermine the old ritual, a Bella 796*
Coola *kusiotem* dancer, instead of remaining in seclusion after
the dance, ran away to Kimsquit where lived a young woman 688
with whom he was in love. 177
In the old days this would have led to punishment by a third tribe. When the offender wished to return to Bella Coola he was afraid of the wrath of the marshals, but plucked up courage to come back after several months. The marshals seized him and scratched his stomach with a metal nail so that the uninitiated, seeing the wound, might be led to believe that the man had been severely cut. Periodically the scabs were pulled off to re-enflame the injury and make it appear that a deep gash was slowly healing. The offender, of course, could not protest, since he was a *kusiut* who had broken the law and was fortunate in escaping so lightly.

The Beheading Dance

Another of the dramatic dances which can be performed by 575*
a *kusiotem* is that of having his head pulled off. Like the 796*
Stomach-Cutting dance, it is the prerogative of a Kimsquit
man named *Onixwalicua*. [424]
He carried out the rite a few years after he had performed the one just described. The main points of ritual being identical for all *kusiotem* dances, minor points already recorded can be omitted. As before, it will be convenient to term *Onixwalicua* X, and to describe the dance in the present tense.

Early in the summer X informs one of the marshals of his desire to have his head pulled off the following winter. The one consulted discusses the matter with his fellows; in this case no objections were raised as *Onixwalicua* had already performed a *kusiotem* dance and it was felt that he was reliable.
As soon as permission is granted, the would-be dancer asks the [532]
best carpenters to meet him in a lonely place in the forest and

[The Beheading Dance]

*575 tells them that he wants a mask made to represent his own
*796 face. The purpose for which it is destined is not mentioned, although there is no reason why the workmen, all of them
532 *kukusiut*, should not know, as they actually do. X blackens his face a trifle, making it easier to depict, and lies down as model for the carpenters, who at once start chiselling masks. Each works independently, and usually finishes one, or even two or three, in a day. Five or six carpenters are labouring simultaneously, and when the first group of masks has been finished the marshals, and perhaps one or more influential chiefs as well, come to inspect the handicraft. The masks are laid out in a glade of the forest and the marshals make their criticisms.

"No. The nose is too long," they say of one mask, or,

"The cheeks are too full," with regard to another.

It is seldom that one of the first group of completed masks meets with their approval, but the next morning the carpenters try once more, with X again lying down as model. In the evening the marshals again examine the results. Hundreds (probably an exaggeration) are often made before one is found which satisfies every requirement, and if the carpenters fail to produce a realistic portrait, the rite cannot be carried out. The unsuccessful attempts are carefully hidden in the forest lest they should be seen by an uninitiated person. When *Onixwaltcua* performed the rite, it was near the end of September before one of the carpenters succeeded in making a satisfactory model.

When the wooden representation has been completed, there is no further doubt about holding the ceremony, and one of the marshals, acting for X, summons the singers and other influential *kukusiut* to the secret meeting place for a discussion of preliminaries.[78] At this conference X tells the carpenters what
[465] he proposes to give them as presents for the work they have
[431] done for him; the concept of "pay" is entirely lacking although
[533] it is an essential part of the transaction. The singers are told

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[78] Several details that apply to all *kusiotem* are here included which were inadvertently omitted by informants in describing the Stomach-Cutting dance.

to prepare three songs for X, choosing as themes the usual 575* *kusiotem* facts, with any additional details from the performer's 796* myth which he may give them. The marshals instruct the 532 maker of the successful mask to put hair on it and to attach a [533] neck.

Four days later the same group again meets in the forest and X tries on the mask. When in position it rests on top of his own head with a stick passing down behind his occiput to his waist, where it is fastened by a belt; the general effect is that he has a superimposed head. Minor adjustments are suggested and made and X takes the mask, while the unsuccessful attempts are burnt. The marshals solemnly warn the participants of the seriousness of the rite in which they are about to engage. X conceals the mask with great care in some cleft of the mountains.

At intervals the singers meet and listen to the tunes each [533] has composed, until they decide on the three most suitable, which they practise.

Nothing more takes place until after the winter solstice, when X and the marshals select the exact date for the rite. After a *qotlum*, the marshals, singers, carpenters, and other *kusiut* functionaries remain in the house to rehearse the coming ceremony. The head is placed in position, supported by a framework of reeds which can be separated by strong pressure. When X raises his blanket over his own head, the mask portrait alone is visible, and only the wearer's extra height might cause suspicion. Around his "neck," in reality the junction between X's own head and the false one, is tied a rope, so arranged that when pulled from each end, it slips, contracts on the reed framework, and ultimately tears through it to separate the head from the body.[77] Raw meat and blood have been placed inside the "neck" so that, when the mask is pulled off, it appears as if X's flesh were exposed and he falls to the

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[77] An old man showed the writer the method of fastening, but I was unable to learn it. The rope, instead of being knotted, is wound within itself so that, when the framework is broken, it comes away untangled. [284]

[The Beheading Dance]

*575 *796 [532] floor. The rope draws through itself, becomes untangled, and the blood stains previously placed on it become apparent. The *kukusiut* rehearse the decapitation a number of times until every detail is perfect. Shielded by the gloom of the house, one of the carpenters fastens a thin cord to the portrait-mask and practises drawing it gradually towards X, who finally rises as if restored to life by the return of his head. The mask is actually concealed and X stands up at his natural height. Since this is the feat which will be done in the presence of the uninitiated, it must be worked out with precision. When the marshals are satisfied that everything is in good shape they permit the *kukusiut* to disperse. A similar practice is carried out for the Stomach-Cutting dance if the marshals consider it necessary. The night after the rehearsal the call comes to X, who parades to every house in the village. On his fourth circuit he carries a rope in his hand instead of a knife; the *kukusiut* weep as they did on the previous occasion, and any uninitiated who have seen or heard of the rite realize the fate in store for X. The next day, *nusiutälsap,* a number of *kukusiut* are dispatched for wood, and in the evening some of the work is allotted and arrangements made for singing the mourning songs and for the use of puppet-patrons by the *änuyex.* The marshals take advantage of the opportunity to harangue their hearers.

"Take heed what you do," they say. "*Älquntäm* and the other supernatural ones have sent down a powerful call to us. Unless we make strong our spirits we will be unable to bear up under the weight of it."

Qothm passes without variation from the type already described, and on the following night the *kukusiut* assemble early for *nebusam.* When they have taken their places, the fire is extinguished; then the uninitiated are called in and guided to their places near the door.[78] After an hour's delay, punctuated by the whistles, the fire is built up and X goes around it four times, while the *kukusiut* beat furiously with sticks. X calls

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[184] [78] In Kimsquit only.

out that he wants someone to tie up his neck, and, after the usual delay, an uninitiated lad is brought forward for the purpose. The carpenters help him to manipulate the rope, and in reality do the actual tying although they disguise the fact. Then four or five *kukusiut* seize either end and begin to tug; X cries out as if in pain, the whistles sound, and the women drone. It is most impressive. Finally the head is pulled from the body and falls to the floor, while the apparently headless and lifeless body of X sinks down in the direction taken by the head. Blood and raw flesh are in evidence and the weeping of the women readily convinces non-members that they have watched the decapitation of the dancer. Sometimes the uninitiated themselves are allowed to pull the rope. 575* 796*

The ritual throughout the night is identical with that already described for the Stomach-Cutting dance. The spies guard the doors, refusing egress to all, the mourning women sing their songs, the puppets ascend to the land above and are inserted into X on their return. At intervals groups of the uninitiated are told to come forward; they circle the fire sunwise and see that X's head is lying apart from his body, with the blood and flesh and the severed neck visible. Towards dawn[79] hidden strings are fastened to the head and it is drawn slightly towards the body. One of the marshals calls out:

"It moves! It moves! Do you see it?" and a herald answers:

"We see it move."

The slow movement is continued until the uninitiated, who make periodic inspections, are able to say that it has almost rejoined the trunk. As the first glimmer of light appears in the east, one of the carpenters bends over X and takes the opportunity, while he conceals the dancer's body with his own, to hide the false head beneath his blanket; at the same time X stretches his own head up from under his blanket. The subterfuge is not evident to the uninitiated.

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[79] The passage of time at night is judged in villages on the coast by the height of the tide, or the movements of stars; the latter is also practised in the inland settlements. If the stars are hidden, an estimate is made by the number of fir logs burnt through since sunset. [805] [821] [823]

[The Beheading Dance]

*575 X begins to move his fingers in a feeble way and to sing a *796 shaman's song of which *Snitsmän·a* is the only intelligible word. [533] Of course the singers have previously taught him as much as is necessary of this type of composition, but the assumption is that he has just learnt it from *Snitsmän·a* who has restored him [756] to life. At this juncture two shamans often approach X and appear to project some power into him whereby he is able to rise and slowly circle the fire, supported by them. He shakes his hands and sings in a weak voice, then stands behind the fire, still supported by the two shamans. This concludes the night's ceremony and the marshals tell the uninitiated to leave. The *kukusiut* soon follow, except carpenters, singers, and any other influential members of the society who desire to wait to discuss the performance.

As in the Stomach-Cutting dance, four days more of ceremonial follow the severing of X's head, with ritual corresponding to that of an ordinary *kusiut* performance. *Ṫsıxtämem* comes on the night after the decapitation. The *kukusiut* gather [533] in good time to learn a song, the theme of which is X's patron, the supernatural being *Sänolłx̣ımulelts Álquntäm*, who has his head pulled off during dances in the land above. Mention is always made of *Snitsmän·a* as well. No further description is required of the ceremonial on the nights of *nusiutälsap* and *qotlım*.

On *nebusam* the first spectacle is a representation of what takes place in the land above. A mask has been prepared similar to the one worn by X, so that it can be pulled entirely from his body. This decapitation is performed by masked figures while the heralds and marshals explain that this is what is done aloft. The upper mask is hidden and the performer, who wears one identical with that which has been pulled from him, stands up to show the uninitiated that his head has been restored to him. Since the performers are supposed to be supernatural beings, it is possible for the beheaded one to be restored more rapidly than was possible when X, a mortal, suffered the same fate. After this deception there follows a

procession of supernatural beings according to X's choice. 575*
The proceedings terminate in the same way as those described 796*
in the Stomach-Cutting dance.

X must obey the customary restrictions on his movements for the rest of the ceremonial season, and also remain in partial concealment for the summer following. The fiction circulated is that he is still suffering from the after-effects of decapitation. He is legally entitled to perform any other *kusiotem* rite during [424] the following winter, but it is most unusual for a man to do so on successive seasons.

The Drowning Dance

In a third *kusiotem* dance the performer appears to drown. X carried out this ceremonial during the third winter after his decapitation, but as usual it will be convenient to describe the ritual in the present tense.

During the summer, as for the Beheading dance, he obtains permission from the marshals. With the latter present, he then arranges with the singers and the carpenters to compose songs of the usual *kusiotem* type and to prepare a mask. Since X had preserved the mask used at the time of his decapitation, it was not necessary to have one made. The intending dancer [415] borrows from a *kusiut* friend one of the large boxes used for [252] boiling olachen and this is taken in secret to some lonely spot in the forest. The carpenters cut a hole in the bottom and smear the edges with grease and dirt to conceal the aperture; skin hinges are fastened to one side of the movable section so that it can be opened easily and quickly. They also make a wooden framework the size and shape of X's body, to which the portrait-mask is attached to give a realistic representation of the man himself.

Nothing more can be done until near the winter solstice when the carpenters cut a hole in the floor of X's house, immediately behind the fire, and fasten the section removed with skin hinges to make a trap-door. Then the carpenters, marshals, singers, and other influential *kukusiut* meet some evening

[The Drowning Dance]

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for a rehearsal. The box is placed on top of the concealed opening; X enters it, raises the flap in the bottom, and opens the trap-door through which he squeezes into the space between the floor of the house and the ground beneath. The false body, clothed like himself, has been placed in readiness and X passes it up into the box which he has just left. Water is then poured in upon it and the movable section of bottom fits sufficiently tightly that none flows out. If everything is satisfactory, the box is returned to its owner for safe-keeping.

When the time for the ceremony comes, the senior *kukusiut* meet for a final rehearsal after the *qotlm* of a *kusiut*. Cases are remembered of intentional tampering with the box by [578] some malicious individual, hence the necessity for careful testing. The following night the call comes to X, and he goes to every house of the village with his cry:

"Please speak plainly; I will do what you want."

The ritual of the next four days is identical with that already described and the uninitiated keep wondering what is going to happen. If they should ask any *kusiut*, the answer given is:

"We don't quite understand what it is. Something dreadful has fallen upon X, but the details are not yet clear."

So the time passes until the night when X is to be drowned. As in other *kusiotem* dances, the uninitiated are guided to their places in inky darkness and sit there until the weird stillness and awe of it all has had time to take effect upon them. At last the fire is kindled and one of the marshals announces that X wants to borrow a large boiling box from so-and-so, naming the man to whom the prepared one has been entrusted. The owner says that he is willing to lend it and two *kukusiut* are sent to bring the receptacle. It is placed over the trap-door, and X circles the fire four times while the *kukusiut* beat time frenziedly with sticks. Suddenly he cries out:

"My patron bids me enter this box and have water poured upon me."

The *kukusiut* women drone out in fear and the *änuyex*

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strengthen him by the insertion of their puppets. Thus fortified, X climbs into the box and, though this the uninitiated do not know, out through the bottom underneath the house whence he shoves the dummy up into the place he has just left. Strings fastened to the figure lead out through the floor, so that, when pulled, the fingers can be made to move and the eyes to blink.[89] The marshals ask four young lads to come forward to pour into the box the water which has been placed in readiness. As they do so, the *kukusiut* women drone as if in deadly fear and the fingers of the figure within can be seen moving spasmodically. Water is poured in till it overflows the edges of the box. At intervals during the night small parties of uninitiated are called forward to see X beneath the surface, without, of course, detecting the substitution. The mourning women sing, and the puppets go and return from the land above in the manner already described. When the carpenters constructed the flap in the floor of the box they also inserted several small plugs which are pulled out as dawn approaches. This is done and one of the marshals calls out that the water is lowering and the uninitiated, called forward to see, agree that he has spoken truly. What seems extremely remarkable to them is the absence of damp on the floor, as would be the case if the box were leaking. The water has dripped away through the trap-door in the floor, but only the *kukusiut* know this. Non-members are called forward four times to see the steady diminution of the water, until finally only a little is left. Under cover of the darkness X now re-enters the box, at the same time shoving out the dummy. He sits up and feebly sings a shaman's song of *Snitsmān·a*, who has restored him to life after drowning, then climbs from the box and slowly circles the fire with shaking hands, singing once more. Now that X has recovered, the spies, who have acted as door-keepers, allow the audience to disperse.

No further description need be given of the rites that follow

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[89] It was impossible to ascertain what means were taken to prevent the water dripping out through the holes for the strings.

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on the next three nights, since they are identical with those of other *kusiotem* ceremonials. For *nebusam* a masked figure is prepared, which the uninitiated believe to be X's supernatural patron. The box is placed as when the dancer performed, but the *kukusiut*, not uninitiated, pour in the water. The latter can see that liquid is entering, and the *kukusiut* tell them the height to which it has risen, but only those who are taking part can see that the water merely runs out through the opened trap-door in the floor. When enough has been poured in, the masked figure enters the box, remains for about fifteen minutes, and then reappears. After this performance there follows the procession of supernatural beings as previously described.

This concludes the Drowning dance. X obeys restrictions similar to those required for the other *kusiotem* dances.

The Burning Dance

Still another *kusiotem* dance prerogative is that of being burnt to death. The details of ritual are so similar to those of the Drowning dance that it can be recorded briefly. The preliminary arrangements are made in the summer as soon as permission to hold it has been obtained from the marshals. A large box of the kind used for cooking olachen is constructed with a hinged flap in the bottom, so that, as with the Drowning dance, the performer can pass through it and a trap-door in the floor.

The details of rehearsal, coming of the call, asking what is required, the waiting for four days, and the summoning of the uninitiated in the darkness do not differ from the other *kusiotem* ceremonials. When the time comes for the rite itself, one of the marshals announces that X wants to borrow a box from so-and-so. The one prepared is brought and placed over the hidden trap-door. The dancer, strengthened by patron-puppets, enters, passes through the trap-door to the space beneath the house, and quickly shoves in a dummy figure.

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Several young uninitiated are called forward and asked to throw the box on the fire, tipping it sideways so that the "man" within is clearly visible amid the leaping flames. With considerable fear they do so, while the *kukusiut* women begin to weep. Non-members are amazed to hear X's voice from the midst of the flames apparently trying to sing a shaman's song. This ruse is carried out by means of a long stick from which the pith has been extracted to make a tube. It has been soaked in water so that it will not burn readily, and one end laid in the fire; X, concealed behind a row of associates, sings into the other, so that his voice appears to issue from the midst of the fire. Often a singer acts as substitute for the dancer, since the tube effectively disguises the voice. The heralds point out how the body is shaking, and the excited uninitiated do not realize that what seems to be movement is a mere optical illusion, caused by the heat shimmer. Gradually the box is consumed and the figure falls asunder. The marshals explain that X's liver is the last part of the body to be burnt.

When X's body has been reduced to ashes, the spies guard the door as at other *kusiotem* dances, and the ritual previously described is once more enacted. Towards dawn one of the spies who has left the house, rushes back to report that X is coming from the river. In he comes, with his ornaments of dyed cedar-bark smouldering from the flames. The wonder is intense! Slowly he circles the fire, singing his shaman's song of *Snitsmän·a*. This concludes the long night's ceremonial and the spies allow the guests to depart.

The descriptions already given of other *kusiotem* rites apply equally to those which follow the Burning dance. There is the same period of waiting followed by *nebusam*. Details could not be learnt of the portrayal of the burning which is followed by the customary parade of supernatural beings. As in the other cases, X is secluded for some time as if suffering from the effects of incineration.

The Swallowing of Hot Stones Dance

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If X desires to show his ***kusiotem*** prerogative by swallowing hot stones he must, as in all other cases, obtain the consent of the marshals during the summer preceding the ceremonial season when he wished to perform. He then requests the carpenters to meet him in some lonely place in the forest and instructs them to make two copper plates shaped like his stomach. The outer one must so resemble a human body that the uninitiated will be deceived in the dim light of the dance-house, so the carpenters make even a navel in it. The inner plate covers stomach and chest closely, while the outer is held about three inches away by blocks of wood. The aim of the artisans is that the completed object, when fastened to the wearer by a large collar and a belt, will not appear artificial. When the two plates are finished the marshals and leading ***kukusiut*** meet in some lonely spot to inspect the result. If it does not measure up to their high standard of excellence, the rite cannot be carried out. Stones are heated in a fire and lifted, one after the other, by tongs and dropped down inside X's collar so as to fall between the two plates. The supposition is, of course, that he has swallowed them. A support of some kind is fixed at the bottom of the double framework so that the pebbles are held there, with smoke issuing from the navel. After each has remained within the "stomach" for about five minutes, it is allowed to fall out through that opening. If the marshals approve of the manufacture, they consent to the ceremony and the plates are carefully hidden for use the following winter.

The dance takes place after the winter solstice and the preliminaries, including final rehearsal, coming of the call, circling of the village, four days of seclusion, and final calling in of the uninitiated, are the same as those already described for other ***kusiotem*** rites, except that women are not present to sing mourning songs, because the performer does not die. When all is ready, X circles the fire four times, amid the furious

beating of sticks. The plating over his stomach is not apparent 575*
in the dim light, especially as much of it is hidden by his collar 796*
of dyed cedar-bark and a broad dance-apron. Sometimes the disguise is improved by fastening the skin of a dog, mountain goat, or deer, over the outer surface. X takes up his position, standing, behind the fire. One of the heralds inserts tongs into the flames and draws forth a stone, taking care that the uninitiated can see that it is red hot. X pretends to swallow this, though actually it drops inside his collar to the receptacle between the plates of copper. The clashing can often be heard as it strikes against the metal, and smoke pours forth from the "navel." X groans and jabbers, *i·····*, while he shakes his fingers violently. After about five minutes the stone is seen to fall to the floor. Sometimes a number of pebbles are used, though one is often considered sufficient. When the last has fallen, non-members are expelled and the *kukusiut* eat and listen to the admonitions of the marshals.

As with other *kusiotem* rites, the ritual of this dance is continued for four more days. Masks are prepared and on the fourth evening the uninitiated are summoned. A masked figure, wearing a copper stomach, appears and swallows a stone which later falls out through the navel. This is done four times, while *Ăno·likwolsaix* explains that the guest from above is repeating his actions at home. Following this performance, a procession of supernatural beings appears, in the manner already described.

Although X is not killed by this dance, as are other *kusiotem* dancers, he is required to undergo the same restrictions.

THE FUNGUS DANCE

Another of the more important *kusiut* ceremonials is the [424]
Fungus dance, now the prerogative of a woman, *Snunkka·kus*.
The name was formerly held by her brother, who had inherited
it from his mother's brother. The first *Snunkka·kus* came to
earth in the beginning of time at *Stuux* and made his repository [778]

[The Fungus Dance]

*575 *796 at *O·q̓wi·*, near that village, where it has remained ever since. It will be convenient to term *Snʊnkka·kʊs* X.

If X wishes to perform, he informs the marshals of his desire and a suitable time is arranged. On the night of *nebusam* for some other *kusiut*, the call comes to X who indicates that it has taken possession of him by uttering a low vocal whistle and peering around as if dazed. *Kukusiut* accomplices sound whistles from without the house, the uninitiated are at once expelled, and the women drone monotonously. After a few minutes, X walks to the side of the fire nearest the door and [787] again gives his low whistle, still looking around in a puzzled manner. This is repeated a third time at the side of the fire, and a fourth, behind it. Thus the call comes upon [illegible]n. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of wha[illegible]s taking place. The *kukusiut* begin to assemble in X's house, and assist him by the four times repeated frenzied beating of sticks. Next the singers beat out the words of a song already composed for the occasion; the theme for all songs used by Fungus dancers is the land above. The ritual on this night of *lsuxtämem* is identical with that already described in the earlier *kusiut* dances.

*575 *796 532 On the day following, *nusiutälsap*, there is not the customary collecting of wood from the forest. X merely remains quietly within the back-room, visited only by senior *kusiut* officials and a skilful carpenter. The latter brings a fungus which he has found in the woods; it must be a good specimen of the common semi-circular shelf variety with a clear white surface unspoiled by decay. On this he paints a face, showing eye-brows, eyes, nose, and mouth, and fastens beneath a miniature body made of dyed cedar-bark with grotesque waving legs, terminating in eagle claws (see Plate 10).[1] The total length of the figure is about nine inches. The fungus, with pendant attachment, is fastened near the end of a stout rope of plaited cedar-bark about eight feet in length, so that when this end of the rope is held uppermost, the head of the fungus hangs in a normal upright position. The carpenter starts his work on

[1] [see category 116, p. 164 (D)- ANALYST]

nusiutälsap and has part of that day as well as all of *qotlm* and 575* *nebusam* to complete his task. On the evening of *nusiutälsap*, 796* the *kukusiut* are summoned as usual to practise X's two songs. [532] The ritual on this night as well as on the following, *qotlm*, appears to be of the usual *kusiut* type although one informant [178] stated that complete silence reigns in order to spread the fiction among the uninitiated in the neighbouring houses that X is waiting quietly to commune with the supernatural beings, and that consequently the customary dancing is omitted. This is probably a modern deviation from the traditional usage.

On the night of *nebusam* a herald summons the *kukusiut* to X's house with the cry:

Teälätt dɛnai nusinkomi dɛkusiutai [539]
Come to the little *kusiut* dance.

This is merely a rhetorical remark since the dance is really one of major import. They enter, and are at once given a small meal.[11] Then the cry is raised for the uninitiated. When they are seated, X appears from the back-room, carrying before him the fungus, held by the shorter end of rope projecting above, while the longer is coiled up behind it out of sight. The *kukusiut* begin to beat time furiously as X slowly circles the fire. Then, solemnly and carefully, he sets the fungus on the floor where, to the wonder of the uninitiated, it disappears from sight as though it had sunk into the planks. This is, in fact, the case, since the carpenters have prepared a small hole in the floor through which it disappears, leaving only the cord lying on the surface. Any four *kukusiut* men are called forward to support X and stand, two on either side of him. The dancer bends down, picks up the string easily with one hand and draws up the fungus into sight, taking care not to raise it high enough to expose the longer end of the rope passing through the hole. He lowers his burden and the fungus disappears from sight. X whispers to one of his four assistants and the latter calls out, as if just prompted:

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[11] This may be also a modern innovation. [178]

[The Fungus Dance]

*575 *796 "I want a strong man. I want so-and-so," naming a *kusiut* of powerful physique.

The man so designated comes forward, passes once, sunwise, around the cord, seizes it with both hands, and strains to pull up the fungus. Sometimes he fails to make it appear at all, or he may be able to produce the upper part of the forehead, and he soon returns to his place, baffled. The uninitiated realize that it is a mere fungus, and the puzzle to them is how X can lift it so easily when another fails. The explanation lies in the long rope, of which they are unaware, passing down through the floor of the house to the space between it and the ground. Here are concealed four strong *kukusiut* whose duty is to hold the end and allow it to be hauled up to a distance indicated by whispered instructions. It would be a major disaster should they become careless or should the rope break. A second *kusiut* is called forward, but has no greater success than his predecessor, and a third and a fourth also fail. The heralds keep up a running fire of comments; for instance, if one man is able to raise the forehead into view they remark on the fact, saying that he must be a good man to whom the supernatural beings are favourably disposed. If, on the other hand, the cord is drawn down, removing the skin from the palms of the would-be puller, they comment unmercifully on the dislike manifested toward him. When four *kukusiut* have tried and failed, X again demonstrates his strength, or the willingness of the supernatural beings to respond to his pulling, by lifting the fungus and dangling body into view. Once more a herald calls out:

"The *kusiut* wants someone to pull."

The challenge is now open to anyone, member of the society or uninitiated, and one after another comes forward, circles the rope, and tries his strength—but without avail. Even the awe [123] of the *kusiut* dance hall cannot restrain the mirth of the spectators when the rope is quickly pulled below, a painful experience as the writer knows to his cost. Often it is a little girl

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PLATE 7

Photograph by the author

Blanket with wooden skulls
worn by a cannibal

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PLATE 8

Photograph by the author

Masked figure representing a [illegible]

[p. 164 (B)]

2;McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 9

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Thunder dancer. Notice the cedar-bark collar with pendant tassels and the framework of twigs decorated with eagle down.

[p. 164 (c)]

PLATE 10

*575
*746
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Photograph by the author

Dancer carrying the fungus

[p. 164 (D)]

PLATE 11

575*
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Photograph by the author

Thunder carrying the fire-rattle

[p. 164 (E)]

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*796
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PLATE 12

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

The slave woman with the child on her back

[p. 164 (F)]

who comes nearest to drawing forth the fungus and the spec- 575*
tators comment: 796*

"She must be a good girl for the supernatural beings to show their approval."

At intervals X lifts up the fungus, and his strength is shown especially when the cord has been pulled so far down that he can grip only the very end with one finger. The four *kukusiut* hidden below sometimes become weary of their work and tie a billet crosswise to the rope so that no one can lift it, but of course this must be removed when X demonstrates his prowess again. Towards dawn the concealed helpers cut the rope and X lifts the fungus, holding it in front of his body while the *kukusiut* women drone. With four assistants pressing closely around him, X turns and makes the motion of throwing the fungus up into the air with a cry of *hoip*. It vanishes, and the uninitiated do not realize that it has been palmed to one of the accomplices for concealment beneath his blanket. Then one of the marshals explains to non-members that in the land above the supernatural beings once endeavoured to lift up a fungus, but that X alone, referring to that part of him which visits the dances in the land above, could do so. Accordingly it was sent down for mortals to try, and now that they too have
failed it has been sent back. He enlarges on the fact that X, [787]
through lying quiet for four days communing with the supernatural beings, has really become one, as is indeed the case with all *kukusiut* who ascend to the land above or experience other peculiar incidents in the course of their performances. This concludes the ceremony; the uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* soon follow.

Instead of a *nabusam* of the type just described, X has the 575*
prerogative of performing in an entirely different manner of
which only the outlines could be obtained. The fungus is tied 796*
to a long rope and thrown into the rapids. One end of the 424
cord is held by a *kusiut* on the bank with the result that the fungus whirls to and fro erratically. The *kukusiut* assemble on the bank and hurl harpoons at it while non-members watch

[The Fungus Dance]

*575 from a distance. When one of the participants has speared
*796 the object, it is drawn to shore and carried into the house.
[424] The uninitiated are then called in and enter, often covering
their heads with blankets to prevent their spirits being drawn
from them. None of the Bella Coola appears to know what
governed, in the old days, the choice between these two
performances.

*575 The Fungus dance differs considerably from typical *kusiut*
rituals already described. In part this is certainly due to
*796 decay of custom. When the writer witnessed the dance in the
178 winter of 1923-4 it was carried out very crudely by *Snınkka·kıs*, who, unwilling to admit this, was secretive about the
proper ritual. Consequently, the performance of the dance
was more of a hindrance than a help to the investigator. But
even when full weight is given to this circumstance, it is clear
that the Fungus dance is peculiar, particularly in the omission
of masked figures on *nebusam*.

*575 The ritual on that occasion was further complicated by the
fact that *Snınkka·kıs* has also the prerogative of dancing at
*796 an eclipse of either the sun or the moon, and insisted on this
821 fact being brought out in connection with her songs. Four of
[424] these were composed instead of the usual two, and the supernatural beings described in them were:

[533] *Älquntäm:* under the name of *Sınxälotla.*

[776] The Moon.

Smaien·a: This was introduced on account of being the
[532] place from which the Salmon-Bringer leaps to the sun. A
mask representing this place of petrified power is always
painted with salmon designs and the blanket of the wearer is
decorated in the same way.

The *Snınq* mouths that act as posts at the ends of the sun's course.

Slifım: A supernatural being dwelling under the river who is able to use a fungus in a dance held there. Detailed information about this creature could not be obtained.

[533] At any eclipse, no matter what the season of the year or

time of day, X must sing. The heralds call everyone to his 575* 796* house where the singers at once compose a new song, describing 821 sun or moon as the case may be. They then sing it while X dances. Other *kukusiut* have the prerogative of dancing at an [533] eclipse of the sun, and still others at an eclipse of the moon, [424] but X claims to be the only one entitled to dance at both.

THE MYSTERY DANCE

Mystery is the key-note of all *kusiut* dances, but in the one 575* termed *Äłmutsämk* that element is brought home so forcibly 796* to the uninitiated that it may aptly be called the Dance of Mystery. The Bella Coola explain that the word *Äłmutsämk* means *staq̣am*, "What Is Hidden." The essence of the rite, as explained to non-members, is that the supernatural power which has come to the dancer is embodied in three supernatural beings or in manifestations of them. Unless someone guesses its locations, the performer will die. The Mystery dance is one of the most lengthy Bella Coola rituals and necessitates [556] such a lavish expenditure of food that only a rich man can undertake it.

Accounts were obtained of the ritual as carried out by [424] *Q̣oxolän·i* of *Tcımotł* and *Saix̣näs* of Kimsquit, both of whom have the necessary prerogative. The details differ so slightly in the two localities that only one description need be given, and the dancer can be spoken of as X. The patron of most [776] Mystery dancers is *Sänołłx̣ımułełts Äłquntäm*, but that of *Saix̣näs* is *Kokosłxım*, a supernatural being remarkable for his wild and erratic behaviour.

When X has stored up as much food as he thinks necessary, he calls the marshals together to tell them of his desire to dance. In case of consent, they admonish him not to hurry matters but to perform the rite slowly and properly. Preliminary arrangements include the choosing of four *kukusiut* gifted with good memories to store up in their minds the guesses made by the uninitiated. If many *kukusiut* are anxious to dance, X usually asks permission on the night of a

[The Mystery Dance]

*575 *qotlvm*, and it is agreed that the call shall come to him on the
*796 following evening.

X's first task is to prepare, or to have made for him, a stick which he will use throughout the ceremony. It is of yellow [184] cedar, about five feet in length; in Kimsquit it is decorated with four bands of swan feathers, in Bella Coola with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark.

[787] The following evening the call comes to X. He utters a low whistle, resembling a hoot, goes towards the fire and slowly revolves on himself. The *kukusiut* women present begin to drone and the uninitiated are expelled. Constantly turning on himself, X slowly moves sunwise around the flames, repeating his hoot three times, once at each side of the fire. He stands behind it and calls out loudly:

"Please say exactly what you want; whatever it is, I will do it."

After the customary frenzied beating, he withdraws to the back-room. Heralds go to all the houses, reporting what has taken place and summoning the *kukusiut*. When all have gathered, X appears and asks for the usual collar of dyed cedar-bark and a dance-apron. These are provided, put on him and his face is blackened. Under the guidance of a marshal or singer, the *kukusiut* men beat furiously on the floor, without time or rhythm, until the leader motions them to conclude with four thunderous beats. In the stillness that follows X begins to chatter loudly, without using exact words, and everyone realizes that this is an invitation to guess who are the three supernatural beings in whom his power is localized. Sometimes the meaning is made still more evident by his carrying [424] the stick previously mentioned, which is the prerogative of Mystery dancers alone. The guests enter into the spirit of the dance and call out their guesses, naming little known supernatural beings, parts of beings, or manifestations of the supernatural; sometimes three or four answer at the same time. The four remembrancers have placed themselves near X and it is their duty to recollect the replies. When *kukusiut* alone

are present, to forget an answer is not a serious matter, but 575*
later on the uninitiated are similarly invited to guess and then 796*
correct remembering is essential. After this has gone on for
some time, the singers strike up the tune of a song which they [533]
have already composed for X.[33] The theme is always of the
land above and the wordless chorus, which is said to be the [171]
same for Mystery dancers all over the coast, is *'a'yaiweia*. The audience listen attentively so that they will be able to join in. When this has been sufficiently practised, a meal is served, amid the admonitions of the marshals. After a second practice of X's song, all is ready for a circuit of the village, the fact that it is about two or three o'clock in the morning being of no consequence.

X leads the party, followed by a considerable number of *kukusiut*, among whom must always be his four remembrancers. They go to the lowest house of the village, which X enters, carrying his stick horizontally above his head, and proceeds with mincing steps to the central position behind the fire. He turns on himself and thrusts his staff to the floor where, to the surprise of the uninitiated, it remains upright. They do not know that the end is pointed with bone and that he has taken care to drive it down into a crack. The singers beat out X's song, in which all the *kukusiut* join, but he does not dance. One of the singers next calls upon the people to beat time furiously with sticks brought for the purpose, and X becomes excited, shrieking out:

"More! More!"

It is supposed that this clamour soothes his mental anguish. A herald calls on members of the household to register their guesses, uninitiated as well as *kukusiut* being encouraged to do so. The remembrancers use their best efforts to bear in mind the answers which are pouring in. One of the marshals ex-

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[33] The actual tune and some of the words may have been chosen by the singers during the day, or several of them have composed tunes and now beat them out in succession until all have agreed on the best composition. Meanwhile the guests wait patiently, for time is of no moment in *kusiut* dances.

[The Mystery Dance]

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plains that until the three correct solutions have been given, X will be able neither to eat nor to sleep. Moreover, this would mean a continuation of the *kusiut* season far into the spring. X is supposed to know the three answers but to be unable to communicate them, though if a nearly correct reply is given, he shows it by dancing violently. A clever actor is thus able to instil considerable action into the proceedings by leading on an eager guesser with movements of increased animation, but the result is always the same—his dancing grows weaker as if the one replying had strayed into a false path. A marshal explains that the failure is due to the supernatural being *Ânuyulikailaix* having robbed the guesser of his mental ability. When the replies have stopped, X takes up his stick and leaves the house, followed by his escort. He enters the dwelling immediately above, where the same performance is repeated: this is done in each house of the village.

All the *kukusiut* return with X to his home where what little is left of the night is passed in eating and in listening to speeches from the marshals.

In the morning the carpenters erect a circular enclosure between the fire and the back-room. It is raised on posts about four feet long, has a diameter of approximately twelve feet, and is surrounded by a wall three or four feet high, often decorated with paintings according to the dancer's wishes. The uninitiated are told that X must remain in this, except when on periodic visits to the other houses, until the three answers have been guessed, and that he must not eat, sleep, or even sit down. In recent years the prohibition with regard to eating has been neglected, but it is said that in the last century one man abstained from all food except fern root for two months. X climbs into the enclosure and throughout the day the uninitiated in the other houses can hear the rattling of his dance apron as he moves to and fro. [178]

Just before dusk the *kukusiut* assemble in X's home, preparatory to sallying forth to every house in the village as on the previous evening. The remembrancers attend him, care-

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fully taking note of the answers. Sometimes they make their task easier by choosing, provisionally, three replies; if anyone should guess one of these it is immediately changed, because the correct solution must be given only in accordance with the wishes of the marshals. After a circuit of the settlement, X returns to the enclosure in his house where, unknown to the uninitiated, his dance-apron is hung on a peg and he lies down to sleep. One of his faithful remembrancers keeps pulling a string which causes the garment to jingle so that non-members, hearing the noise, imagine that X is still walking to and fro. At any time during the night an uninitiated person may call out his guess, his words easily penetrating the stillness. If X is awake when a good answer is received, he encourages the speaker by a call of "More! More!" and a more violent jingling of the apron. If he is asleep and very weary, one of the helpers responds on his behalf, imitating his voice.

For two days more X remains in the enclosure except when making a circuit of the village. In the early morning and early evening he visits every house, accompanied by his escort of *kukusiut*, and in each the same ritual is carried out. With each series of answers the task of the remembrancers becomes more difficult. Theirs is an arduous and important part of the rite because it would be a disaster if, when the answer is finally given, an uninitiated person could say:

"That is what I guessed."

On the evening of the third day spent by X in the enclosure, the fourth night after the call, the heralds summon the *kukusiut* to his house after he has completed his regular round of the village. They practise another song for X, his second, with theme of the land above as in the first case. The uninitiated are now called in. X circles the fire and, when he has taken up his position midway behind it, the *kukusiut* beat time furiously and guesses are invited. Though both uninitiated and *kukusiut* use their imaginations to the uttermost, the result is a failure. When this has been repeated four times, the uninitiated are told to leave, and a meal is provided for the

[The Mystery Dance]

*575 *kukusiut* who listen as usual to words of advice from the *796 marshals.

X retires once more to his enclosure and throughout the night the sound of his rattling apron can be heard. Here he remains for four more days, except when making his round of the village twice daily, or when attending the ceremony of another *kusiut*. When a *qotlım* comes, X does not immediately put in an appearance, but waits until all other *kukusiut* have taken their places. Someone asks where X is, and a herald is sent specially for him. He enters, and proceeds at once to the left corner behind the fire where he stands throughout all the dances, moving his feet as if marking time to the music, but not altering his position. When all have danced, both *kukusiut* and uninitiated are invited to guess X's secret, and answers pour in rapidly. X heightens the interest by pretending that someone has almost solved it before *Ánuyulikailaix* "pulled back his thoughts," as the Bella Coola express it. He finally passes sunwise around the fire and returns home.

On the evening of the fourth day after the *kukusiut* were invited to X's house, they are summoned there once more. First they learn a new song, composed for the occasion, then, as before, the uninitiated are called in and everyone tries to guess the three hiding places. This is followed by the same elaborate feast. Henceforth the *kukusiut* are called to X's house on every fourth evening, and a new song is composed and food distributed on every occasion. X makes two rounds of the village daily, and attends the *qotlım* of every *kusiut*. This [556] succession of dances may continue for a month or six weeks; in fact, the deciding factor is usually X's desire to distribute no more food. In former times it is probable that the necessity for an emaciation-producing diet was an important consideration in choosing when to conclude the dance.

The time finally comes when X or his family wants the riddle answered. The marshals discuss the matter on the evening preceding one of the regular gatherings of the *kukusiut* in X's house. Two important points must be settled. First,

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what are to be the correct answers? The marshals decide on 575* these, but their judgment really depends on the four remem- 796* brancers who are able to tell whether any of the replies they suggest have already been given. When *Saix̣näs* performed, the answers chosen were:

Aimaltua, "The Coming of Foul Weather." This word is said to be in the language of the supernatural ones. The im- [821] plication is that this phenomenon of nature is a manifestation [776] of the will of the supreme deity.

Nuspuxta Smaiaikila, "The Eagle Down *Smaiaikila*." This [825] has the significance of "The Peace Giving *Smaiaikila*" since eagle down is a symbol of peace.

K̓itłmıntämem, "The Yawning Chasm." This is the mysterious crevasse which opens before a foolish man when he tries to gain success. In cases where a white man would attribute [777] misfortune to lack of ability or to sheer bad luck, the Bella Coola say that this supernatural chasm has opened before him. It is especially applied to failure in the giving of potlatches.

Scarcely less important than the choice of answers is the second consideration, who is to give them. The uninitiated have been taught that X cannot live unless his riddles are answered, and also that whoever succeeds in solving them can do so only through supernatural assistance. As in the case of a person who finds a repository, so must the one who solves the problem be made a *kusiut*. This is an opportunity for an influential man with a son of suitable age and character to have him initiated into the society, and an eager parent can always be found. He is told the proper answers, and instructed to whisper them to his son the following evening. It is impressed upon the father that this must be done only at the last minute, and that every precaution must be taken to prevent the young man from telling his friends that he has been prompted.

Other matters are arranged at the same time. A shaman [756] must be in readiness to assist in binding the future member of the society to secrecy, and every detail is worked out with care.

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*575 *796 [574] This is such an important occasion that leading *kukusiut* from neighbouring towns are often invited to be present. If this is to be done, heralds are sent for the purpose during the following day.

Next evening the *kukusiut* are invited to X's house in the usual manner, many of them unaware that the answer is soon to be given. The customary ritual is carried out and the uninitiated summoned in due course. By this time X is supposed to have been weakened by his long fast, and to give colour to that claim, two assistants support him as he totters feebly to and fro in his enclosure. Instead of waving his stick horizontally above his head, X now rests his weight on it, with his helpers holding the ends. After the customary frenzied beating with sticks, X again invites guesses, but still no one can find the three answers. Meanwhile the father or some elderly friend of the youth chosen to guess correctly, slips down to where he is sitting and whispers to him to try, for example, *Aimaltua*. The youth timidly does so, and at once X begins to shake violently, and calls frantically:

"More! More!"

*575 *796 184 In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, the long drawn-out whistling of *Snitsmän·a* is heard, though of course the uninitiated do not know that four *kukusiut* have been sent out for this purpose. The excitement becomes intense.

The man who is prompting the successful guesser whispers to him the second answer. The young man calls it out and X becomes more and more excited, shaking wildly and shouting:

"More! More! You mortal."

Finally the third answer is given. In Bella Coola the dancer leaps high in the air from his enclosure and falls to the ground beneath as if dead. *Saiẋnäs* of Kimsquit, on the other hand, whose patron is the wild *Kokoslxɪm*, becomes frenzied, breaks his stick and enclosure and acts like a raging, though feeble, lunatic. Irrespective of X's behaviour, the marshals ask the uninitiated to withdraw, and the growling Cannibals add point to the request. It is at this juncture in Bella Coola

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that the whistle of *Snitsmän·a* is heard. The uninitiated, hearing 575*
the sound from the other houses, realize that the kindly 796*
being is approaching and are not surprised when a herald [184]
presently comes around to announce that X has recovered. In
Kimsquit, X's frenzy slowly leaves him, and from this point
onwards there are no differences in ritual between the two
localities. The singers beat out a new song, prepared in readiness, [533]
of which the theme is *Snitsmän·a*, "The Restorer." X
dances to it, and afterwards to any four of the numerous songs
previously composed for him. Then he sits down, the first time
he has done so, in public at any rate, since the beginning of the
rite. Food is next distributed, the marshals make their usual
remarks and the *kukusiut* finally go to bed. From this point
on, the ceremony follows the regular *kusiut* pattern; this occasion,
when the riddles are solved, corresponds to *ĭsuxtämem*.
The successful guesser is dealt with as an initiate in the manner
already described. Some of the uninitiated sitting near the
youth often realize that he has been prompted by his father,
but they regard this as a mere sign of solicitude, assuming that
the parent's supernatural power enabled him to solve the
problem. It seems clear to them that he could not have known
the answer for any length of time because, like others, he had
many times guessed and failed.

The next day is *nusiutälsap*. In the morning all the *kukusiut* 575*
assemble in X's house to learn another new song; this corresponds 796*
to the second of a dance which lacks the long preliminaries
of this one. A number of *kukusiut* accompany X 532
to the forest to get the necessary wood for the masks. Mystery [424]
dancers have the right to exhibit any, and as many, supernatural
beings as they please, hence a large amount of wood
must be brought back. In the evening comes the allotment
of work. X may do it himself, but usually he asks his father,
or some other elderly relative to act on his behalf. Since all
his relatives contribute, the actual distribution of labour is
not a task in which X alone is concerned. *Ăno·likwolsaix* must
be portrayed, and the three best carpenters are entrusted with

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*575 *796 532 masks representing the three successful answers. Little attention is paid to actual design, and the workmen use their initiative to a considerable extent.[23] One mask always made is that of *Snuslaxwai*, a being who appears to act as concealer for *Älquntäm*. As far as could be learnt, if *Älquntäm* wishes to conceal anything from a human being, such as the hiding-places in a Mystery dance, *Snuslaxwai* is entrusted with the task. In addition to the usual well-known supernatural beings, X often orders representations of mammals, birds, or fish; he may even ask a man to make a mask without stipulations and then the finished product is as much a surprise to him as to anyone else. There is no relationship between the masks made [556] and the guesses registered. If X is wealthy, the number to be constructed may run to fifty or more. *Nusiutälsap* concludes in the usual way as soon as all the work has been allotted.

Two days is not long enough for the completion of such a large number of masks, so *nebusam* must be postponed, and *qotlm* is correspondingly delayed for four days. In the evening the heralds invite first the *kukusiut* and then the eager, though [184] fearful uninitiated. They take their places and in Kimsquit, not in Bella Coola, marvel at some of the masks hanging behind the fire, though no explanation is vouchsafed them until the following evening. Presently the singers begin to beat out one of *575 *796 X's songs and he starts dancing violently, only to stop long before it is ended. The musicians quickly change to another; he performs briefly, then ceases; this is repeated for a third tune, and similarly for a fourth, a fifth, and so on. If the preliminaries have been long drawn out, X may have as many as twenty songs and he dances to a fragment of each. After he has performed, the singers strike up the tune of any *kusiut*

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[178] [23] Possibly this disregard for exact portrayal of supernatural beings is a modern degeneration. The Bella Coola of today say quite frankly that they have forgotten many beings used by their ancestors, so have no hesitation in inventing new designs and naming them even for natural phenomena which they consider must be caused by supernatural agency. On the other hand, the burning of masks, which seems to be an old practice, would tend to lessen conventionalization in all but the best-known figures.

who has had a call during the season. Nothing further need 575*
be said concerning the ritual of *qotlm* which follows the pattern 796*
already described.

During the following day a screen of yellow cedar mats is [285]
raised in one of the corners behind the fire; it must be large enough to conceal those who are to wear the numerous masks and give them space to fit them on in comfort. The *kukusiut* begin to gather late in the afternoon and the usual long discussion takes place as the carpenters decide who shall wear which mask, while the marshals move to and fro. There is no stage-manager to settle disputes, but ultimately order evolves from chaos, and when dusk has fallen the heralds are dispatched to invite any *kukusiut* who have not appeared. When all is in readiness, a shout is raised for the eager uninitiated, who come crowding in to sit near the door. *Äno°likwolsaix* moves to and fro, in and out of the enclosure, talking all the time, and telling the uninitiated that presently they will see very power-
ful supernatural beings. The following account is of the masked 575*
figures used when *Q̱oxolän·i* last performed the dance; it must 796*
again be emphasized that their actual choice depends on the 796*
wishes of the dancer and his family, and that the order in which 532
they appear is immaterial. His performance was probably the 776
typical *nebusam* of a Mystery dancer.

The first to appear are *Snuslaxwai* and the three hiding-places of X's power. Since they are always uncommon, it follows that no fixed designs are possible, and the carpenters rely upon their own inventive abilities to paint and carve human-like beings. *Äno°likwolsaix* gives eloquent explanations as the three stalk around the fire and disappear from sight. It would have been equally proper if they had appeared singly.

Next comes *Sänolłxumulelts Älquntäm*, wearing a small mask, barely covering his face; above it, in his hair, is dyed cedar-bark puffed out to resemble a wig. He carries a stick with a band of the same material around the middle, and a tuft at either end concealing a nail with sharp, projecting point. Around the fire he dances frantically, leaping into the

*575 air, throwing his arms around as if demented, and at times
*796 hurling his rod to the floor where the nail prevents it from
falling, much to the amazement of the uninitiated. He stoops
532 to pick it up, reverses it, again throws it to the ground, and
776 again lifts it up, all the time gyrating on himself. Finally, with a rush and a leap, he disappears behind the screen whence he came. One of the senior *kukusiut*, selected for the purpose on account of his knowledge and intelligence, is stationed near the enclosure, and as soon as the supernatural being disappears he explains to non-members who was the visitor. The ever-talkative *Åno'likwolsaix* confirms and supplements his remarks.

The next to appear is a *mätsqus*, a wooden figure about two and a half feet in length with proportions equal to those of a toad. It emerges from the matting at one side of the house, and by means of concealed ropes is made to hop across the floor and return. Behind it there appears a masked male figure carrying a huge wooden hammer; the *kukusiut* shriek, "Kill! Kill!" and the man strikes at the toad-like creature. It has been made in two sections which can be pulled apart by a skilful manipulation of the ropes; this is done as the hammer descends so that it strikes a bladder filled with red dye in the interior. The colouring spatters in all directions like blood, but after a short interval the animal is pulled together and hops off to the enclosure. The *kusiut* announcer tells the uninitiated:

"That is a toad from the land above, a *mätsqus*, which came to visit X. It will soon return to its own home."

After a short pause to let the effect of the last apparition sink in upon non-members, the *kukusiut* raise the cry:

"Look up there."

A porcupine emerges from a small hole in the matting and crawls down a plank, then turns and goes back, pulled by ropes invisible in the semi-gloom. The figure consists of a real skin carefully stripped off and stretched over a wooden framework. The announcer declares:

"It is a porcupine from above, come to visit X."

[522] Two clowns now appear together. Each wears a mask,

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representing a man whose mouth is open and whose face is wrinkled in a grin spreading from ear to ear. They go around the fire laughing and playing, rolling on the floor and indulging in all kinds of antics, with constant fits of laughter, so deep that it seems to come from their stomachs. Only one or two men in the community can make the hoarse sound required, and they are always asked to appear as comedians. They are entitled to make witticisms, often of an obscene nature, at the expense of any of the spectators, and the *kukusiut* always join in laughter at the victim. Sometimes the singers beat out a short tune and the performers dance clumsily, to the amusement of all. When they have withdrawn, the announcer explains that these two spend their time in the land above playing and jesting. If the preliminaries are long delayed, the clowns may be sent out to keep the audience amused while waiting for the more important beings.

the more important beings.

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The Hermaphrodite next emerges. As previously described, he dances around the fire, singing in a peculiar nasal twang, intermediate between the voice of a man and a woman. Few men can do this satisfactorily. When the Hermaphrodite has disappeared, the announcer explains that he always remains outside the house in the land above where he plays with a number of women who stay there, and over whom he is lord. His face is that of a woman, his voice that of a woman, but he has masculine characteristics as well.

Then comes *Sxaiaxwax*, clad in a blanket of evergreen boughs and wearing as ugly a mask as the maker can devise. The pattern varies according to the skill and originality of the carpenter; a common design is that of a snout-like mouth, somewhat resembling a pig with eyes askew. *Sxaiaxwax* cannot speak, but he dances around the fire spitting, blowing, and making inarticulate sounds in his throat. When he has gone, the announcer explains that *Sxaiaxwax* is a very evil being who spends all his time trying to seduce girls, especially those who play with the Hermaphrodite outside *Nusqulxwaista*. With them he never succeeds, but sometimes he comes to this earth

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* 575 with fatal results to his victims. The uninitiated listen and
* 796 are impressed as *Āno'likwolsaix* confirms and supplements what has just been told them.

532 After a short pause, the announcer cries, *O*……,
776 which serves as an invitation and precedes the appearance of every supernatural being. *Snumq* emerges, a man clad in a bear-skin blanket covered with evergreen tufts, and wearing a mask of which the eyes can be made to swing open or shut by the pulling of concealed cords. The monster does not speak; merely circles the fire, terrifying the beholders by his ferocious expression. When the figure has withdrawn, the announcer explains the significance.

The next to appear is a Deer, *Sno'olxults Ālquntām*, "The Foolish Son of *Ālquntām*." The skin and antlers of a real deer are worn by two men with sticks thrust down the legs to make the representation appear life-like. Two more performers with human masks follow, trying to catch the creature which frisks around the fire and avoids them by escaping back into the enclosure. The announcer informs the audience that this is no ordinary animal, it is a deer from the land above, the son of *Ālquntām*. This mischievous creature is said frequently to
[578] destroy the back-room in his father's house, hence it is a mild term of reproach to call a person *Sno'olxults Ālquntām*.

After the usual delay comes the Varied Thrush, an actor
[825] with mask representing a bird. This is considered to be the finest bird songster; the Bella Coola say that all animals, including even mountain goats and halibut, gather to listen to its melody. The performer sings, then withdraws, and the announcer and *Āno'likwolsaix* explain who has just disappeared.

Next is Wolf, a man wearing a tail and the stuffed head of one of these animals. He circles the fire, howling like a wolf, the performer having been chosen for his ability to imitate that sound. The announcer tells the uninitiated that they have just seen a wolf from *Nusqulxwaista*, and have listened to it howling for *Ālquntām*; as usual, *Āno'likwolsaix* confirms his

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statements. Non-members recognize that Deer, Varied Thrush, and Wolf are really persons, but they have no idea who or what they are, while their whole training, combined with the atmosphere with which the whole ceremony is surrounded, makes it easy for them to believe that they are seeing supernaturally endowed animals. If an uninitiated person should voice his doubts, he would be reported at once to the marshals by a spy and forthwith made a *kusiut*. 575* 796* 532 776 [781]

The next to come forth is a figure wearing a mask representing a man, and carrying a long stick to the end of which is tied a bundle of burning rags. The actor must be able to run swiftly, and, as he dashes at full speed around the fire, the strips of cloth are drawn out into a flaming stream behind him, producing a spectacular effect in the semi-gloom. *Anē'likwotsaix* explains that this is Shooting Star, a supernatural being who behaves peculiarly and who has, therefore, passed rapidly and without the droning invitation that accompanies the passage of the other visitors. When *Ṣpsolām·i* gave this dance, the rags were dipped in coal-oil to make them burn brightly, and one informant thought that this particular supernatural one was, perhaps, not shown in the old days. It must be remembered that details of the ceremony are constantly changing according to the skill and inventive ability of the carpenters. [178]

To the accompaniment of *O……* from the announcer and the droning of the women, there next emerge four masked figures representing the four Carpenters. In whatever ceremonial they appear, their masks are the same because they, as master-artisans, are supposed to have fashioned them for themselves. They dance around the fire without singing and disappear behind the enclosure. *Anē'likwotsaix* explains that these are *Masmasālānix*, the Carpenters of *Nusqulstmaista*.

Now *Opolikts Ālquntām* comes forth. He is the herald of *Ālquntām* who summons the supernatural ones to *Nusqulstmaista* for the winter ceremonial. He wears a man's mask, surmounted by a wooden bird which can be made to flap its wings by means of a hidden cord, and he carries a staff on top

575 of which is a similar bird that disappears within the rod by the
776 pulling of a cord. This being is patron of other *kukusiut*, but
this does not debar X from displaying him at his ceremonial.
592 *Opening*: *Alqunsim* goes around the fire, moving his head in a
776 jerky fashion over his shoulder as if motioning towards something, and *Ano'l'ixwalsaix* explains that he was issuing an invitation on behalf of *Alqunsim*.

Then the matting is drawn aside to expose the figures of *Xomaxmalatla*, *Xomxas*, *Omqomkilika*, *Aimalatla*, *Aiamkilika*, *Qomxas*, *Qalaxmas*, *Kulilias*, *Almak·a*, and *Tlitsqililis a*, each wearing a mask with his distinctive painting on it. *Xomaxmalatla* stands in the centre as chief of the party; he calls out impressively, but without using words, then, as he changes his tone, all the figures turn around sunwise, shouting as they do so. After this has been repeated four times, the matting is restored to place. During this, *Kulilias* and *Almak·a* do not remain stationary like the others. The former, wearing good blankets and a mask painted with red to give the appearance of an angry man, moves constantly to and fro among the other beings as if trying to obtain presents from them, while *Almak·a*, the Kingfisher, hops around in imitation of the jerky motions of that bird, continually poking his head forward and pulling it back. When they have vanished, *Ano'l'ixwalsaix* tells the uninitiated who were the figures they have just seen, and how fortunate they are to be visited by such powerful beings.

After the usual pause, there appears Thunder's herald, *Aiwamlimas*, wearing a mask in human form and carrying a staff in his hand. He beats violently on the floor with his rod and cries out:

"Come all ye supernatural ones to the dance of Thunder."

At once *Thunder* either rushes forth or sticks his head over the matting and bellows forth:

"No! No! Don't come."

After *Aiwamlimas* has circled the fire and retired to the enclosure he can still be heard violently pounding on the floor and inviting the people to Thunder's dance.

Tlapsn follows, wearing a huge mask, and goes around the fire, incessantly saying to all: 575*
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"No. No. Don't come."
When he has withdrawn from sight he continues to contradict the herald's invitation. *Ane'likwalsis* explains that *Alwanlixtwaum* is herald to the mighty Thunder, while *Tlapsn* is a jealous-minded individual who does his best to ruin all ceremonials. She adds that he will not succeed on this occasion, and that Thunder will presently appear. 592
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As evidence of Thunder's near approach there next emerges Rainwater, a masked figure who dances silently around the fire, raising and lowering his outstretched arms. *Ane'likwalsis* hurriedly gives the name of the visitor, then the announcer cries out as loudly as possible: "Thunder the mighty, the leading *kusiut* of all the supernatural ones is coming; he will condescend to speak to the uninitiated."

The women drum and the *kukusiut* beat violently with sticks on the floor, then the curtain is drawn back to disclose Thunder himself, standing on a raised box. He wears a huge mask, with hooked nose and bulbous forehead, which is so heavy that the wearer must have pads of soft cloth to ease the weight against his skin. The upper part of his body is entirely covered with dyed and undyed cedar-bark, his wrists and ankles are similarly adorned, around his stomach is a dance-apron, and in either hand he carries a stick embellished with more bark. Sometimes for a considerable period he does not move from his stand, but remains silent, throwing his arms back and forth towards the corners of the house where a number of men are rattling heavy stones in boxes to imitate the reverberations of thunder; this extension of the arms serves to concentrate in himself his power which is manifest in the sound. When he has sufficiently impressed the audience, he turns around and leaps down; the drums beat, the sticks rattle, the men working the boxes with stones shake them violently, and Thunder shrieks out, all of which, added to the crash with which he has landed upon the floor, makes a colossal din. He dances around the 575*
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575 796 776 [532] fire, while the women drum out an accompaniment. The mask has only one opening for eyes and nose, blinding the performer, so that he has to be guided by X, and two other *kukusiut*, though the necessity for their services is not apparent to the uninitiated. The faces of these conductors are blackened and they wear collars of dyed cedar-bark, but no masks; one of them carries some eagle down which he keeps blowing over Thunder's head. To the ignorant spectators it appears as if these guides were really deferential attendants.[illegible] When the mighty supernatural one has almost completed a circuit of the fire he stops, holds out his shaking arms over it and absorbs power from the smoke; then reascends the box behind the matting from which he first jumped. One of the *kukusiut* thrusts into his hand a perforated rattle containing smouldering cedar-bark. Carrying this (see Plate 11),§ Thunder again leaps down and dances around the fire, guarded as before by X and two assistants, but this time shaking out burning sparks from the rattle. Now, instead of the drumming of the women alone, there is a prodigious racket as he goes around; the drums are beaten, the sticks are rattled, a man concealed on the roof stamps and clatters on the boards, another pounds on house planking with a heavy stone, while Thunder himself keeps calling out in a booming voice. Again he pauses to absorb power from the fire before retiring behind the matting, which is then drawn. The announcer cries out:

"The fire *kusiut* of the supernatural ones has been with us; his fire is too wonderful for us."

[532] He dances and there appears a masked figure of *[illegible]*. This being dances around the fire, without speaking, but at intervals drenching the audience with water from a dish which he carries. When he has completed his circuit and withdrawn, *Anu'likwutsaix* discourses upon Thunder, informing the uninitiated that his fire-rattle is the bird of the lightning, a mysterious creature about which little is known. She adds that

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[illegible] Similar guide-attendants often accompany other supernatural beings.

§[See category 776, p 164(c) Analyst]

Sipalxnäm is the rain that accompanies a thunder-storm, 575*
hence the water with which the audience was soaked. 746*

There next comes forth an actor wearing a man's mask and 776
carrying in his hands a sounding-board and beating-sticks, as if
he were a singer, ready to perform at a ceremony. He arranges [532]
these in place, constantly glancing back over his shoulder towards the enclosure, then calls, and out jumps *Niefis*, wearing a mask which makes his face appear long and very narrow. He shuffles his feet, moves his head from side to side, sways his body to and fro as if he were starting a spectacular dance, finally gyrates wildly for a very short period, without accompaniment from the man who preceded him, and then goes back to the enclosure instead of circling the fire. The apparent singer picks up his equipment and follows his principal out of sight. *Ānut'ikwutsaix* explains that *Niefis* is a most spectacular supernatural dancer, who was unwilling to give an exhibition of his full skill on this occasion.

Meanwhile preparations have been made for the second [532]
appearance of Thunder. The large mask is so heavy and constricts the breath to such an extent that very few men are strong enough to bear it for more than two dances around the fire. The first wearer has now transferred his disguise to a second man of about the same build, and when the matting is again drawn aside, it is to disclose Thunder standing on his raised box as before. Often a few variations are introduced; instead of extending his arms to attract his power, he may simply revolve with waving arms and turning head. When ready, he signals to those with drums and beating-sticks, then jumps down with a crash which is echoed by all the noise-making contrivances in the house. Thunder dances around the fire much as upon his first appearance, and inhales strength from the smoke of the central fire before returning to the raised box. He receives the rattle containing smouldering bark, and once more circles the house; after that he withdraws and the matting is pulled into place. *Sipalxnäm* comes forth and drenches the audience with water, but *Ānut'ikwutsaix* does not

575 746 speak on this occasion as the explanation has already been given.

776 After a short pause the announcer calls impressively: "Take care! The *haohao* are coming."

From within the enclosure there is heard the clacking of beaks, and presently a *haohao* backs out. [532] The mask, about three feet in length, is that of a long-beaked bird, of which the lower mandible can be made to strike against the upper to cause the snapping noise. The wearer has little clothing but much dyed cedar-bark which conceals the stick that runs from the mask down his back to counterbalance the weight of the projecting beak. Another *haohao* likewise comes out backwards, then a third and a fourth. The four dance around the fire, snapping their beaks and uttering their cry, *Hao, hao, hao*, in unison to the stamp of their feet on the floor. X, with three assistants, accompanies them, apparently out of respect to the supernatural visitors and to guard the uninitiated from [532] them in case they should become ferocious, but in reality to direct the steps of the actors whose cumbersome masks prevent them from seeing where they are going. A touch from one of the guides, or even the sound of his voice, is enough to tell the gyrating performer in which direction to move. When the *haohao* have disappeared, *Āno'likwolsaix* explains who the visitors were.

[532] Next appears a Snail. The mask used is human in form, and the painting may or may not indicate the being represented. The wearer proceeds very slowly around the fire, turning neither to right nor to left, and withdraws. *Āno'likwolsaix* explains that this is a Snail from *Nusqulxwaista* which has come to visit X.

[532] Another man-like figure now comes forth, his mask painted to represent a fish. Like the Snail he circles the fire without any special type of dance and withdraws. This is the Red Rock Cod, a fact which *Āno'likwolsaix* makes clear to the uninitiated.

Finally, the time comes when the last supernatural visitor

has retired from sight. *Āno°likwolsaix* gives her customary 575*
dance, her head bent as if she constantly wished to rest it on 796*
someone's shoulder, and her opposite arm waving violently. [776]
After one circuit of the fire she withdraws from sight behind
the matting. Then the marshals tell the uninitiated to withdraw, and the growling Cannibals hurry them forth. The [532]
evening's ceremonials conclude in the usual way, except that
the masks are not burnt.

The length of time required for the figures to appear and perform is so great that *nebusam* can seldom be completed on a single night. When the marshals decide that it is too late for further drama, they can call a postponement at any time; the uninitiated are told to withdraw and the *kukusiut* disperse shortly afterwards. The following evening they are recalled and the ritual is carried on from the point where the break was made. In this account it has been assumed that it is possible to complete the display without postponement.

Four nights later everyone is called back once again. The *kukusiut* first take their places, and then the uninitiated are summoned. The ritual on this occasion is identical with that just described for *nebusam* with the same promenade of supernatural beings and the same explanations by *Āno°likwolsaix*.
After the uninitiated depart the masks are burnt, two at a [532]
time, in the manner previously described, this being the last
event in the Mystery Dance.

THE DANCE OF *Winwina*

Noākxnim is not, according to Bella Coola mythology, the 575*
only bringer of salmon to the river, nor is he the only one 796*
whose action has been dramatized as a *kusiut* dance. A similar 776
purveyor of fish is *Winwina*[*] who comes every year to Bella 825
Coola. Boas (p. 38) has recorded the origin myth connected 184
with the rite, and states that the movements of this being 824
influence the duration of the *kusiut* season; this observation
was not confirmed. *Winwina* is supposed to return from the

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[*] Also called *Kunhumtĭjotas*, "What Brings Our Food."

*575 *796 776 825 land of the salmon early in January, and it is owing to his successful raid that there is a plentiful supply of fish the following year. The fact that the Bella Coola attribute the same function to *Noākxnm* provides no difficulties to native philosophers.

184 824 "Different individuals have different stories," they say, and the fact that the two are contradictory is a matter of no consequence.

773 824 825 539 The incidents described in the following myth are always spoken of as having taken place long ago, and yet the coming of *Winwina* is an annual event, a confusion disconcerting to the investigator though not to the Bella Coola themselves.

Winwina[*] once led a raiding party against the salmon, whose home is far to the west, and against the berries who live in a flat and warm country beyond even the land of salmon. His crew consisted of birds who are spoken of in the myth by unusual designations, said to be either their supernatural or their *kusiut* names. One informant spoke of these beings as individuals, and only added that they were birds as an afterthought, while another emphasized their avian rather than their human characteristics. This is not surprising, considering that the story belongs to the distant past when birds and human beings were not as clearly differentiated as they now are. *Winwina*'s crew consisted of:

The Bald Eagle, *Tcâkwak*;
The Hawk (?) species, *Ânahiqaksain*;
The Raven, '*Łaxwaqstlais*, "He Who Talks at Dawn and Wakens Everyone";
The Water Ouzel, *Tłikmaxatłikka*, "The Walking One";
The Great Blue Heron, *Masasilian*, "Long Neck";
The Hermaphrodite, *Ala'yas*;
The Cormorant, *Kwalwatl'ia*, who joined the expedition at Bella Bella as a passenger;
Four lazy supernatural beings, *Kamaitlikl*.

The expedition was under the especial protection of *Kaleata*, a female supernatural shaman, who guided the canoe in which the raiders travelled by the force of her intellect as if it had been a compass. After a lengthy journey, the party reached the land of the salmon where the clouds obligingly drifted low in the heavens so that the fish could not see their

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[192] [*] A word etymologically connected with *wina*, the Bella Coola term for raid.

[The Dance of Winwina]

foes. Each of the crew captured a different kind of salmon which, in the 773
myth, are referred to by their supernatural names. 824

The Bald Eagle captured the spring salmon, *Oltoldimut*, "The One
that Changes Itself," a reference to the two forms in which this fish 825
appears before and after spawning.

The Hawk captured the sockeye salmon, *Nunutākentinəm*, "The One 539
that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers."

The Raven captured the hump-back salmon, *Ănukḥmaix*, "The One that Fills the Rivers."

The Water Ouzel captured the dog salmon, *Sqaialtma*, "The Maker of Good Weather," a reference to the calm weather in August when this fish spawns.

The Great Blue Heron captured the cohoe salmon, *K̓papstustusailaix*, "The One that Makes Us Fat."

The Cormorant captured a variety of dog salmon, *Osipax*, for the Bella Bella.

The Hermaphrodite was also successful and filled the enormous basket which he had brought for the purpose with a large number of berry captives.

As soon as the raiders had achieved their purpose they returned to Bella Coola and released their booty; since that time there has been an abundance of salmon in the river and of berries on the hills. The Cormorant left the canoe at Bella Bella and released the dog salmon there; that is why this variety of fish has since been plentiful at Bella Bella.

Several Bella Coola *kukusiut* have a dance prerogative of 424
which the above is origin myth. The details vary slightly, and 773
some informants stated frankly that they had forgotten the 778
names of the bird crew. The reasons given for the use of
Winwina as patron likewise vary. According to one account, [776]
in the beginning of time *Ālquntām* placed the name *Nunushmai* in a repository near the summit of the lofty Mount *Qp*, near *Stuix*. He had two reasons for so doing: he did not wish it to be defiled by passersby brushing dust into it with their feet, and he wished the owner of the name to be the first to see the return of *Winwina*. The repository is a small pond, which can move from place to place, but, being itself supernatural, is visible only to those who have purified themselves. Since that time whoever has had the name *Nunushmai* has had the *kusiut* prerogative of seeing *Winwina*.

[The Dance of Winwina]

424 773 776 Another *kusiut* derived the prerogative of having *Winwina* as patron from a myth previously cited (II, p. 43). After Raven had seen *Noäkɣnm* and obtained him for *Ȧllilımnälosaix*, he flew down the fiord once more, observed *Winwina*, and made him patron for *Omqomkilıka*.

*575 *796 The ritual of the dance of *Winwina* does not vary, irrespective of its origin; accordingly one account will suffice and the performer can be referred to as X.

[778] [424] [184] This dance occurs also at Kimsquit where the repository is actually in the ocean a few yards from shore.

Winwina is supposed to return to Bella Coola when the January moon is full;[87] accordingly X consults the marshals and makes his preparations slightly before that date. Four days before the full moon, the uninitiated are excluded from the house and a raised enclosure is built between the fire and the back-room. This rite differs from most *kusiut* dances in that the call does not come at this time. Irrespective of whether or not the *kukusiut* happen to be present on the evening of this day, X mounts to the enclosure and sits there, looking westward for the return of *Winwina*. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of what is taking place. X [292] wears a collar of dyed cedar-bark and a head-dress of eagle tail feathers, but his face is not blackened.

For three nights and three days X remains in the enclosure, gazing to the west, and meanwhile no uninitiated dare even to pass outside of his house. As the fourth night is falling, messengers summon the *kukusiut* who enter and sit in silence as if waiting for something; the heralds inform non-members that X's vigil will soon be over. After an interval they are likewise called in, and eagerly take their places near the door, where they receive a share of the food being served. Suddenly X jumps down from the enclosure and cries out loudly:

"The supernatural young man has left his child with strangers while he has been on a journey. Now he is returning,

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[805] [87] Owing to faulty calendrical observations the exact date is seldom found.

[the Dance of WinWina]

though perhaps you cannot hear him because *Winwina* is making so much noise." 575* 196*

The meaning of this statement is difficult even to surmise and the Bella Coola themselves appear to be ignorant of it. It is said that the words are archaic. The *kukusiut* women at once begin to drone and the uninitiated flee, sometimes falling over one another in their eagerness to escape from the house, for the whistles are sounding and X has had his call. An eloquent *kusiut* stands beside him, apparently listening to him, and at intervals whets the curiosity of the audience by saying:

"I will tell you all about it in a minute."

The person who appears to be listening is one who knows the story of *Winwina* and as soon as X has stopped, he proceeds to relate it to the audience,[44] as if he had just learnt it from the dancer. It is possible that even some of the *kukusiut* are deceived, but in any case they are so accustomed to acting that they practise it even when no uninitiated are present. The singers are especially attentive and presently begin to strike [33] out a new song composed for the occasion. The theme is of *Winwina* himself and his bird crew, and of the lazy *Kāmālālkl*; the audience listens eagerly and practises the composition. Afterwards food is distributed amid admonitions of the marshals as is customary on the night of *kusiāmem*.

Next morning a second song is practised for X, and then a number of *kukusiut* go with him to the forest to bring in the wood required for the ceremonial. In the evening members of the society assemble in X's house for the allotment of carpentry tasks. The most important requirement is a canoe, shaped like a bird, and with bird figures as members of the crew. Considerable ingenuity is displayed in the manufacture of this; it is large enough to fill most of the rear part of the house, and, being bottomless, can be made to move by men concealed within. Several carpenters usually work together at this task. X also orders wooden replicas of the different 575* 196* 532

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[44] Perhaps this is the reason that the origin myth of this dance is better remembered than most.

[The Dance of Winwina]

*575 *796 .532 kinds of salmon captured by ***Winwina***. In their efforts to make realistic representations, the artisans often use the skins of steel-head salmon, the only variety obtainable in winter, stretched over wooden frames, and painted. Various women are asked to make imitations of berries captured by the Hermaphrodite. In each case X requests one woman to make a certain berry, root, or bark used for food, and so many are needed that he often becomes weary from constantly calling out his requirements. As on other ***nusiutälsap***, the songs are practised, food is served, and the usual ceremonies occur.

The next morning, that of ***qotlım***, the carpenters, both men and women, start early at their work. The method of making the salmon has already been described, but a word should be said about the berries. They are made of dyed cedar-bark, undyed cedar-bark, and snow-berries, the only material available in winter. The workmanship varies enormously; some realistic articles are turned out, others are exceedingly crude. In the evening booth ***kukusiut*** and uninitiated are summoned to X's house for the usual protracted ceremony of ***qotlım*** night.

*575 *796 825 ***Nebusam*** follows the next day. The wooden salmon and berries are placed in a convenient spot behind the fire, and in the evening X asks some one of the senior ***kukusiut*** to assist him in their display. Sometimes one of the marshals undertakes this duty, and at any rate they have to express their approval of the dancer's choice. The ***kukusiut*** are the first to assemble, and when the last details have been arranged the uninitiated are called in and marvel at the canoe behind the fire. The ***kusiut*** chosen to assist X stands beside it, holding the wooden spring salmon in his arms, its head upstream.

"What is it?" he asks the uninitiated. "If you recognize which salmon it is you will be successful in catching that kind next summer."

The uninitiated are thus urged to guess, but fear of the ***kukusiut*** acts as a deterrent, and it is often some little time before a plucky youth calls out which salmon he thinks it to

[The Dance of Winwina]

be. Once the first answer has been given, it is only a matter of a few minutes before some alert young man gives the successful reply. 575* 796* 825

"Yes," says the *kusiut* holding the salmon. "It is a spring salmon, called *Oltoldimut* by the supernatural beings. *Tcăkwak* captured it."

The bearer goes once around the fire, still holding the salmon, while the *kukusiut* women drone and the sticks are pounded furiously. Four times during his circuit he tosses the fish in his arms as if it were jumping, and all the *kukusiut* call out *ye*···· *he*····, as they do when a salmon jumps in the river. He finally throws the fish on the central fire and the beating of sticks stops with almost startling suddenness. The same *kusiut* next picks up the wooden representation of a sockeye salmon and the same procedure is carried out; it too is thrown on the fire when its species has been ascertained. In succession, imitations of hump-back, dog, and cohoe salmon are displayed and cast in the flames. It is seldom that the uninitiated realize that the fish are being shown in the order of their coming in the spring, and their consequent failure to answer promptly is a source of considerable secret amusement to the *kukusiut*. The Bella Bella dog salmon, held with its head downstream, is the last fish shown. The representation is always made long and lean, to the annoyance of the Bella Bella, and when the holder makes it jump, the people call out nothing but *he*····.

Soon after the last salmon has been burnt the displayer holds up the first bunch of "berries" and calls on the young uninitiated women to guess what kind is represented. 575* 796*. 824

"If you guess right, you will find plenty of them next summer," he says.

Somewhat shyly the girls register their guesses, but the choice of berries is so great and the workmanship so poor that a considerable time often elapses before the correct answer is given. As soon as this is done, the exhibitor carries the fruit around the fire and throws them on the flames in the same

[The Dance of Winwina]

*575 *796 824 way as with the salmon, except that the jumping is omitted. The order of display is according to the time of ripening for each, but there is so much difference of opinion about this that no rigid order is maintained. The first shown is always the cow-parsnip, but after that there is no definite sequence. The following "berries" were shown at a dance not many years ago: cow-parsnip; *Ribes laxiflorum*; wild gooseberry; tall bilberry; thin-leaved bilberry; blueberry; black huckleberry; red elderberry; dwarf bilberry; *Ribes bracteosum*; salalberry; Canadian buffalo berry; wild red raspberry; blackberry, *Rubus spectabilis* Pursh.; salmon-berry; black hawthorn; flowering juneberry; bunchberry; wild rose; red bearberry.

The informant was not certain that the above was the exact order in which the berries were shown on the occasion described. It is probable that it is approximately correct, however, since he added that the wild strawberry had also been shown, but as he could not remember its correct place he had omitted it. Other old men stated that the following food [262] [177] plants had been used at other *Winwina* dances: *ilk*, one of the *Fritillaria*, species undetermined; perennial clover; black raspberry; crabapple; cranberry; fern root; bracken root. Foods introduced by the white man were shown at a recent dance, including: potato, carrot, turnip, and a miniature can of [273] preserved peaches, such as are commonly used in the manufacture of native wine.

*575 *796 Sometimes no one is able to guess the object represented, and when all have grown discouraged the exhibitor puts his ear against X's mouth. The uninitiated assume, of course, that the dancer's supernatural power makes it easy for him to tell the answer and that he is transmitting the information to the bearer who promptly gives it. If an uninitiated person should guess the correct response rapidly, it is taken for granted that she has found favour with the supernatural beings. When the last berry has been thrown on the fire, a *kusiut* stands up and starts a song describing the Hermaphrodite and his actions in the land above. The singer provides his own time by beating

[The Dance of Winwina]

on the floor with a stick and the women sing with him. Food is then given to all and the people disperse. 575* 796*

It will be noted how greatly this dance differs from the usual *kusiut* pattern, especially in the omission of a *nebusam* when masks are used. Instead of the ritual just described, X has the option of using another, similar to the customary *kusiut* type. [424] The following ritual has not been carried out for many years so it is probable that many details have been overlooked. No information was obtainable about the motives governing X's choice of dance.

As in all *kusiut* dances, the first essential is to select a suitable time, a matter of arrangement with the marshals. The night chosen for the coming of the call is often the *nebusam* of some other *kusiut*, and the uninitiated are at once expelled. The *kukusiut* gather in X's house, where the singers beat out the song composed for the occasion, describing *Wīnwina* and his crew, especially the four *Kämälälki* who were not only too lazy to capture any booty, but wanted to sleep all the time and could be roused only by being drenched with cold water. The audience listens attentively and then practises the song; X often dances but it is not important since no uninitiated are present. There are no unusual features in the ritual of this night of *lnutämem*.

The next day is *nusiutälcap* when the wood is brought in for masks, the making of which is allotted in the evening. Five [582] only are required; one of *Ånoʼlikwolsaix* and four of *Kämälälki*. The ritual is of the ordinary type both on this night and on *qatlm*.

When the uninitiated are called in on the evening of *nebusam* they see X standing behind the fire, as if to guard the two masked figures standing on either side of him. Fluent speakers are selected to wear these masks of *Kämälälki* and they enliven the proceedings by their arguments.

"I captured the sockeye salmon," says one.

"You liar!" replies another. "You were asleep. It was I who seized the sockeye salmon."

*575 *796 They dispute in this manner concerning the capture of every kind of salmon and even about the berries. *Äno'likwotsaix* keeps up a running stream of comments to the uninitiated.

"Listen to the stupid *Kāmālālkl*. That is what they did when they went with *Winwina*. They spent most of their time sleeping, and the rest of it arguing. Don't you be such silly fools as they are. Watch what you are doing, and you may be fortunate enough to see me in the woods and become a *kusiut*."

As soon as the uninitiated have watched these beings for a time, they are expelled and the ritual ends in the usual manner.

763 776 In conclusion, a word may be said regarding the attitude of the Bella Coola to *Winwina* and his canoe. Like all other supernatural manifestations it is capable of bringing good or evil to the beholder. An ancestor of every *Winwina* dancer must have seen it and obtained it as patron, but it is a dangerous visitor none the less. Sometimes, at night, a hunter encamped on one of the fiords hears a grunting sound accompanied by short paddle strokes; if he calls out "*yao!*" loudly, no harm will come to him, but if he omits to do so he will soon die. One informant affirmed that within his lifetime a party of Kimsquit hunters were waiting for high tide when they heard the grunting. They failed to hail the craft and presently a sound reached them as if a number of paddles had been placed in the water to check the course of a canoe; in fact, the ripples splashed on the shore at their feet. In a few years they were all dead.

THE DANCE OF MOTHER-NATURE

*575 *796 824 [184] [776] One of the most interesting of the Bella Coola dances is that portraying *Nunuoska*, who is virtually Mother-Nature, giving birth to the flowers and trees in the spring. The following account is of the manner in which *Kalāo'i*, a Kimsquit man, performed the rite. The ritual appears to be identical in Bella Coola, so only one account need be given, and the performer may be spoken of as X.

This dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial

[the Dance of Mother-Nature]

season, subject to the usual consent of the marshals. No de- 575*
scription need be given of the coming of the call and of the 796*
ritual of *łsuxtämem*. A large amount of wood is required, and 824
on the night of ***nusiutälsap*** the many carpentry tasks are al-
lotted. A large masked wooden figure is made to represent [532]
Mother-Nature herself, two more of the elderly women who
attend her, and one of the inevitable *Áno°likwolsaix*. Besides,
masks must be made of almost all the flowers and the trees,
their number only limited by X's willingness to reward the
carpenters. It is said that formerly as many as three hundred
masks were sometimes ordered.

No detailed description is required for *qotłm*, but the ritual
on ***nebusam*** differs from that of all other dances. Early in the
morning a number of ***kukusuit*** gather in X's house where the
carpenters decide on two old women to wear masks repre- [532]
senting hags of great age and ugliness. A number of ***kukusiut***
accompany them to the bottom house of the village where
they call out:

"We are in great trouble. Our daughter's child is long
overdue. If you know of any good medicines, will you not
give them to us for her?"

The ***kukusiut*** drone when they see and hear these super-
natural visitors, and many of them give medicines to the old
women to increase the realistic effect. This is repeated in every
house of the village.

That night when all is ready, the uninitiated are called in
and take their places in the two corners near the door. They
see in the central position behind the fire a large wooden figure [532]
wearing the mask of a woman in the pangs of labour with
enormously distended stomach. She is *Nunuoska*, Mother-
Nature, though the uninitiated do not know this as yet. She
lies on some raised planking; slightly below her are two old [844]
women carrying sponges of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, as
if they were midwives prepared to wash a new-born infant.
Two matting enclosures have been constructed, one in each
of the rear corners of the house, large enough to hide the per-

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824
[532
844]

formers who are chosen for their small stature. *Ăno°likwolsaix* stands up ready to explain as usual. One of the actors now comes forth from beneath Mother-Nature's stomach, as if born of her, wearing a mask surmounted by a carved stick representing the leaves of the willow. The nurses handle the performer, as if washing a new-born child, and announce:

"It is a boy, Willow Leaves," just as a midwife might state the sex of an infant.

Willow Leaves dances around the fire, at intervals saying, "I am Willow Leaves."

Ăno°likwolsaix adds her comments: "Yes. There is Willow Leaves, see him."

The masked figure goes into the matting enclosure out of sight. The next plant to be born is Gooseberry, for whom the same procedure is carried out, before he, too, disappears. In succession, a few minutes apart, come Nettle, all kinds of Grass, and Western Skunk Cabbage. Each is washed and the sex announced; then the figure dances and *Ăno°likwolsaix* comments as before. A good dancer is always chosen for the next figure, Black Cottonwood, who is "born" in the same way, but instead of vanishing into the enclosure remains dancing to and fro on the upper, upstream, side of the house. After him comes "The Dancing Tree," the American Aspen. An agile man is likewise chosen for this part and he remains dancing back and forth on the lower, downstream, side. *Ăno°likwolsaix* announces, amid breathless interest: "The South Wind is coming."

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*796
824
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This figure enters the house by the front door, wearing the mask of a handsome young man. He goes to *Nunuoska* like a doctor called in to assist, and when he stands up, her face appears like that of a happy woman who has just given birth. The uninitiated do not realise that a new mask has been put on Mother-Nature while her face was hidden from their sight. The South Wind then retires to the lower side of the house, where he dances to and fro near Aspen, at intervals going up to his patient. In rushes the North Wind, but he is too late to accom-

plish his design of destroying Mother-Nature in the act of 575*
delivery, and he remains dancing to and fro on the upper side 796*
of the house, not far from Black Cottonwood. The advent of 824
the South Wind has helped Mother-Nature, so in close suc-
cession there follow masked figures, representing the plants, 532
trees, and shrubs known to the Bella Coola. Those first to appear, prior to the coming of the South Wind, have been early ones in the order of their showing signs of green; afterwards there is no fixed sequence, except to follow as closely as possible that of their appearance in the spring. When Black Hawthorn is being born there is great difficulty; he kicks, squirms, and cries, requiring the assistance of both attendants and the South Wind. As soon as his name is announced the meaning of the trouble becomes plain; it is because the fruit is bitter and causes griping in the stomach. The performance is a lengthy one; the same masks appear repeatedly, but the painted stick representing the flower or leaves is changed. Through the long period of their birth, the Willow, Aspen, North and South Winds continue their dancing, the North Wind trying at intervals to reach Mother-Nature, but always repulsed by the watchful South Wind. To the uninitiated it appears wonderful, perhaps miraculous, that so many beings can be hidden in so small an enclosure; in reality, no more than fifteen actors are used, they simply change their masks and reappear. The last masked figure represents After-birth, a moss which does not appear until late in the season after all the other plants have come to life. Instead of going around the fire, this figure hides quickly by lying down out of sight.

The uninitiated are sometimes sent away at this point, at 575*
other times they are allowed to wait to hear the meaning of 796*
the whole ceremonial. X asks an able *kusiut* to act as orator.
This man explains that we would have no food if the South [824]
Wind had not been able to drive away the North Wind before he hurt Mother-Nature as she gave birth to the plants, which form so important a part of the food supply. If not already expelled, the uninitiated are sent out at this point and the

575 *kukusiut* send back X's call in the usual manner. Then, two
796 by two, the masks are cast on to the fire and the ceremonial
is over.

THE DANCE OF THE TALLY POSTS

[775] As previously described, a tally post is erected in the land
[777] above for every Bella Coola at birth. As long as this memorial
[753] is upright and firm, the individual to whom it refers enjoys
health and prosperity, but if it becomes crooked he falls ill.
[424] The uninitiated believe that several *kukusiut* have the prerogative
of climbing to the land above during the ceremonial
season and straightening leaning tally posts. This is such a
[178] useful ability that it must have exercised great influence on
the uninitiated in early days, but the rite has not been properly
[164] carried out since the smallpox epidemic in the last century.
The following account was obtained from two old men
[115] who remembered the manner in which a certain *Onikail* of
Tcumatl performed a year or two before "The Great Sickness."
Neither of the informants was a *kusiut* at the time, but they
were able to supplement their recollections of the dance with
what they afterwards learnt when initiated, so the following
account is probably accurate in outline though deficient in
detail. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X, and
describe the ceremony in the present tense. It was also performed
at Kimsquit many years ago.

The rite resembles *kusiutem* dances in many respects. X
must obtain the consent of the marshals during the preceding
summer, and their permission is refused unless the prospective
dancer is a man of proved discretion. If they agree, X asks a
[288] number of *kukusiut* women to help him by making a very long
and strong rope of nettle fibre. At intervals the work-women
gather for the purpose in the back-room of X's house, taking
[688] care that no uninitiated see what they are doing. Every effort
is made to ensure that there is no flaw in the rope as a break
would be a serious matter, punishable by death.

Near the winter solstice the marshals choose a suitable time

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

for the dance to start, and X suddenly cries out that he is feeling peculiar. 575* 796* The night selected is usually that of the *nuluxam* of some other *kusiut*, and X is at once escorted to his own house from which the uninitiated are expelled. For that night and the two following he remains concealed within, leaving only when necessary and taking care that no uninitiated see him. During the afternoon following the third night of concealment, a large number of *kukusiut* gather in X's home and escort him to the lowest house of the village. He goes around the fire shaking a rattle violently and calling out:

"More! More! Please say exactly what you want and I will do it."

The uninitiated have been told that X has been unable to comprehend the impending call, hence they have no difficulty in realizing that this is a request to his supernatural patron to be more explicit.* This appeal is repeated in every house of the village in order from bottom to top. The rite is so important that X often summons *kukusiut* from neighbouring [628] towns and, on the occasion described, the dancer proceeded to *Snut* with his escort and there entered every dwelling with the same request that he had made in his own village.

In the evening X returns to his home where presently the *kukusiut* gather from the villages that he visited. The uninitiated from adjacent houses hear whistling so are not surprised when heralds enter to announce that a call has come to X. The ritual is of the regular *lsutāmem* pattern and a song is [533] composed and practised; the theme is of X's ability to visit the land above but the type is that of a shaman's song. The ritual concludes in the usual manner.

The next day, *nusiatálsap*, the customary raised enclosure is erected and a number of *kukusiut* gather wood in the forest. In the evening the carpenters are requested to make a long [417] ladder, the only paraphernalia required. The evening's ritual ends as usual.

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*The patron for this dance could not be learnt.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

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[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

*575 During *qotlim* and *nebusam* days the carpenters gather in *796 X's house where they construct a long ladder. The uprights and rungs are of split cedar, and each of the latter is decorated [417] with a tuft of dyed, and a tuft of undyed cedar-bark; two white eagle-tail feathers are fastened to the top. In the afternoon of *nebusam*, a *kusiut* who is also a chief blackens his face, dons a collar of dyed cedar-bark and sallies forth to invite guests from the adjacent villages. About the same time the smoke-vent in X's house is pushed back and the ladder is erected, projecting a considerable distance above the roof. The uninitiated see it clearly and wonder what it may portend. In the evening the *kukusiut* assemble and the singers beat out X's two songs for the benefit of the guest visitors. Then the uninitiated are called in. They see the lower part of the ladder, and gaze with wonder on X who keeps walking backwards and [292] forwards in his raised enclosure, clad in a dance-apron and a black blanket to which is tied one end of the long rope. Two *kukusiut* assistants hold a section of it as if to anchor him. The dancer carries a rattle which he keeps shaking violently. His two songs are sung and everything is now ready for the main performance. Still shaking his rattle, X climbs the ladder and disappears from sight through the roof, dragging the rope after him. The sound of the rattle grows gradually fainter and fainter, but the cable is steadily drawn up through the opening. It is so realistic that the uninitiated hardly require the explanation given by an eloquent *kusiut* that a strange power has come to X, enabling him to climb up a ladder which lengthens of its own accord until he will ultimately reach the land above. The orator explains how the dancer will be able to straighten the tally posts, and thus have it in his power to govern the life of an individual, though normally it is only the supernatural beings who can do so. In this connection he employs the term [192] *smilstis*, a word seldom used which has the significance of "A Measuring of the Span of Life."

As at *kusiutem* dances, spies guard the doorway and threaten death to the *kukusiut* unless X return in safety. No

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[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

one is permitted to leave, and the uninitiated gaze in amazement as the seemingly endless rope continues to be drawn up through the roof, although the rattle itself can no longer be heard as if X had passed beyond earshot. They do not know that he has merely stepped from the ladder to the roof of the house, and thence to the ground, taking care to loop the cord over a projection so that he can continue drawing it out steadily. He has carefully practised rattling so that he can gradually lessen the intensity as if he were passing beyond ear-shot. One of the marshals describes the dangers to which X is exposed on his journey aloft, and calls on the *kukusiut* to sing his two songs to aid him. They are sung several times, but no others are used during the long night, nor are puppet-pictures employed as in *kusiotem* rites. The rope is being drawn from a large coil on the floor near the fire, and when the carpenters notice that it is nearly exhausted one of their number slips out to tell X to stop his climb. Presently, one or two yards of rope are quickly pulled through the hole in the roof and then all movement stops. 575* 796*

"He has jumped," cry the *kukusiut*.

A fluent *kusiut* explains to the uninitiated that the roof of the land above has opened before X's ever-lengthening ladder, that he has leapt from it to the ground above and tied his rope to something. On one occasion, a malicious rival cut the cable hoping that no one would notice the break, but luckily one of the watchful carpenters noticed it in time to knot the two ends. The *kukusiut* always explain that the rope is X's point of contact with the lower world, and that if it is severed, he cannot return. Accordingly, if the broken end had been drawn up through the roof, X would never have come back, and only his secret death would have served to maintain the reputation of the society. [772] 575* 796* 578 611

The rope remains stationary for some time, and then is seen to be coming back through the aperture. 575*

"X is returning," whisper the *kukusiut* to one another and the excitement becomes intense. 796*

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NEG Bellacoola [illegible]

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

[illegible]

Slowly and steadily the rope is lowered to the carpenters who coil it in a heap near the foot of the ladder. It seems an endless climb, as this part of the ceremony is expected to take quite as long as X's ascent, and must not be finished until just before dawn. At last the faint sound of the rattle is heard and presently the ladder itself begins to shake. Two or more senior members of the society climb up through the roof and return, amid the drumming of the *kukusiut* women, with the traveller. The uninitiated gaze at him with fear and awe:

"He is indeed wonderful," they say to one another.

[illegible]

X's face was painted black and white when he started his climb, but it is now clean and the uninitiated hardly need to be reminded by the *kusiut* orator that the strong wind in [illegible] has blown all paint from his skin. He sits down beside an eloquent *kusiut* to whom he talks at length and who excites the curiosity of the audience by telling them that they will soon hear all about it. When the talk is finished, the orator stands up and tells what the traveller has seen in the land above. He states that X found a certain number of tally posts leaning and straightened them, but he never mentions whose lives have thus been preserved. The uninitiated assume without question that X has just given the orator these details, though in point of fact he has done nothing of the kind, his apparent confidant having been chosen for his skill in inventing interesting items. As soon as the story is over, the uninitiated are told to leave. While the usual meal is being prepared the carpenters haul down the ladder and cast it into the fire without ceremony. The *kukusiut* listen to the usual admonitions of the members as they eat, and then disperse in the early dawn, wearied from the all-night session.

Most of the village sleeps through the day, but in the late afternoon the herald summons the *kukusiut* to X's house. The dance of the Tally Posts resembles a [illegible] in the sense that four days of ceremonial follow the four days just described. The evening following X's ascent is [illegible], the

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

second of the whole performance. The ritual is of the regular type with the composition and practising of a song. 575* 776*

During the evening of the next day, [illegible], the usual carpentry tasks are allotted. Only three masks are required, one of *[illegible]* and two of supernatural beings termed *[illegible]*, as if they had the power to lengthen or curtail the lives of human beings. The ritual on *[illegible]* warrants no special description. Late in the afternoon of [illegible] the *kusiut* assemble in X's house and the uninitiated are presently startled to see them all rush forth with three masked figures in their midst. Assuming, of course, that these are supernatural visitors, the frightened non-members retreat to their houses whence they peer forth at the figures as they parade up and down the shore beside the river. They can easily recognize *[illegible]*, but not his two companions whose faces are painted black and white, and who have projecting, snout-like mouths. After this promenade and a certain amount of dancing, the party returns to X's house whither the uninitiated are presently summoned. The two *[illegible]* dance around the fire while *[illegible]* explains their power over the lives of mortals. The *kusiut* then ask the uninitiated to withdraw and the ceremony ends in the customary manner. [532] [532]

X must perform this full ritual at least once after obtaining his *kusiut* name with respect to it, but on later occasions he can, if he so desires, limit himself to the second part of the ceremony with the appearance on earth of the *[illegible]*. [824]

THE DANCE OF THUNDER

According to Bella Coola belief, the supernatural ones in the upper land resemble human beings in performing *kusiut* dances. Like mortals, some of those above are more powerful and more feared than others, but the senior *kusiut* among them is Thunder. Corresponding to the prestige of his patron, the dance of his human protégé is one of the most important *kusiut* rituals. The essential feature of it is that Thunder calls all supernatural beings to witness his dance, and in consequence 575* 776* 824 776

* 575 his followers on earth can do the same. The ritual of initiation
* 776 of a Thunder dancer is accordingly identical with that of a
424 Mystery dancer. In the field an effort was made to obtain
accounts of what had actually occurred at dances rather than
[77] of what should have happened, in the dance of Mystery, previously described, several of the usual features were omitted, and these were accordingly left out of the account. They will now be mentioned in connection with the dance of Thunder, but the fact must be emphasized that they belong equally to all *kusiut* rites in which the dancer has the prerogative of showing all supernatural beings, including Thunder.

[55] In Kimsquit the name of the *kusiut* having the prerogative of singing of Thunder signifies, "The Roarer," with reference to his powers. The native term could not be learnt. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as R.

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* 776
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The Thunder dance is of the normal *kusiut* type in every respect, so no account need be given of the ceremonial of the first three days. Many masks are ordered on the nights of reassembling and these are ready early on [illegible]. During the day the [illegible] uninitiated are excited to see the masked figure of *[illegible]* emerge from R's house, accompanied by a throng of *kukusiut* who chase all but members of the society back to their homes. Following them comes Thunder's herald, *[illegible]*, calling on all to prepare to come to the dance of Thunder, the leading *kusiut* of the supernatural beings. The messenger circles [illegible] to announce the supernatural ones to Thunder's dance, the reason that all can be shown at R's ceremonial. Immediately behind *[illegible]* comes *[illegible]*, the [illegible], protesting that Thunder's dance is not worth attending since he, and he alone, is the senior *kusiut* of the supernatural ones. *[illegible]* adds her usual comments to the remarks of the two masked figures. This series of invitations and counter-invitations is repeated four times during the day, to the wonder of the uninitiated who peer out through chinks in the houses and around corners of the buildings. Sometimes *[illegible]* and *[illegible]* pass from

[The Dance of Thunder]

carried to physical arguments, and one occasion is remembered when the latter was shoved from a canoe into the river. 575* 796*

In the evening the *kukusiut* are first called in, to be followed by the uninitiated in due course. Thunder dances in the manner already described, though if possible, with even more vigour and abandon than when he was only one of the performers in the Mystery dance. As recorded in that dance, he performs twice, on the second occasion carrying a rattle containing burning shreds of cedar-bark. After each circuit of the central fire, Rainmaker [illegible] drenches the audience, as rain accompanies a thunderstorm. The dramatic skill displayed is always impressive, and a touch of comic realism is added by the whispered remarks of *Tlaqats* who does his utmost to belittle Thunder. 776 [522]

The time-beater for the supernatural dance, *Nisqa*, appears after Rainmaker. When the ceremonial is carried out with care, he wears a skull mask to show that he is a ghost who has come from the land below in answer to the call of *Alkuntam*. As he beats time he sings a wordless song of the dead. The skill of *Nisqa* as a dancer is due to the fact that he is a yearling mountain-goat among supernatural beings. The uninitiated look forward with eagerness to witnessing a remarkable dance, but after a few violent contortions the performer withdraws, followed by the musicians. [532] [535]

It would be needless repetition to enumerate all the supernatural beings who follow, so mention will be made only of those who are considered especially appropriate to the Thunder dance and who are accordingly shown on almost all occasions. Winter Wren is a masked figure which hops about in an agile manner similar to that of the bird on this earth, and Rabbit likewise imitates the movements of an earthly rabbit. *Aualik*-[illegible] explains to the uninitiated that Thunder would like to taste the flesh of mortals but that he is too big and too hot to approach them, so sends Mosquito as his messenger. The masked figure representing this insect carries a stick about one foot in length beneath his blanket, and runs around the house [532] [825]

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[The Dance of Thunder]

* 575
* 796 with short, mincing steps. At intervals he pulls forth his stinger
776 and rushes at one of the spectators, poking the weapon at him
[123] and humming fiercely. The writer took the part of a supernatural mosquito at one of the dances held in the winter of
[781] 1922-3 and remembers the expression of fear on the face of a younger member of the audience when about to be "stung." The victim was certainly afraid on that occasion, and if that feeling could survive the break-down of belief, it is not to be wondered at that fear was universal in the days when the *kukusiut* were thought to be possessors of supernatural powers. Another being who often appears at a dance of Thunder is Rainwater-Dripping-from-the-Roof. The masked figure walks slowly around the fire and *Anul'ikwutsaix* explains that this is the water which drops from a hole in the planking. The Clowns
[522] are never omitted, and always cause amusement amid the gravity of the rite. One after another, the supernatural beings appear from the enclosure, circle the fire, and withdraw, accompanied by the sage remarks of *Anul'ikwutsaix*. Finally there is a long pause, broken when a masked figure slowly toddles forth. It is Snail, who started at the same time as the other supernatural beings but arrived too late to be present at the dance of Thunder. Snail circles the fire and disappears. At this point the uninitiated are expelled and the rite concludes as usual.

* 575
* 796 Dancers whose patrons are Thunder, Earthquake, Sun, or Moon do not confine their dances to the ceremonial season, but
[824] perform whenever a manifestation of their patron occurs. If Thunder is heard, no matter what the time of day or season of
[821] year, X stands up and cries out:

"It [he does not refer to Thunder by name] is dancing too hastily up aloft. *Yuu* ...."

[789] The call of *yuu* ... is thought to have a quieting effect on Thunder. Any *kukusiut* woman present at once dances, then, accompanied by a number of his musicians, X proceeds to the lowest house of the village where the same ritual is repeated. This is done in every dwelling, after which X returns home and

[The Dance of Thunder]

the uninitiated are expelled. If several *kukusiut* in the same village are protégés of Thunder, each makes a circuit independently, but they agree to meet afterwards in the house of one of their number. Here all members of the society assemble for a meal provided hurriedly by X., or to a number of meals if several have Thunder as patron; in this case there is no pooling of food. The marshals take the opportunity of giving their customary admonitions, as if it were midwinter. Next the singers combine their ideas and beat out a new song of which the theme is Thunder who never rests; it is worded as if X. were speaking and describing what his patron is doing. This song is sung and resung until all present have learnt both tune and words. If there are several *kukusiut* with Thunder as patron, a song is made for each and practised in the same manner. 575* 796* [533] [533]

When all is ready, one of the heralds calls in the uninitiated. Each song is sung to the accompaniment of beating sticks while a dancer performs. Instead of X., this is an old man or woman who has not had a call for many years. Often the *kusiut* selected is so old that he or she can dance only with the support of a stick; no reason could be learnt for this surprising deviation from the usual practice. If several songs have been composed, a new dancer performs to each. After the last dance the uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* soon follow. Since no call has come, it follows that it is of a ceremonial, though not of a sacred nature, and does not take the regular course of winter dances. It is said to "make good the path of Thunder," the term employed being identical with that used for the dance on *sulaxam* after the burning of the masks. [787]

Nothing more need be said about the Thunder dance, except to give the following origin myth: 575* 796*

Long ago, long before the white man came to this land, but still longer after its first settlement, four brothers left Kimsquit to hunt mountain goats on Mount [illegible], near the Kimsquit River.[illegible] It was September. 534 [523] [10]

[illegible] This mountain is also known as Hump-back Salmon Mountain, for its shape resembles the fish in question and it is said that long ago, in the very beginning of time, a salmon became petrified there.

575 the goats were plentiful, fat, and unsuspicious, so that before nightfall
776 they had killed four. Well satisfied, they lay down in a cave to sleep
539 for the night. At that time no one knew what supernatural being caused
821 thunder; the earliest inhabitants of the world had possessed that knowledge but it had been forgotten in the intervening generations. Towards midnight the hunters were awakened by a loud boom and wondered what could have caused it. Presently they saw approaching a figure resembling a man, with a weird non-human face, who carried in each hand a huge rock crystal.* He raised and lowered his arms as if pounding; at each movement the crystals struck each other, producing the booming sound and also emitting a flash of light. The eldest brother, *[illegible]*, told the others to cover their faces with their blankets and to keep their eyes closed, because some evil and powerful creature was drawing near. But the second brother, who had caught a glimpse of the two crystals and greatly desired them, watched cautiously, hoping for an opportunity to steal them. Thunder, for it was none other, ranged around; at intervals he passed across to the other side of the intervening valley on a sidewalk which grew before his feet to form a bridge for him, and on it, too, he was able to retrace his steps. Several times Thunder crossed and recrossed, accompanied by reverberating peals. He came near the four brothers and danced, then lay down while fire emerged from his nostrils. The second brother began to feel scorched, gradually the heat increased, but he was powerless to move; before dawn, when Thunder vanished, he had been roasted to death.

The three survivors buried the dead man in a hastily made grave in the floor of the cave and went home, abandoning the mountain goats which they had killed. *[illegible]*, though grieved at the loss of his brother, felt that the latter's death was his own fault for peeking when he had been warned not to do so. Not long afterwards the two younger brothers died. Then the sole survivor told a carpenter to make him a mask secretly, according to a design which he would describe. In this way the face of Thunder was portrayed in wood. When the mask was ready, *[illegible]* wore it and gave an imitation of the actions of his patron; no one had ever seen anything like it and the people were amazed.

575 No great antiquity is ascribed to this myth and it gives no
776 explanation of questions which at once arise in the investi-
539 gator's mind. The type is fairly common in Bella Coola; in
824 fact, the only unusual part of it is that the visionary received
777 a dance prerogative rather than one of the forms of good for-

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*This is said to have been equivalent to the [illegible] of a Thunder dancer.

name previously described. To the Bella Coola philosopher, apparently no explanation is needed of the manner in which *[illegible]* was allowed to use his experience as the basis of a *kusiut* dance. The assumption is that he was a *kusiut* at the time of his experience, although this is not clearly stated. The last to use the name died about 1910, each *[illegible]* having had the prerogative of giving the Thunder dance.

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[551]

THE GHOST DANCE[illegible]

Among the numerous patterns of *kusiut* dancers are Ghosts. The term, *[illegible]*, applied to a shaman whose power is derived from a ghost, is also applied to *kusiut* with one as patron, but the two functionaries must not be confused. It is a fairly common prerogative and there are Ghost dancers in every village, their right depending in every case on some experience of an encounter with a ghost. The following is an account of the manner in which *[illegible]* of *[illegible]* performed his ritual; it may be regarded as typical of all, and the dancer can be referred to as X.

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[775]
[756]
[424]

At any time during the ceremonial season X consults with the [illegible] to decide upon a suitable time for his performance. On the evening preceding, normally the *[illegible]* of some other *kusiut*, the [illegible] state that his call is imminent; X makes his final arrangements and asks the assistance of a number of his fellows.

When the indicated rites of the following evening have been completed and the uninitiated have returned to their own houses, they are startled to hear whistling from the forest near at hand. It is not the instrumentally produced sound that accompanies the coming of a call, but [illegible] whistling with the mouth; everyone knows that this is the language of ghosts. A visitation from them is by no means unknown, and always dreaded, so at once there is excitement and everyone [illegible] in the bedrooms. Presently heralds go through the village

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[775]

[illegible]

[19]

[The Ghost Dance]

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announcing that the dead have come with a call for X. Meanwhile a number of *kukusiut* assemble in the dancer's house where he strips off his clothing and covers himself with dirt and ashes. In all other *kusiut* dances the performer endeavours to beautify himself, or at least to blacken or paint his face according to some definite pattern, but X's aims to imitate the appearance of the dead who are notoriously untidy.

After some delay, X rushes forth in the midst of his escort and enters the lowest house of the village. The frightened uninitiated are hiding in their bedrooms, but they peer through cracks and watch X as he bends to the floor, picks up handfuls of dirt and throws them wildly in all directions, heedless of what damage he may do. It is obvious that he is frantic and mad, like Cannibals who have received their calls. His *kusiut* associates pretend to restrain him, but he always eludes their efforts and continues to hurl dirt. At last he withdraws, runs to the next house and there repeats the performance. This is done in every dwelling in the village. Most of the uninitiated in X's own house leave it as soon as the *kukusiut* begin to assemble, and by this time all others have fled, so that when the party returns there are only members of the society present. The frightened non-members hear the frenzied howling of X as efforts are made to cure X of his madness, but without avail. Soon a sound of wailing is heard, and the heralds come round announcing that X has vanished—the dead have taken him. The *kukusiut* spend the rest of the night in his house, idly listening to speeches from the members, and disperse near dawn.

X's sojourn in the land of the dead is of varying length. Occasionally he returns on the night of his disappearance, having been absent only a few hours, or he may remain in hiding for several weeks. The usual time for his reappearance is the night after his departure, and with him always come a number of ghosts. The ritual on his return is always the same, irrespective of the duration of his absence.

At dusk the heralds call the *kukusiut* to X's house where there

[The Ghost Dance]

they sit in silence, awaiting his arrival. Presently word is sent 575*
to him, for he is always hiding near, and he comes through the 796*
door and sits near the fire. But he does not resemble the man
who left the village. His face and body have been stained [787]
green with crushed leaves, in imitation of the colour of the [302]
dead; in his hand he carries a bone, said to be part of the leg
of a dead man, though in reality it is from a deer. After him
the ghosts enter one by one. They are a number of *kukusiut*
who have been painted black and green to give them an un- [302]
earthly appearance; there is no fixed pattern, each following
his own, or the carpenter's ideas of the uncanny, though the
body colour on which the other tints are smeared is usually
white. Each dead man has a special name and each acts
accordingly in an eccentric way. One enters walking back-
wards, another hops on one leg, and a third walks on his [775]
hands—because ghosts always act in the opposite manner to
mortals. Each trills in a peculiar way and performs something
like a dance, waving his arms to and fro, up and down, con-
stantly pointing with one finger, before lying down close to the
central fire. With them enters a woman with painted face, [776]
clad in a blanket and carrying a basket on her back; she is
Äipwalas, who gathers berries in the land of the dead. She
begins to go around picking up any small articles that she sees
and depositing them in her basket, from which anyone picks
them out at will and returns them to the places whence they
had been taken. One of the first actors to appear carries a
stick for time beating, and acts as leader of the ghost singers.
Whenever a spark from the fire lights on one of the dead,
causing the latter to jump, the leader pounds violently with
his stick. When all are present, the leader beats time and they
prepare to leave. Ghosts are fickle, however; consequently, [775]
instead of going straight to the door, some go in one direction,
some in another, but all are at length shepherded outside. X
and his visitors, with a large number of *kukusiut*, go to every
house in the village repeating the same procedure, in silence,
except for the trill of the dead man. The uninitiated do not

[The Ghost Dance]

575 796 leave their bedrooms, but peer curiously and fearfully around the edge of the boards. Finally the party returns to X's house, whence the uninitiated hear the sound of sticks being beaten in a frenzied manner, but without the usual rhythmic conclusion. Each *kusiut* beats as he likes, because it is an affair of the dead with whom all things are queer and unnatural. [775]

575 796 775 593 The ghosts wash and take their places in X's house where the singers are working on a new song. The words, as if spoken by the dancer, describe the land of the dead; how everything is green there; how the river flows from west to east so that the sun travels upstream; how the shades wished to make him a chief, and deceived him by not giving proper presents; how he visited the various towns scattered along the river, finding the bone in one of the houses; and finally how the dead told him of any mistakes in ritual that had been committed in the Bella Coola villages, in Kimsquit, or in *Tál'io*. This last is, of course, common knowledge, but the Ghost dance is the only *kusiut* ceremonial in which such information is used in the text of a song. Details are given, but the wording is so ambiguous that when the uninitiated later hear the song they do not comprehend its meaning. Since the *kukusiut* have concealed the error referred to, the necessity for veiled allusions is apparent. Everything connected with the Ghost dance is carried out in the reverse order; thus, the reference of X to presents which he did not receive is merely an intimation that he will presently bestow gifts on the singers and the other *kukusiut* who have assisted him. The wordless chorus of the tune consists of [771] 'aip'aumais, a phrase said to be the same for Ghost dances among the coastal tribes. The song is [illegible], while the audience listens attentively; then it is sung vigorously by all, while X dances. His style differs from that of all 575 796 535 424 other *kukusiut*; first one arm and then the other is kept extended, downwards, at an angle in front of the body with the forefinger pointing to the ground. This method of dancing is the prerogative of all Ghost dancers and provides a variation to the somewhat monotonous performances on different [illegible]

[The Ghost Dance]

gatlm. When the dance has ended, X gives presents; first to each spectator, and then to those who have assisted him, starting with the singers. This is the last event of the evening and the kukusiut disperse. 575* 796* [731]

The factor of doing things in the reverse order appears not only in actions, but in the order of the ceremonies. Those just described, although at the beginning of the rite, resemble a sulacem in many respects. Consequently, it is not surprising that the next night is gatlm. The singers are the first to assemble and they compose a second song for X, with the same theme but different words and tune to that already prepared. [533] Meanwhile the kukusiut are gathering and when they have learnt the new song, the uninitiated are summoned. No enclosure has been built, and X is much in evidence. His body has been painted green with a preparation of grass rubbed in water, he wears the usual collar of dyed cedar-bark and a kind of head-dress with a triangular projection over his forehead. [302] [292] His two songs are sung, and X dances vigorously to each in the manner just described. This is followed by the customary gatlm ritual, kusiut after kusiut dancing as the singers beat out his two songs. Finally a Cannibal begins to growl fiercely in one of the rear corners and the uninitiated flee hurriedly. The kukusiut sit together, listening to the admonitions and remarks of the marshals, and then X dances once more. Among the peculiarities of the Ghost dance is the fact that the call may be returned at this point, or X may again become mad, according to the wishes of the marshals. 575* 796* 789 If they desire a further display of his insanity, he rushes out as soon as he has finished dancing and proceeds to the nearest house of the village. A number of kukusiut follow him and attempt to hold him, or to prevent him from picking up handfuls of dirt from the floor and throwing them in all directions in an aimless manner. As a matter of fact his guardians take care that X hurls approximately the same amount in each house, as none of them is willing to have more damage done in his own house than in others. After a visit to each dwelling, the party returns to

[The Ghost Dance]

*575 *776 [781] X's, where he is soothed by the four times repeated frenzied beating of sticks and his call returned whence it came.

During the rest of the ceremonial season X becomes mad at intervals and displays his insanity by rushing to every house and throwing dirt and sand. His *kukusiut* escort is always with him, and the procedure is identical with that already recorded. [424] X makes no recompense for the damage inflicted, so it is probable that his fellows do not regard his dance as an unmitigated pleasure, but nothing can be done to deter him from exercising his prerogative.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CHARMER

*575 *776 776 [528] [831] Although the Bella Coola are probably as moral as members of any other tribe, they enjoy humour of an obscene nature, and a dance which never fails to provide amusement is that of the Supernatural Charmer. The patron of this is *Sximnatimsh*, a beautiful, unmarried, feminine being who is also termed *Alqmaisi* and *Nuxemlitsis*. She is thought to disregard the efforts of her supernatural relatives to restrain her, and comes to this earth where she bestows her favours not only on human beings, but on animals. Her protégé at Kimsquit is a young [537] man, *Esliaiak*, at Bella Coola, a young woman, *Kuailiaxe*; [563] like all other *kusiut* names these can be used either by man or woman. It is said that *Esliaiak*'s prerogative is derived from [424] the experience of an ancestor in past ages, whereas that of *Kuailiaxe* was initiated three generations ago by a very powerful chief. The ritual in each case is identical, so the dancer [538] can be referred to as X. Each has the prerogative of singing not only of *Sximnatimsh*, but also of the being known as *Wisaxnimnai*. [537] Many masks are required at the release of either of these beings, so it is customary for X to perform with respect to *Sximnatimsh* one year, and to *Wisaxnimnai* at the next or a subsequent ceremonial season, though the actual songs always refer to both patrons.

*776 *575 When X wishes to dance he consults the members, obtains their consent, and then makes final arrangements or, normally, the *gutlim* of another dancer. Next night the call comes to him in the ordinary manner, and the heralds go through the village announcing what has taken place. The uninitiated are expelled at once from X's house and the *kukusiut* presently assemble to listen to the song being composed by the singers. The theme is of *Snimsnimak*; how she came down from above and travelled all over the world shamelessly luring men and animals; how various supernatural beings tried to restrain her without success; how she went to the house of *Qoit* and was trying to seduce several young men living there when *W'ouaxsomak* appeared and endeavoured to make her behave herself, but without avail. The song then describes *W'ouaxsomak* who seems to be a warm wind, engaged in a never-ending duel with the cold winds.* No detailed description is required for the ritual of *sxaiatlilaix*, when a second song with the same theme is composed, or of *gutlim*, since these follow the typical *kusiut* pattern. 575* 776* [593] [776]

During the afternoon of *nuhusum*, the *kukusiut* gather in X's house to try on the completed masks and make the final arrangements. Whistles sound so continuously that the uninitiated remain either within their own houses or near them, ready to hide in the bedrooms if necessary. Within X's house the supporters are supervising the choice of masks; a brave man able to speak like a woman is, as usual, chosen to represent *Snimsnimak*; another with similar qualifications is selected for *W'ouaxsomak*, while the other masks can be worn by almost anyone. Presently a strange procession leaves X's house and enters the largest house of the village where the uninitiated have been herded into the inner rooms, but watch proceedings through cracks between the boards. First comes X himself, his face blackened and wearing the usual collar. He remains standing near the door and watches as *Snimsnimak* enters and slowly proceeds around the central fire; she wears a mask representing a young and beautiful woman. Behind her come her lovers, [593]

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*Definite information concerning the identification of *W'ouaxsomak* could not be obtained.

[The Dance of the Supernatural Charmer]

*575 each wearing the mask of a man and each with the clothing
*796 and distinctive marks of a particular tribe: Tsimshian, Haida,
[532] Bella Bella, Rivers Inlet, China Hat, Kitimat, Fort Rupert,
Smith Inlet, Cowichan, and as many more as X has wished,
not forgetting Bella Coola itself. On at least one occasion
representations of a white man and of a Chinese were used.
Sometimes instead of one, there are two of each tribe. Each
figure pretends to be pursuing *Saimsaimalt* and keeps up a
running fire of complaints:

"She left me for a worthless man; oh! how unhappy I am,"
says one, and another adds:

"Alas, I enjoyed her only once."

Each uses his own imagination in making comments, frequently drawing on personal experiences with faithless women.
Anu'likwulsais explains everything, and the heralds echo the
remarks. *Saimsaimalt* looks around for a handsome young
kusiut woman and says to her:

"How many men have known you?"

The heralds repeat the question and tell the woman not to
[522] be bashful, but to speak the truth. It is considered excessively
funny for her to answer a number in the hundreds, even more
[891] than the tale of *Saimsaimalt*'s lovers. This is a time when
obscene remarks are allowed and, indeed, expected. A short
distance behind the hurrying procession of those who have
[532] loved *Saimsaimalt* and are still allured by her, comes a supernatural being disguised under the mask of an old man. He is
her father, who keeps giving her good advice and begging her
to forsake her evil ways, but she pays no attention to him.
*575 Finally, just as she is about to leave, there enters an old, old
*796 man with white hair and a wrinkled face; he totters in leaning
heavily upon a stick and calling to the woman to wait for him.
522. She heeds him not, but goes out of the house while he staggers
feebly around the fire, voicing his complaints and his appeals.
Anu'likwulsais explains that he is *Simgaias*, who fell under the
spell of *Saimsaimalt* long ago in his youth, and for whom her
beauty had such a fatal attraction that he has followed her

Z:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Dance of the Supernatural Charmer]

ever since. Pity for strangers is not a strong Bella Coola 575*
sentiment and the audience laughs heartily at the spectacle 796*
of the doddering old man in vain pursuit of a heartless woman
who is forever young. A considerable number of *kukusiut* [522]
always accompany the procession, pushing their way out with [609]
Anuˀlikwutsaix and *Simpirax*. Several of them carry whistles [152]
concealed beneath their arm-pits and the noise of these serves
to maintain the dignity of the occasion.

So many masked figures are used that all cannot accompany *Ssimssimdt* into each house. Those unable to do so remain on the sidewalk outside, holding one of her lovers, a live male mountain goat. At the next house another group of the charmer's victims enters and the ceremonial just described is repeated. The same is carried out at every dwelling in the village. *Ssimssimdt* and her followers stop a few minutes in X's house before starting out on a second round, in which the same ritual is carried out. This is done twice more, so that each house is visited four times.

By this time dusk has fallen and all the *kukusiut* except those acting as escort to X have gathered in his house. Presently the uninitiated are called in. *Ssimssimdt* is standing on a low box behind the fire, encouraging her masked lovers to come to her, and bestowing her affections indiscriminately in a heartless manner. The rivals shove each other to and fro realistically and though blows are not actually exchanged, great care must be taken to prevent masks from falling in the
mock encounter. The efforts of the unfortunate *Simpirax* to [522]
reach his desire are always a source of merriment. *Anuˀlikwutsaix* as usual explains the significance of it all. Sometimes
a cradle is brought in, over which *Ssimssimdt* croons while a [533]
song is sung, describing her as the mother of many creatures of whom the fathers are animals. It is uncertain whether this part of the ceremony takes place before or after the sham fight or, indeed, whether it is not another type of *sulacam* which X can use at will. The ritual concludes in the normal way with the expulsion of the uninitiated, the dancing of *Anuˀlikwutsaix*,

*575 *746 the burning of the masks, the dancing of X, and the return of his call.

During a later season when a call comes to X, the ritual deals with *Wicuministmak*, but only the outline of the ceremony could be learnt. [533] The theme of the two songs composed for the occasion is of *Wicuministmak* and how he fights with his enemies, the cold winds. His only weapons are fierce roaring and a belligerent expression, but these suffice to keep his adversaries at a distance, especially his principal foeman, the evil wind, *Nusdáqps*.

There is no deviation from the usual type of *kusiut* ceremonial until the day of *sulucam* when a fight takes place at the river's edge where all, including the uninitiated, can see it. The *kukusiut* of the village are divided into two parties, of which one comes from upstream, the other from below, meeting in front of X's house. The leaderless combatants shove each other to and fro, without actually coming to blows. *Wicuministmak* remains behind one party, encouraging his warriors by his roars, while *Nusdáqps* spurs on his supporters by valiant gestures, without daring to come too near the combat. *Wicuministmak*'s followers finally win the day and drive back the other party. *Ani'ltsualsais* is much in evidence, explaining to the uninitiated, who cower in the shelter of the houses, that this is the way in which the winds fight in the land above. That evening non-members are called to X's house where they witness a combat of the same type. The ceremonial concludes in the usual manner.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL LOUSE

[824] Another *kusiut* ceremonial which closely resembles that just described is the prerogative of a young Bella Coola woman named *Sinu'naa'* who inherited it from her mother's mother's sister's son. It will be convenient to refer to her as X.

When X wishes to dance, she first obtains the consent of the marshals in the normal manner and chooses a convenient [593] day for the coming of her call. Then the *kukusiut* gather in

[The Dance of the Supernatural Lover]

her house while the singers compose a new song. The theme 575
is of her patron, the young male being, *K'wat·iwal·a*, "The Big 786
One." It describes how he came from above and went far and
near over the earth in lustful pursuit of women, how each [539]
victim fell in love with her seducer so that she followed him in
all his wanderings, how Loon befriended him, and how he [776]
exchanged his blanket for a covering of abalone-shells.

On *nasisiūlap* when the *kukusiut* as usual go to the forest,
they bring back not only wood for masks but also the trunk of [592]
a large cedar tree, at which the carpenters work during the two
succeeding days. On *sukaom* a parade occurs of the super-
natural beings similar to that in the dance of the Supernatural
Charmer, but the masked figures represent women, not men,
of the different coastal tribes. *K'wat·iwal·a* leads the procession
and pays no more attention to his mistresses than did *Sxims-*
imdi to her would-be lovers. There is the same licence for lewd [581]
remarks, of which *K'wat·iwal·a* takes full advantage when he [322]
calls the attention of the young men to his following, and asks
them how many mistresses each has had.

In the evening the uninitiated are called to X's house where
the first object they see is the tree-trunk, converted by the [592]
carpenters into an enormous bird. Wooden wings and a loon's
head have been provided and the whole is painted in imitation
of a loon's plumage. *K'wat·iwal·a* is in evidence, wearing a
bird disguise. Presently a matting enclosure in one of the rear
corners of the house is thrown open, and the uninitiated see
the throng of his mistresses who rush forth, almost coming to
blows in their eagerness to reach their seducer. *Anu'likwutsaix*
stands on one side and explains the significance. After the
mock combat has lasted for a few minutes, a Cannibal begins to
growl and the uninitiated hurry out. The ceremonial then
concludes in the usual manner.

This dance differs from all other *kusiut* rites in one respect, [424]
since the call can come to X several times during a single cere-
monial season. Of course there is no compulsion; she uses
her own discretion as to whether she dance more than once,

*575
*796 but a proud and energetic dancer sometimes repeats a ceremony three or four times.
[424]

THE SUN DANCE[33]

[776] One of the forms in which *Álquntām* appears is that of the Sun, and in that case he is referred to as *Sınxālotla*. Consider-
[821] ing the importance of this deity, it is rather surprising that the *kusiut* dance of which he is patron is not more impressive. Efforts were made to obtain full details of the ceremonial from several informants, but only a number of incidents and a bare
[124] outline could be obtained. In part this was due to the fact that none of the informants[34] were themselves protégés of *Álquntām*, but this is not in itself sufficient to explain the comparative unimportance of the dance, since full accounts were obtained of other rituals from those who did not own them.

Nothing was learnt of the origin of any of the Sun dance
[424] prerogatives, except that ancestors of the owners obtained them
[551] from *Álquntām*. It is a common right, and *kukusiut* having *Álquntām* as patron are found in every village, among them being *Qoxolān·i* of *Tcımotl*, and *Naxnaxliwalaix* of *Nusqalst*. As far as could be ascertained, the ritual of various Sun dance performances is identical, so one account will suffice and the dancer can be termed X.

Like other *kusiut* dancers, X can perform at any time during the ceremonial season, subject to the approval of the marshals. The call comes to him in the normal manner, the uninitiated are expelled, and the *kukusiut* gather in his house to practise the songs which the singers have just composed. The theme
[533] is of *Álquntām*, describing his manifold functions, and particu-
[776] larly that of guiding the Sun. The following day a second song with similar theme is composed, and in the evening the tasks are allotted for the manufacture of masks. Four are re-
[532] quired; a large one representing *Álquntām* himself, one of

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[171]

[33] Needless to say, no connection or similarity is implied with the dance of the same name in other areas.

[34] Except one man who had forgotten all details since his conversion to Christianity many years before.

[The Sun Dance]

Ȧno'likwolsaix, and two of the supernatural Clowns. In addition 575
a white disk, about four feet in diameter, is ordered with a 796
human face in the centre; this represents the Sun with *Ȧlquntäm*. [532]
No detailed description is required until the night of
nebusam.

The *kukusiut* gather in the dusk and summon the uninitiated
as soon as all is in readiness. On entering, they see the
huge and imposing figure of *Ȧlquntäm* standing in the centre
of the space behind the fire, flanked by a number of the most
important *kukusiut* as if to pay respect to him. X stands immediately
behind, repeatedly throwing one arm over *Ȧlquntäm*'s
head and crying *haip* to soothe the visitor. The two [522]
Clowns move to and fro, all over the house, making what remarks
they like as if they were spoilt children. *Ȧno'likwolsaix*
stands on one side, explaining the meaning of it all, and giving
the names of the supernatural beings represented. Suddenly
the white disk appears against the back wall near the roof, [821]
slowly passes sunwise across the house, and disappears. The
uninitiated recognize that it is not the Sun, but to them it
seems miraculous that this body can move as it does, and they
easily accept *Ȧno'likwolsaix*'s explanation that this is the way
Ȧlquntäm crosses the heavens. They do not know that for the
last two days the carpenters have been exercising their ingenuity
in arranging cords so that the object can be drawn across
smoothly and steadily. Again the sun "rises," and crosses the
back wall, only to disappear from sight. This is repeated twice
more, making four times in all. It is said that sometimes the
Sun is made to spin just before it "sets," but the method could
not be learnt. At this juncture the uninitiated are sent home
and the proceedings conclude as usual.

In addition to performing in the customary manner, X is [424]
required to dance on other definite occasions, without the
coming of a call. According to some informants, X must sing
of his patron at the beginning of the ceremonial season, coincidently
with the protégé of *Nuškyum*. This is probably correct
but details were unobtainable. In any case, when the

[The Sun Dance]

*575 dance of [illegible] is omitted owing to the large expenditure
*796 required, X must sing, without a call, in conjunction with the
[illegible] a dancer. In this case also the details are lacking.

[824] Likewise at the winter solstice, when the carrying [illegible]
[821] at last enters [illegible] to greet the waiting supernatural *kukusiut*, it is incumbent on his protégé to perform in his honour below. The singers are always ready with a new song for the occasion, and in the evening his fellows assemble in his house to learn it. X wears the usual ceremonial collar, but he lacks the awe-inspiring qualities of a *kusiut* who has had a call. When the song has been sufficiently practised, the uninitiated are brought in to listen to it and to watch the dancing of X. At the conclusion of the performance they are given a little food, provided by X, which they carry away while the *kukusiut* remain to eat at their ease and listen to the admonitions of the marshals. It is probable that the ritual carried out at the beginning of the ceremonial season is identical with the above. [821] One old man stated that long ago it was customary to dance in the same manner at the summer solstice; this might be expected, but confirmation was unobtainable.

*575 *796 821 Like the protégé of Thunder, X is sometimes called upon to perform during the non-ceremonial season. But whereas a Thunder dancer acts when his patron is apparent by peals of sound, X must do so when his patron is invisible through an eclipse.* The ritual is almost identical with that already described for a Thunder dancer so nothing but additional details need be inserted. X visits every house shaking a rattle, which is not the case with Thunder dancers. After his circuit of the village, the *kukusiut* gather in his house where the singers are [533] composing a new song describing the phenomenon. The words explain that Eclipse, the supernatural being *[illegible]*, has blocked or destroyed the path of the Sun, and add how disastrous it would be if the Sun could not recover its way. Later on, the uninitiated are called in to watch X's dance which, like

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[776] [192] *The Bella Coola term both for "eclipse" and the being responsible is [illegible] which also means "A Fire That Has Died Out."

E. McIlwraith B-1 (1922-1924) [illegible]
NMM Bellacoola [illegible]

the one that takes place at a thunder-storm, is said to "make good the peril" of the patron. It would formerly have been a very serious offence for a Sun dancer not to perform at an eclipse; his failure would probably have been punished with death by the members. One informant vividly recalled his fears when he failed to perform at an eclipse soon after his conversion to Christianity, and announced that he had been in deadly peril from the members in spite of the white man's law. 575* 776* 821 [illegible] [illegible]

THE MOON DANCE

The Sun is not the only heavenly body that acts as patron to *kusiut* dancers, the Moon also has many human protégés. Among them is *[illegible]*, "The Moon When It Is Uncovered," of *[illegible]*, from whom the following account of the Moon dance was obtained. As usual, he can be spoken of as X. [illegible]

The Moon dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial season, subject, of course, to X's wishes and the consent of the members. The coming of the call is heralded in the usual manner and the *kukusiut* promptly assemble to learn the song just composed. It describes the following supernatural beings:

[illegible].[illegible] A woman who lives in the moon and who can be seen in certain of its phases, always carrying a bucket of water. 575* 776* 821 776

The two *[illegible]*: These two beings are able periodically to blacken the Moon's face, thus causing an eclipse.

The two *[illegible]*.[illegible] These kindly women clean the Moon's face after it has been blackened. It is these beings who come to earth to assist novice *kukusiut*.

The song also describes how no supernatural being dares to pass the Moon's house during an eclipse, a prohibition similar to that obeyed by uninitiated with regard to passing outside a house where a *kusiut* ceremony is taking place. [illegible]

[illegible] *[illegible]* is the usual term for place or names [illegible] given for the application of the name designation to the woman living in the moon. [illegible]

[illegible] There is difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not there is more than one of these beings.

[illegible]

[The Moon Dance]

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* 776
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[339]

No detailed description is needed for the ceremonial or other [illegible] or [illegible]. On the evening of the former day the masks are ordered, one for [illegible], who appears to be confused with the Moon itself, one for each [illegible], one for each [illegible], and one for [illegible].

[339]

Late in the afternoon the [illegible] assemble in X's house to see that everything is in good shape. A large mat has been spread across the back wall of the house and on it a disk representing the Moon, with a human face in the middle. After the usual discussion the uninitiated are called in. [illegible] remains standing alone in the two back corners of the house, while the two [illegible] are in the central space behind the fire, constantly waving their arms to and fro. Suddenly the Moon itself appears against the matting. A carpenter, concealed behind the screen, directs its course so that it moves in a short arc across the background and disappears. [illegible] explains to the uninitiated that this is the [illegible] of the new Moon, low down on the horizon. A second time it "rises," and moves across in a longer and higher curve, which [illegible] says is the longer orbit of the growing Moon. On its third course it is still higher, and on its fourth appearance it moves across the full width of the house near the roof, which [illegible] describes as the course of the full Moon, [illegible] the mountains. She also explains that [illegible] to [illegible] for cleaning the Moon's face after the [illegible] have blackened it, as otherwise no light would be visible. This ends the spectacle, the uninitiated are sent away, and the ceremonial concludes in the manner already described.

This constitutes the Moon dance as practised during the ceremonial season, but in addition it is required to dance whenever its patron is hidden by an eclipse. On such occasions the ritual is identical with that described for an eclipse of the Sun.

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[illegible]

One of the [illegible] who came to earth in the beginning of time was [illegible], whose wealth was so great that he was able to invite the [illegible] from far and near to potlatching, and thus acquire many [illegible]

[illegible] (1921/1924) [illegible]

[illegible] Bella Coola [illegible]

[The Dance of the Murdered Slave]

[illegible], then she [illegible] house, ostensibly to return to her companions up the cable.

The singers at once begin to compose a new song, describing X's vision and something of its history. The ritual that follows is that of the ordinary [illegible] and requires no special description. On the night [illegible] a large number of masks are [illegible], [illegible] representing wasps, another of [illegible], and [illegible] another of the latter with swollen face. The only new part of the dance with a distinctive ritual is that of [illegible].

In the early evening the [illegible] assemble in X's house to prepare the enormous [illegible] which the carpenters have erected behind the fire. In recent years this has been made of canvas, taking the place of matting. Within are several wasps, on which the [illegible] stand, each a [illegible] wearing a wasp's mask and carrying a miniature bow and arrow. The attendants are other members of the society chosen for their small stature and armed with sticks and branches; each wears a [illegible] mask and each carries [illegible], representing the same individual with badly swollen face. Considerable time is required to perfect the arrangements and collect the performers, but at last all is in readiness and the uninitiated are called in.

They crowd in the [illegible] wasps' nest and presently [illegible]. The attendants, protected by [illegible], violently beat on the canvas with clubs as they swing their branches as if brushing off the angry insects; this is the [illegible] wasps' nest. The defenders discharge their arrows and at intervals one of the attendants calls out in pain and falls down, apparently dying with badly swollen face. The uninitiated do not realize that he has slipped the second mask from beneath a blanket to his face. X stands at one side, [illegible] with a sweeping motion in the direction of the [illegible], while *[illegible]* gives her customary explanations. At the last the nest is broken down, whereupon one of the [illegible] begins to growl and the uninitiated rush away. The ritual concludes in the usual way.

This ceremony is an example of the great diversity in *kusiut* dances. Instead of the usual patron in the land above, the dance woman is considered to be definitely located on this earth, at a spot near *Stuie*. Moreover, the call comes through her actual appearance. The writer would have liked to know further details of the dance, but they were unobtainable. 575* 716*

THE DANCE OF THE OTTER

Since every Bella Coola has, at the present time, some sort of *kusiut* dance, it would have been possible to collect the details of a large number. Only the main outlines of the dances which follow were obtained, but it is hoped that the complexity of those already described will suffice to explain the scope of the *kusiut* society. In some cases the details were omitted to save time, in other cases the informant was ignorant of them. The latter reason is responsible for the sketchiness of the Otter dance. [628]

This ritual is the prerogative of a *Snuklt kusiut*, *Tsuulja-i*, "The Crash," a name which refers to the din when the first *Stuey* collapsed in the beginning of time. Presumably one of *Tsuulja-i's* ancestors was present at the fall and chose the name in consequence. The dancer's patron is the land otter, but the connection between this animal and the name has been forgotten, as the father of the performer frankly admitted. He suggested that probably one of his ancestors remembered having seen an otter before coming to this world, and chose it as patron for a dance which he instituted with respect to the name *Tsuulja-i*. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as T. 575* 716* 628 557]

T. can perform at any convenient period during the ceremonial season. When the call comes, the ritual of the first three days follows normally, except that the songs used are supposed to have been unaltered. Before unknown, the companions prepare a dummy otter, using a skin stretched over a wooden framework. A long rope is fastened to this and the figure thrown into the water so that it seems to swim for 575* 716* [593]

S: McIlwraith, T. F. (1922-1924) 1948
[illegible] Bellacoola NE6

[The Dance of the Otter]

* 575
* 776

before a rapids. Care is taken that the uninitiated do not observe these arrangements. About noon on [illegible] the heralds go to every house with a cry:

"Come to watch the kusiut catch the supernatural one in the river."

The uninitiated are wise enough to remain within their houses as the kukusiut troop down to the bank of the river. Presently X appears, clad in the usual ceremonial costume. He dives, as if in pursuit of the dark shape which can be seen swirling to and fro in the water. Non-members, watching from the background, are amazed to see what appears to be a struggle, followed by the emergence of X clutching an otter in his arms. They are too far away to perceive that it is merely a dummy, nor do they know that a kusiut has assisted the performer by cutting the rope at the proper time. As X reaches shore with his burden the kukusiut scream [illegible]. Forcing his way through the throng of his associates, the performer goes to his house where the uninitiated presently hear the [illegible] beating of sticks repeated four times. The dummy is carefully concealed in the back room so that it can be used if necessary on a later occasion.

As X comes ashore, water is splashed in all directions from the dummy and often dampens several of the kukusiut. Anyone to whom this happens is expected to give his clothes to a herald, and a man of chief-like disposition never hesitates to do so; in fact, he welcomes this opportunity of displaying his generous nature.

[5 ??]

It is probable that a number of masked figures appear on the evening of [illegible], but detailed information is lacking. It might be added that a question as to whether the catching of this otter had any influence on the ability of X as an otter hunter was regarded by the informant as highly humorous.

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THE [illegible] DANCE

In the beginning of time [illegible] of Kimsquit married a Bella Bella woman who brought as part of her dowry a kusiut

[illegible]

[The Octopus Dance]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[The Dance of the Dark-Shade]

[illegible] 575* 746*

[illegible] [535 424]

[illegible] 575* 746* 787

[illegible] 575* 746* [538]

[illegible]

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796

source of awe to the uninitiated, who marvel that a man can still appear like an ordinary mortal when he has just brought a supernatural visitor home. According to one informant who, however, is not well posted on kusiut matters, there is neither potlatch nor [illegible], and Dark-Shade is merely sent away after four days. This may be the case, but the dance has not been carried out for many years, and the man frankly admitted that he did not know the details. It seems more likely that there is some kind of ceremony, since a song would not be composed unless for a definite purpose.

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The coming of Dark-Shade complicates the kusiut ceremonial since a number of dancers receive their calls simultaneously. In this case the ritual is carried out in unison which requires, for example, the composition of one song for each performer on [illegible]. Calls never come in this way to dancers with important or complicated prerogatives, but it is a useful means of dealing with those whose right is merely to sing of their patrons. On [illegible] the patrons of all are displayed, a method which has the advantage of producing a dramatic effect which would be lacking if only one were in evidence. The coming of a call by means of Dark-Shade is called [illegible], "Emerging from Below to Plain Sight." Another time when several calls may come simultaneously to different kukusiut is at the winter solstice when, on the entry of *Alquntäm*, the supernatural beings rush forth and some of them fall, causing calls to come to their human protégés.

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THE DANCE OF THE STONE MAN

[illegible], the man who was petrified with his Ocean Lake wife and four children at the beginning of time, is patron for a Kimsquit kusiut rite named [illegible]. His repository is just above high-water mark on the east side of Dean Channel, about five miles from its head, and about one hundred and fifty feet north of the legal fishing boundary. This is almost immediately opposite [illegible]'s station. The repository is beneath the ground, and its doorway is a hollow which becomes

[The Dance of the Stone Man] E

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petrified and which can still be seen, with its head facing the water.

The preliminaries of [illegible] dance do not differ from those already described, although it is uncertain whence comes the actual call. A large number of masks are constructed, as well as a large wooden figure of the Stone Man himself, and smaller ones of his wife and four children. When the uninitiated are called in on the night of [illegible] they see the Stone Man and his family standing behind the fire, while the body of the house is filled with a number of masked figures. The latter keep shouting to the Stone Man and he answers them, as he does mortals who pass his station on Dean Channel. The masked figures always arrange that he does not reply to one of the masked figures, whereupon the others gibe at this unfortunate and tell him that he will die within a year. It is common knowledge that if the Stone Man does not answer the hail of a passer-by, the latter will soon die. The uninitiated are impressed to find that supernatural beings share this belief. [537] [163]

THE WA·I DANCE

This dance is the prerogative of a kusiut named Wa·i, "Cohoe Salmon." Its origin is attributed to the experiences of an ancestor of the dancer who was helped by, and received his name from, one of these fish. Only a fragment of the ritual could be learnt, enough to show that it has many points of resemblance with kusiut rites. When Wa·i performs, the central fire is raked apart and he appears to lie down on the ashes between the two burning sections; evergreen boughs and wood are thrown over him, and the fire drawn together over his body. After an hour or more, when the uninitiated imagine he must be killed, his singing is heard, and Wa·i walks in through the front door. Deception is practised probably by means of a dummy fastened with deer sinews which contract with the heat so that it seems as if the body itself were writhing. It is said that the first Wa·i was actually able to perform this feat by means of the power given him by the salmon, [826] [556]

*575 but the *kukusiut* all understand that later performances by
*776 those with the same name are only possible with the assistance
of companions. This dance has not been carried out for so
many years that the details have been forgotten.

THE DANCE OF THE BIRDS

*575 The Bella Coola notice that in autumn many of the birds
*776 disappear, to be seen no more until spring. Ignorant of a
warmer climate to the south and of the causes of migration,
825 they explain the phenomenon by saying that *[illegible]* collects
[776] the birds in some mysterious place for the winter and releases
them in the spring. It is believed that he does the same with
supernatural birds in the land above. The setting free of the
[424] birds, which is in effect a recreating, is known as *[illegible]*
[557] and is personified; he is the patron of a *kusiut* named *[illegible]*.
For the advent of this man's dance a huge circular cage con-
[592] taining wooden birds is constructed. By means of a regular
maze of hidden strings they are made to "fly," to the extreme
amazement of the uninitiated. This is one of the most com-
plicated *kusiut* rites. Contrary to the usual practice, no night
dance is used for fear that it might catch on the strings and
betray their existence to the spectators.

THE DANCE OF DARKNESS AND SLEEP

*575 The patron of this dance is a being who has the power of
*776 bringing nightfall, and later, sleep. In accordance with his
776 double function, a dual personality is attributed to him. In
[illegible] fact, he is almost two beings; as *[illegible]*, "Darkness," he
[575] causes night to come once every twenty-four hours, whereupon
[592] as *[illegible]*, he brings sleep. His *kusiut* protégé displays an
unknown figure with black painted marks, representing both
[424] phases of his patron.

THE DANCE OF THE WHIRLWIND

Whirlwinds, though of rare occurrence in British Columbia, are known to the Bella Coola who believe that they are caused by the being *[illegible]*. Like all supernatural creatures, Whirlwind usually remains in the land above but sometimes visits this earth. He is patron for a *kusiut* who displays a mask representing him in characteristic form, the design of which is said never to vary.

THE DANCE OF THE EARTHQUAKE

The Bella Coola believe that an earthquake is caused by the earth slipping very slightly from the grasp of [illegible]. This being is patron for certain *kukusiut* and whenever a tremor occurs, his protégés call their associates and a dance is held. This may, of course, be at any season, and the ritual during spring or summer is identical with that described for dancers whose patrons are Thunder, the Sun, or the Moon. The theme of the song is of the manner in which [illegible] performs his function of holding the world. A call from [illegible] may also come in the normal manner to one of his protégés during the ceremonial season, but the ritual is of the usual type and merits no special description. In Kimsquit, [illegible] is patron to a *kusiut* named [illegible].

THE DANCE OF TIDE-MEASURER

The heights to which the tides shall rise is decided by a male supernatural being, [illegible], "Tide-Measurer." He is patron of a *kusiut* named [illegible], whose supernatural is [illegible]. One of [illegible]'s ancestors brought the rite with him from above at the beginning of time. The songs used at the dance describe how Tide-Measurer uses a stick in deciding how far the waters shall rise. During the day of [illegible] the uninitiated are told to go to their houses but, by peering round the corners and through chinks, as they always do, they are able to see a masked figure walk into the water, and thrust down to the bottom a stick which he carries. This is repeated four times during the day.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BULL-HEAD

Since any supernatural being can act as patron to *kusiut* dancers, and since all mammals and birds are, in a sense, super-

[illegible] McIlwraith, T. F. (1922–1924) 1948
[illegible] Bella Coola [illegible]

natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is usually added that the animal in question is the one resident in the land above. One patron of this type is the ordinary river bull-head. It is said that long ago this fish wanted to follow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in the house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he objected to people exposing his dwelling, that is, pulling up the stones from the river bed where he was wont to lie, and showed his resentment by sending a very cold wind. Ever since that time boys are not allowed to fish for bull-heads in winter. So far as could be learnt, this dance has no special features.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL [illegible]

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who is patron for a certain *kusiut* is the head of a female herring. Little is known of this being, since her appearance is subject to [illegible]. For the enhancement of her prestige, a number of masks representing herring, as well as human-like beings, are prepared. When the uninitiated are present, one of the disguised figures calls to his fellows to bring their nets and capture the fish.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is [illegible], the supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some *kusiut* but the ritual of the dance, known to uninitiated, was not obtained. The similarity between [illegible] and [illegible], those who speak [illegible], appears merely to be an accidental resemblance in terminology, dependent upon a stem meaning "to come," or "coming." The significance of this in connection with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

THE DANCE OF [illegible]

In Kimsquit it is believed that [illegible] has a husband, [illegible], who is patron for several *kusiut* dances. His function is to summon to life any uninitiated who chances to

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stumble upon a repository and are stricken down by his wife. 796*
Like a shaman, he does this by blowing violently upon the back
of the victim's neck and calling out, *haiḥ*. From constant 776
repetition his mouth has become large and round. When dis- 184
played on *sulucam*, the mask representing *Aimaqlaxtiwila* is [156
painted black and has bulging, blown-out cheeks, and a round 532]
protruding mouth as if in the act of blowing. Neither the dance
nor belief in this figure appear to occur in Bella Coola itself.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BARK-BEATER

In the land above there lives a supernatural woman who spends all her time in pounding cedar-bark such as is used, either dyed or undyed, for ceremonial objects of different kinds. Her name is *Spiiḥpiltwam di Snxailsta* and she is patron for various *kukusiut*. On the *sulucam* of her Kimsquit protégés, she appears as a masked figure engaged in her usual occupation [532] and makes a circuit of the house while a salmon is displayed. The relationship between this being and the salmon is problematical, and it is uncertain whether or not the same rite is practised in Bella Coola.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL AWAKENER 575*

Every morning in *Nusqalsmaiaus* the woman *Spuiqlanasmaiu* 796*
goes around waking up the supernatural beings. She
is patron for several *kusiut* dancers. On the *sulucam* of her 776
protégé, a masked figure representing the *Awakener* goes to [532]
every house in the village and pounds on the doors, but does
not enter, to the relief of the uninitiated who have sought
refuge within the [illegible]-rooms.

THE DANCE OF DAWN

Not only must the supernatural beings be aroused in the morning, but every day the Sun himself must be requested to appear; [821] this is done by the beings known as *Xomaxmitsam*, who are patrons for several *kukusiut*. On *sulucam* they appear and *Anuˀlikwailsaia* explains to the uninitiated who they are and

[The Dance of Dawn]

575 what they do. With them comes the being Onʼsiʼsma, "The
746 Sleeper," wearing a mask to represent a drowsy man who con-
776 stantly yawns and rubs his eyes. It is explained that this
[553] being delights in sleep and does not care if the sun never rises.

THE DANCE OF THE GREEDY ONE

Nuxʷalkwaitum, also called *Tatmai'ax*, is a greedy creature who spends his time going from one supernatural being to another in the land above, always begging for food. He is patron for several *kukusiut* and on the *naknam* of one of his [532] protégés a masked figure representing the Greedy One visits every house in the village asking for food. The uninitiated retreat to the bed-rooms, but the *kukusiut* comply with his [431] request. In consequence the dancer's house is filled with food which is given away to the *kukusiut* guests.

THE DANCE OF THE REPOSITORY MAKER

[778] Some repositories were constructed in the beginning of time by the supernatural being, *Nuxnadjipnm*, who is patron for [532] several *kukusiut*. On the *naknam* of one of his protégés a figure, masked to represent a male being, appears and *Anuʼlikwotsaix* explains that this is the maker of repositories. It is [184] uncertain whether this being is found in Bella Coola or only in Kimsquit.

THE DANCE OF *Alquntäm*'s SLAVE

In the land above there lives a slave of *Alquntäm* who spends his time providing fuel for the fires in *Nusmatta*. He is patron for a Bella Coola *kusiut*, though the details of his dance were not obtained.

THE DANCE OF *Alquntäm*'s HERALD

Ospiklɔ *Alquntäm* is patron for several *kukusiut*. During the *naknam* of one of his protégés a masked figure representing him visits every house in the village, bidding the *kukusiut*

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assemble to witness the dance of *Alquntäm*. This is his function in the land above, so it is natural for him to do the same in this world.

THE DANCE OF *Alquntäm's* FISHERMAN

Alquntäm in the land above has a servant who uses a hand-net, *qona*, in fishing for his master. He is accordingly known as *Alquntäm's* *[illegible]*, "Fisherman," and is patron for a *kusiut*.

THE DANCE OF THE TOP

The playful *[illegible]* *Alquntäm* has a favourite toy consisting of a stick which can be made to spin between the hands. This top, if it may so be termed, is patron for some *kusiut*. The writer was unable to learn how it is displayed on [illegible].

THE DANCE OF THE PETRIFIED HAMMER

The patron of one *kusiut* is a hammer which in some way was changed to stone in the beginning of time when the Bella Coola River first flowed to the sea.

THE DANCE OF THE GRIZZLY BEAR

A *kusiut* named *[illegible]* has, as patron, a grizzly bear resident in *[illegible]'s* house.

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VARIOUS ORIGIN MYTHS

In most cases *kusiut* dances have been preserved until the present day, although the myths on which they depend have long since been forgotten, but the reverse is sometimes the case. The following myths, were recorded with few, or no details of the associated dances. In several cases, one of the same type has already been recorded, so that the significance will be apparent.

A COMPOSITE ORIGIN MYTH[illegible]

Long ago there lived in *[illegible]* a man and his wife who were powerful, prosperous, and able to give their children many good names. This

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[illegible] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

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centres around the jealousy of several of the chiefs who caused the death of the couple by means of sorcery. Six children, five boys and one girl, the last the youngest of the family, were thus left orphans. No one helped them and they suffered greatly from lack of proper food and clothing, besides being forced to bear unreasonable responsibilities and trials. One spring the six went to the forest to gather hemlock-bark for food. The eldest boy climbed a tree and threw down pieces of bark which the little girl helped to pick up; at least her brothers all told her how much she was helping, a kindly fiction because she was really too young to be of assistance. One piece of bark blew some little distance away; she ran to get it, but in a moment came hurrying back in fear, saying that she had seen a strange man clad in a bear-skin blanket, with dyed cedar-bark and eagle down in his hair. At first the five brothers did not believe her, but at length they went to investigate and found the man, as she had described. He was lying on the ground but sat up when they approached.

"I have seen your poverty," he said, "and how you have been afflicted through no fault of your own, but solely owing to the jealousy of the evil *Bnux* chiefs. It was they who killed your parents, but now I give you such power that you will be able to retaliate."

"Your name shall be *Nusim*," he continued as he turned to the eldest brother. "You shall be a Cannibal. When you dance energetically, instruct someone to cut your stomach vertically and your vitals will fall out, trembling. They will return to you at dawn and you will then fully recover, having frightened the uninitiated."

"Your name shall be *Sxaqʷmai*," he told the second boy. "You, likewise, will be able to have your stomach cut, but you will not be a Cannibal."

"Your name shall be *Nupum*," he said to the third brother. "You will have the ability to go to the land above to inspect tally posts. You will be able to foretell the length of a man's life from the condition of his post, and to cure the sick by straightening those that are leaning."

Turning to the fourth brother he continued:

"Your name shall be *qam*. You are to be a *sul a* dancer, with power to give food and grease to Ompaxtiklika and his brothers in the regions above. On such occasions you will wear a head-dress of branches covered with eagle down."

Then he addressed the fifth and youngest lad, saying:

"Your name shall be *amal a*. You will have a *kusiut* dance in respect to that designation, but without special ability."

Finally the stranger turned to the little girl and said:

"Your name shall be *Snulmulmi i*. When you dance you will be able to use any one of ten songs and have as patron any supernatural being

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you choose. You will be more powerful than any of your brothers and it will be you who will retaliate on the murderers of your parents, because you will be a shaman."

The man, a supernatural being, of course, told the six that their repository would be the blue pool on the shores of which they had met him; it was oval in shape, about twenty-five feet long and twenty wide. He added that its name was *Nuqwoalioqlstaw·i*. Having given his instructions, the strange visitor vanished.

The six orphans returned in a somewhat bewildered condition to *Sinu·*. They went into the house where they were staying and *awal·a*, who was about eight years old, disturbed a cross old woman with his harmless play. In unreasonable anger she spanked him severely, and his older brothers told their sister to try her newly acquired power. She passed behind the old woman; by so doing she attracted to herself the latter's spirit without making even the motion of taking anything, and without the victim being aware of her loss. *Qwaisaxān·i* stuck the supernatural element on a stick, as one spits a potato, and threw it on the heap of excrement piled up behind the house. Presently, when the woman wished to use the convenience, she took a stick with the intention of breaking it for sanitary use. She went to the platform for the purpose but it broke beneath her and she fell; the stick she was carrying pierced her heart and she died. The accident was, of course, due to the loss of her spirit. The five brothers were delighted with the realization that their sister was really as powerful as the supernatural one had said she would be.

The boys next told their sister to slay the principal chief, who had instructed a sorcerer to kill their parents. *Qwaisaxān·i* went behind him and attracted his spirit to herself; she broke it between her hands and presently the owner fell dead. Though secretly delighted, the brothers thought it wise to appear grieved, and accordingly sent *awal·a* to weep. As he was doing so, a kindly old woman patted him on the head, saying:

"Don't distress yourself, little boy. It is the man who killed your parents who is now himself dead."

But she had no idea that it was one of the orphans who had caused his death. Within a few days *Qwaisaxān·i* captured and destroyed the spirits of two other chiefs who had had a part in the slaying of her parents; in each case the man died within a few hours of his loss. These four deaths so worried the people of *Sinu* that all the chiefs determined to leave, since the malady, whatever it was, seemed to kill only those of importance. They took down the cedar boards forming the walls of the houses, piled them on canoes and made ready for departure, taking no heed for the poor people, including the six orphans, who were left shelterless.

424 * 575 * 796 539 *Qwaixosān·i* moved to and fro among the chiefs as they were busying themselves in preparations for leaving, and drew to herself the spirit of every one of the party. As they pushed off from the shore, she put these on a board which she set afloat behind them. It capsized in the first rapids, immersing the various spirits, and presently the canoes were upset and their occupants all drowned. The six orphans continued to live at *Stuix* where they intermarried with the poor people and in time the village increased in population and fully regained its old importance.

This myth has many points of resemblance with those described in vol. I, chap. IX. Each of the six orphans, and especially *Qwaixosān·i*, received the boon of supernatural good fortune, but the present given to the five took the form of a *kusiut* prerogative. The names so received are either in use at the present time or have but recently become dormant. *Nusim* was used by the father's brother of the woman who related the story; *Sonχʷmai* belongs to her son, a boy about eight years old; *Nuχem* is the property of another youth, related to the family; *uχem* has been lent to a friend, subject to recall at any time, and *Qwaixosān·i* is used by a girl relative about twenty years of age. Each of these has the prerogative of carrying out the dance given to their ancestor at *Stuix*, long ago.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CARPENTERS[170]

In the beginning *Āłquntām* sent down to a point on the upper reaches of the Clearwater four brothers, *Ninitsamlaix*, *Waixxom*, *Āłquntām*, and *Haí·la·kala* with several sisters whose names have been forgotten. They thought they were the first to reach this earth but presently, to their sorrow, saw *Tlākumhila*, a man who had preceded them, and the women cried bitterly in their mortification. *Āłquntām* had given *Ninitsamlaix* shamanistic power which he now used as he rubbed his hands over his sisters' faces to carry away their tears.

"Become fog," he said, as he held the palms of his tear-stained hands towards the land of the *Ta·pa·xi* people.

[821] That is why there are thick fogs in the vicinity of Alert Bay to the present day.

[115] *Ninitsamlaix* and his relatives moved a short distance down the valley

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[170] Related by Steamboat Annie.

where they settled. *Älquntäm* had given him the ability to kill mammals 424
and birds by merely projecting his power at them, and in this way he 575*
obtained food for the whole party. He could also revive his victims with 746*
the aid of a peculiar stick-beating orchestra, consisting of spruce cones. 599
These he arranged around a fire balanced on leaves which he could move with his feet; as he pressed, the cones became animated and beat time frenziedly. It was *Älquntäm* who had given him these non-human stick-beaters. *Nüskamlnkais* tried to turn mammals into men, but succeeded [825]
only with the eyes of the wolf, wherefore those organs appear human even today.

Älquntäm gave *Nüskamlnkais* the prerogative of carrying out a *kusiut* dance, which has been performed in the same manner ever since by the owner of that name. His patrons, for he has four, are the supernatural Carpenters. *Nüskamlnkais* has the further prerogative of wearing, when [512]
dancing, a wooden head-piece over his forehead representing *Qʻâs*, probably one of the blackbirds. On the night of *sxōxoam*, when the uninitiated are called in, masked figures of the four Carpenters appear, each carrying a conventional specimen of his work. Boas (at end) illustrates the masks proper to these beings. *Ānuˀlikwutsaix* is, as usual, in attendance and explains the significance of the apparitions.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE DANCE OF *Nunuatsqpnam*[190]

There was once a middle-aged woman who had not been initiated into the ranks of the *kukusiut*. She decided that she could gain this distinction only by seeing *Ānuˀlikwutsaix* herself, so with this aim in view she set out to search for the supernatural one. First she penetrated to the source of every creek entering South Bentinck Arm; then proceeded up the Necleetsconnay River to its very head, again visiting the head-waters of every affluent, and finally went up the Bella Coola River, as before, exploring each side stream. For a whole year she travelled without seeing anything supernatural.

At the source of the Clearwater she came to a lake on the other side of which she could see a single column of smoke. It ascended without twist, coil, or movement, as if it were solid, so she knew that it must have a supernatural origin. Bravely she skirted the shore, till she saw that the smoke was rising from a house made of evergreen boughs. Stealing nearer, she beheld *Ānuˀlikwutsaix* herself within, working with a woman *Nunuatsqpnam*. *Ānuˀlikwutsaix* was using rock crystals to strike the woman senseless, and then reviving her; but all the time was causing *Nunuatsqpnam* to sink into the ground. Breathless with excitement the

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[190] Related by Steamboat Annie.

424 mortal watched until the unfortunate *Nusmatqumx* had almost vanished
*575 from sight. Then a sound betrayed her to *Ânu'likwutsaix*.
*796 "If you are a mortal," she said, "come in."
539 The woman did so, and *Ânu'likwutsaix* continued.

"I am *Ânu'likwutsaix*. You have found me, hence I give you a *kusiut* dance prerogative. You will have *Nusmatqumx* as patron."

The woman returned to her home, where she performed a *kusiut* rite in which she portrayed the sinking of *Nusmatqumx* into the earth.

ORIGIN MYTH OF A PECULIAR REPOSITORY

In the beginning of time there came down to *[illegible]*, a point a little distance below Mount *Nusqelst*, a woman whose name was *[illegible]*. *Alquntam* had given her a *kusiut* prerogative with a peculiar [778] repository in four parts, as if two were in either hand. Their names were *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, and *[illegible]*. When she [539] danced she wore a wooden head-dress representing [illegible], and the masks used (her patrons?) were the sun when it is red, and an eagle. This dance has since been carried out from generation to generation by the owners of the name *[illegible]*.

Kusiut Prerogatives Other Than Dances

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The most valuable possession of a *kusiut* is the dance which he has the right to perform, but each member of the society has, in addition, a somewhat peculiar object, sometimes material and sometimes intangible, known as a *skusiut* or *puaxmax*. The meaning of these two terms will become evident in the description of their uses, meanwhile they can be termed "prerogatives." [787] With every call, this possession of the dancer's comes automatically to him, though it can also be attracted to him by other means and without a call. There is no connection between the patron and the prerogative; for example, one *kusiut* who has one of the sons of *Alquntam* as the former has, as the latter, the Hummingbird. Another may have Fog, Sleep, a Snake, or one of many other objects, animate or inanimate. The "patron-puppets" described in *kusiutem* rites belong to this class.

In almost every case the origin is lost in antiquity, and the owner knows only that it belongs with his dance.

Few prerogatives are used when the uninitiated are present; they are essentially secret, but provide considerable amusement and are a welcome interlude in the serious rites. When the prerogative is made visible, carpenters must be employed to make it, and be paid for their work, hence this part of the ceremonial is often omitted. When no handicraft is required, it is more frequently called into play, but even in such cases its employment is not universal. Not being an essential part of the *kusiut* rites, the use or omission of a prerogative is a matter which concerns the dancer alone, and he acts strictly in accordance with his own wishes, whether or not he desires the ceremony to be accompanied by every possible show. It is impossible to estimate with accuracy the relative frequency of employment, but it is probable that prerogatives of the type under consideration are used in about one-third of the *kusiut* ceremonials.

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If a dancer decides to display a material prerogative, he consults with a carpenter before the coming of his call and asks him to make, for example, a wooden Hummingbird. On the night of *[illegible]*, when all the *kukusiut* are present, the bird is seen to move across the back-wall of the house, pulled by concealed strings. The dancer rushes to it and appears to catch it, in reality hiding it beneath his clothing. The women drum and the heralds announce to the uninitiated in the neighbouring houses what has taken place. Carefully holding his hands cupped, as if clutching something of great value, the dancer moves to the centre of the house and returns the bird to the land above by throwing his hands upwards while the *kukusiut* call out *haip*. This is the usual procedure when the prerogative is a bird, a small mammal, or a reptile. The same ceremonial is often repeated on the night of *[illegible]*, particularly if the ritual proper to the occasion does not suffice to occupy the requisite time. If the prerogative is immaterial, the ritual differs. For example, when it is Fog, the dancer stretches his hands upwards, as if receiving something from above, and then makes the motion of throwing this "some-

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[illegible]

[illegible]

424 thing"[1] into one of his companions. The recipient acts as if
575 blinded, staggering around the house and colliding with articles
706 of furniture or his fellows. One after another receives the
707 same present, until perhaps half the company are acting as if moving in a dense mist. Sometimes they reel from the house, falling into bushes and walking into the walls of other houses, as if deprived not only of sight but also of all sense of direction. The prerogative of Fog was given to [illegible] (II, p. [illegible]), but many other *kukusiut* enjoy the same right from other sources. After a short interval, the dancer goes to the victim and makes the motion of drawing something from him, thus restoring his sight and sanity. Fog is then returned aloft in the manner described for a Hummingbird.

When first told of this custom, difficulty was experienced in visualizing the attitude of the *kukusiut* to what they realize is a mere dramatization, lacking the presence of the uninitiated to give it zest and purpose. When several performances of this type had been witnessed, the difficulty vanished. The *kukusiut* enter whole-heartedly into the spirit of the affair, regarding it as a game, and yet as a game in which they must acquit themselves creditably. Each recipient endeavours to
[522] excel his fellows in the realism of his performance, and his blind staggers never fail to cause merriment. The Bella Coola delight in acting, and this is an occasion on which they can indulge their tastes to the utmost, without fear of disaster if an error should occur, such as hampers them in the presence of the uninitiated. Moreover, each strives to assist the performer, and these two reasons combine to make the whole a success.

Although these prerogatives are often used on the nights of *kusiutmem* and *[illegible]*, the time most suitable for their appearance is during the ritual of *sewadjut*, which may be translated as, "The Restful Ceremony." The Bella Coola say that the word is derived from *sewa*, a pillow, and that the meaning of *sewadjut* is a ceremony of "Pillowness," that is, resting, combined with pleasant relaxation. In spite of the number

of prerogatives, it sometimes happens that a week or more 424
elapses without a kusiut wishing to perform. In such a case 595*
the marshals instruct the heralds to summon the kukusiut for 796*
the Beautiful Ceremony to a house from which the uninitiated 787
have been expelled. When all have assembled, the singers beat out the song of any kusiut and the audience joins in, although the owner does not dance. Song after song is repeated, the singers choosing particularly those which they fear may be forgotten. The uninitiated, who hear the singing from the adjacent houses, wonder what it may signify. The marshals arrange with a kusiut willing to receive his prerogative, and even after midnight this person puts on a ceremonial collar, even though no call has come to him, and is ready to play his part. Sticks are distributed and one of the singers leads the audience in frenzied beating. This suffices to bring the intangible prerogative to the willing kusiut, who makes the motions of catching something in his outstretched hands while the women drum. Amid the continual pounding of sticks, the dancer circles the house and presently throws what he has received to one of his fellows. The actions of the recipient of Fog have already been described, but there are intangible prerogatives of other kinds. One of these is Rabbit; the owner hops in imitation of the animal to any kusiut, presses his cupped hands against the other's chest, and the latter likewise begins to hop. He in turn passes it to a third, he to a fourth, until finally the owner withdraws his prerogative and returns it above. The kukusiut become so interested that they often forget to continue the beating of sticks, a matter of no importance since no uninitiated are present. No one offered the prerogative from the owner ever declines; to do so would expose him to ridicule and a refusal is unthinkable according to an elderly Bella Coola. Another prerogative of the same type is an Adze, in which case the possessor pretends to be using that tool. When finally withdrawn by the rightful owner, he often makes the motion of throwing it on a rafter instead of sending it back above; in this case it can be used

424 again later in the season without being brought from above.
575 A Bat prerogative impels the owner, and likewise the temporary possessor, to move lightly to and fro like a bat; it can
796 be thrown from one side of the house to the other, and is
787 "caught" with arms stretched far above the head. Sleep, like Fog, can be projected into a number of individuals simultaneously, and causes all to slumber, while *Anger* causes everyone to fight with his neighbour. Still another prerogative of the same class is *Ants*. Some dancers have Bull-roarers, as is also true for some *sisauk* dancers. Details of their use were unobtainable.

Although these prerogatives always amuse and please the *kukusiut*, they also have two serious aspects. The insertion of one strengthens a *kusiut*, and in the case of a Cannibal, Scratcher, or Breaker causes him to become frenzied. Whenever this happens he rushes forth to all the houses, frightening the uninitiated, always attended by a band of *kukusiut*. Moreover, the injection of a prerogative so stimulates a *kusiut* that he is more liable to receive a call. As many as fifty *kukusiut* may have prerogatives of this type thrust into them during a single "Restful Ceremony." Of course not all of them receive calls, but one or more of them is likely to do so. The writer endeavoured to investigate the attitude of the Bella Coola on this point. Only *kukusiut* are concerned, since they alone can have this power inserted into them. They realize the deceptions practised by the society, and no individual interviewed claimed to have been so strengthened that he received a call, yet all stated that this had been the case with others. There is no doubt that the projection of a prerogative directs the recipient's attention to *kusiut* matters, and may often lead him to the point of giving his dance. In any event, the "Restful Ceremony" gives the marshals an opportunity to stimulate the interest of the members of the society, and to impress on them the desirability of dancing. The uses of "patron-puppets" have already been described.

In addition to these prerogatives, which normally remain

[illegible]

[illegible]

in the land above and come to their owners only on special occasions, there are four of similar type considered to remain constantly within the possessor's body from the time of his admission, with respect to the name with which the right is associated. One of these, the use of crystals for initiation purposes, has already been described. The others are [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible], all untranslatable terms. [illegible]

One use to which the first of these prerogatives is put is to encourage the *kukusiut* to hasten to the house in which a ceremony is taking place. Delay is part and parcel of all dances, but particularly on [illegible] and [illegible] the *kukusiut* are often very slow in arriving. In such a case the dancer himself, one of his friends, or a marshal, may ask the owner of a [illegible] prerogative to perform. It will be convenient to refer to this *kusiut*, who may be man or woman, as X.

The uninitiated have been told that X carries in his right knee a rock crystal which he can thrust into anyone through the arm. The *kukusiut* do not share the belief, but they have acted for so long as if they did, that it is probable that they almost place credence in it themselves. When X performs, he leaves the dancer's house and goes in a crouching attitude, yelling fiercely, to the lowest house of the village. As he enters, the uninitiated flee to the bed-rooms, but peer curiously and fearfully through the cracks. X rushes to and fro, still crouching, while the *kukusiut* appear to be trying to avoid him, but at last he seizes either a man or a woman. In spite of his victim's well-simulated struggles, X makes the motion of thrusting something into him, whereupon the person cries out as if in pain and pretends to be nauseated. Away rushes X, enters the next dwelling, and does the same. This is repeated in every house in the village. As they go to the house in which the ceremony is taking place, the victims pretend to be suffering from a stomach-ache, caused by the foreign substance within them, and this pretence is maintained after their arrival. After some delay, X takes a stick and beats furiously four or five times with it, while the singers accompany

[illegible]

[illegible]

424 him with sticks and drums. Following another pause, he does
* 975 this once more, causing the return to him of the crystals. The
heralds visit the different houses to report what has taken
* 976 place and the regular ritual of the evening continues in due
977 course.

Occasionally the [illegible] ritual is elaborated to impress the uninitiated. Within this century a woman received a crystal in this manner and, as non-members were told, it became stuck so that the owner could not recall it. In this case two *kukusiut* were in grief; the woman who had lost her crystal, and the one who had it within her body. The former went from house to house for several days, weeping and asking that the *kukusiut* insert their prerogatives into the possessor's body to drive out the crystal, while the sufferer maintained a crouched attitude as if in intense agony. Her home was in *[illegible]*, but she went even to *[illegible]* to see whether the *kukusiut* there could not help her. Meanwhile the uninitiated were both amused and impressed. After several days the marshals of the two villages decided to try in unison to force out the crystal. It was day-time, and they gathered around the stricken woman in an open spot between the two villages, while the uninitiated peered with interest from the background. One *kusiut* after another called his intangible prerogative to himself and passed it into the sufferer, and after each insertion the owner of the crystal tried to withdraw it, but without avail. After each failure, the one who had used his possession recalled it to himself by pressing with cupped hands and calls of *haiɂ*, then sent it back above. Throughout the ceremony, a man with a loud voice kept informing non-members which prerogative was being tried. At the insertion of Ants, and again of Anger, the sufferer reeled, but the owner of the crystal could not bring it forth. It had been decided that a Bird-Arrow was to be the successful prerogative, and when this was inserted by its owner, the woman staggered, fell, and rolled wildly on the ground, her arms and legs flying apart in all directions. Then the joyful owner was able to draw back her [illegible] and the sick woman at once recovered. 424 575 *

Another prerogative of the same nature is [illegible]. As the *kukusiut* are gathering and before the main ceremonial of the evening, the man or woman with this prerogative can display it if he so desires. He stands up, stamps, then bends down and begins to beat with a stick on the floor; the singers, who know what is to take place, quickly join in. This serves to concentrate the performer's power, consisting of the ability to scratch the external genital organs. The sticks continue to sound as the performer moves about the house, acting in accordance with his rights, and at the same time rolling his eyes and licking his lips. Choosing either man or woman as he desires, he calls out his name, and the person addressed must come forward to take his hands. The power is thus transmitted and the one so chosen begins to scratch, with the same accompaniment of rolling eyes and licking lips. 746 * 787

"It is sweet," he cries.

The power is then returned to the owner, who later passes it to another victim, until the marshals decide it is time to proceed to the main rites of the evening. The use of this prerogative is a source of never-ending amusement to the *kukusiut*. The only explanation given of this somewhat peculiar ability is that it is practised by the supernatural beings in the land above. Like every other *kusiut* rite, it can be performed only by a person who owns a name in which it is embodied. [522] [776]

[illegible], the third of these prerogatives, is to imitate the action of holding sexual intercourse. Like the last, its use is limited to the house in which a dance is taking place, and can be carried out only while the audience is waiting for the main ceremony. The performer, man or woman, stands up with a rope pressed close across his stomach, held with hands clenched at the hips. It is said that in this position nothing can pass behind him. The singers and other *kukusiut* begin to beat time to concentrate the actor's power as he stamps around in a crouching posture, crying *haip* and shaking his hips. Pre- 424 575 * 746 * 787 831 522

828 sently he begins to groan, and calls the name of either a man
*575 or a woman. The person so designated must take the per-
former's hands, thus assimilating his power, and in his turn
*776 begins to shake and groan, amid the laughter of all. Presently
787 the "gift" is returned, and later passed to another recipient.
Sometimes a modest woman shakes her head instead of her
181 hips, to the intense amusement of the audience. After some
522 time the owner draws his power to himself and the main cere-
[776] mony of the evening proceeds. It is said that the supernatural
beings above perform [illegible].

THE DEATH OF A *Kusiut*

*575 A detailed description of *kusiut* dances and ritual has now
766 been given, but certain special features still remain. One of
*776 these is the method of disposal of the body of a dead member
787 of the society. In dances which are completed in four days,
there is little likelihood of the performer's death, but this is by no means uncommon during the long initiation of a Cannibal for example. In this case there is no wailing, and the death is concealed from the uninitiated, sometimes even a wife being kept in ignorance of her husband's decease. A mask representing the patron of the dead man is hung in the house behind the fire as a constant reminder of what must be done. From the ceremonial point of view, the serious aspect lies in the fact that a call has come which has not been sent back, and which cannot be sent back by the receiver. The marshals discuss the matter and agree that it must pass to some *kusiut*, a near relative of the deceased, who is informed of the decision and does not dare refuse, even if he should wish to do so. After a delay of two or three days, the body is taken secretly to the grave and buried, while the *kukusiut* sing the dead person's song. This causes the call to shift to the chosen relative who completes the ceremony in due course. In the case of a Cannibal, for example, a considerable amount of time is allowed to elapse, and meanwhile the uninitiated are told that the *kukusiut* are still waiting and watching for his return.

When all hope has been abandoned, they are summoned and the relatives complete the ceremony, doing only that part of it left undone by the original recipient of the call. The principle is the same as that described when a novice dies, that someone must finish the rite. This aspect of the *kusiut* ceremonial is still preserved tenaciously as the writer found to his cost. It was proposed that he be formally initiated into the society, but this was not allowed on the ground that he would not be present the following winter to complete the rites necessitated by the coming of the call. 575* 796* 766 787 [123]

THE FINAL RITE

The commencement of the *kusiut* season is regulated by the coming of *Noakxnum*, but its conclusion is a matter of arrangement. By February the number of *kukusiut* wishing to dance has become negligible and the marshals decide to terminate the ceremonial season. It must be remembered that an enclosure has been built in every house where an important *kusiut* dance has taken place, and that as long as these are in existence the uninitiated have not been allowed to live in those houses. The social life of the community has accordingly been profoundly disturbed. Of course several dances may have taken place in a single dwelling, but even allowing for that, the fact remains that the uninitiated have been forced to dwell temporarily in perhaps only one or two houses. The most obvious mark of the end of the ceremonial season is the destruction of these enclosures. 575* 796* 591 784

A few nights after the last *nebusam*, the heralds summon the *kukusiut* to the house in which it took place. They sit down but the usual droning is omitted. Presently sticks are distributed and one of the singers takes his place to lead in the customary frenzied beating. But before he raises his baton, one of the marshals, or another *kusiut* with ability in that respect, steps to the centre of the house and spits noisily in all directions, his aim being to deluge the house and spectators with a spray of saliva. Then the singer leads the beating of 575* 796* 787 784

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* 575
* 796
[781]
sticks, while everyone calls out, *hoip*. This is repeated four times. The sticks continue to sound irregularly as the younger men pull the enclosure to pieces and throw it on the central fire. By these means the *kukusiut* have been freed from their contact with the supernatural and, perhaps even more important, the repositories have been "tied up," to use the native term, for another year. Those members of the society whose dances have taken place in the house now wash the black from their faces and all share a light meal. The marshals take this last opportunity of addressing their fellows, impressing on them the necessity of maintaining the secrecy of the rites during the summer season. Above all, they warn them to hide the whistles and other paraphernalia most carefully. This concludes the season's ceremony in the house in question; some of the *kukusiut* withdraw, others remain, and the uninitiated are free to enter and take up the old threads of family life, as it was before the coming of the first call.

If it is not too late at night the party may move to a second house and remove the taboo from it in the same way. More often this is done on the following night, when a second body of *kukusiut* are allowed to wash. Another house is visited on the next evening, and so on in succession till all the enclosures are burnt and the only visible mark of what has happened is the collar of dyed cedar-bark worn by each novice.

[424] There may be certain prerogatives connected with this finale which could not be learnt owing to its discontinuance for many years. In fact, one old woman claimed to have a definite right to sing at the destruction of the enclosures, but it was unfortunately impossible to investigate the matter.

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CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS AND HISTORY

It is virtually impossible to overestimate the importance of the sociological aspects of the society. During the ceremonial season the whole fabric of social life is altered; families are divided, parents and children being separated in many

cause though an infant in arms, though uninitiated, can 575*
be brought to dance by its mother; distinctions between rich 796*
and poor, slave and freeman, become of slight importance; all 182
that really matters is whether a person is or is not a *kusiut*. 571
Membership in the society seems to the uninitiated the most
desirable thing in life, although their fears are always so strong [781]
that they never cease to dread actual admission. The feeling of class consciousness which exists in a somewhat mild form at other seasons of the year, gives place to a powerful sentiment of superiority on the part of members of the society over those who are not so fortunate. Even the respect normally shown to chiefs is submerged since they, too, are subject to the rule of the marshals.

Apart entirely from this attitude of superiority and inferiority, is the bond of fellowship engendered among members of the society by the rites. Whatever happens, the uninitiated must be deceived. Moreover, the psychological effect of gathering nightly in a body for a specific purpose is tremendous. Night after night they eat together; night after night they listen to the words of the marshals, who impress on them the need for co-operation and secrecy, who hold before them the good example set by their fellows who have carried out rites successfully, who emphasize the fact that they are doing as their fathers did. The ceremonial import is of greatest consequence at all these gatherings, but when the uninitiated have withdrawn the *kusiut* relax somewhat and enjoy themselves.
The food itself is always of the best and some of the usual [262]
restrictions are removed. It is, for example, the only time [562]
that women are allowed to eat the flesh of seals. If this deli- [264]
cacy is provided the marshals enjoy the tidbits, but after Cannibals, novices, and others have received preferential treatment, the remainder is distributed to all and sundry.

It has been stated by some writers, especially those un- 575*
familiar with the significance of native ceremonial life, that 796*
the dances of the coastal tribes are orgies of immorality. This 577
point was investigated with care and it may be stated posi- 273
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* 575 tinctly that such is not the case among the Bella Coola. At
* 796 the present time both drunkenness and vice are rampant, but
neither of these practices is apparent on the nights when dances
577 are taking place. The writer was present at many *kusiut*
272 dances, in each case attended by practically every resident,
[784] and during them he saw only two drunken men. With regard
to these, the sentiment of the influential members of the society was one of regret that the marshals could no longer exercise their prerogatives and punish the offenders. As several Bella Coola expressed it:

"Our dances are sacred and ceremonial, a drunken man spoils them."

As a rule they do not regard drunkenness as a serious vice, if a vice at all, hence this attitude was illuminating. It is more
* 575 difficult to speak with certainty about morality; no breaches
* 796 of it could have occurred at the ceremonies witnessed, nor was
there any evidence that the excitement led to any licentious
577 actions. On the whole, the dances are desirable since they
784 provide a source of tremendous interest and importance. Vice
flourishes with lassitude and boredom; anything that stimulates the people reduces it, and when the Bella Coola are engaged in ceremonial rites, the sentiment of the seniors of the community is strongly opposed to anything that interferes with the solemnity of the occasion.

There is no reason to suppose that these factors were not present in former times, more potent than now when belief in the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut* has passed away. The whole question of sexual morality at *kusiut* dances was investigated with considerable care.

One point emphasized by all Bella Coola was that no *kusiut* was allowed to have relations with an uninitiated person, whether his wife or not, during the period that his face was blackened and he was wearing a ceremonial collar. The reason for this prohibition seems to have been one not of morality, but of the necessity for preserving the dignity and secrecy of
[688] the *kusiut* society. An offender was punished by being struck

by a marshal with a billet of firewood; such a blow was never 575
opposed and might or might not cause death. The woman 796
with whom the member had misbehaved himself was either 577
initiated at once or killed if her relatives could not provide a 134
name and prerogative.

Restrictions between members of the society were less [688]
severe. Particularly during the long nights of [illegible] and [illegible], when only *kukusiut* were present and when men and women, often scantily clad, were closely associated, there seems to have been a certain amount of immorality. It was by no means a time of license, nor was laxity encouraged by the marshals; intercourse between members of the society did not conflict with *kusiut* regulations, and was accordingly a matter that concerned the individuals alone.

Relations between the actual dancers and members of the other sex were formerly governed by strict rules, rigidly enforced by the marshals. After the coming of a call, a man could hold intercourse with a *kusiut*, provided that he did so in his own home, but in no other. But after *nuhusam*, when he left his house, continence was demanded until the end of the season and the burning of the enclosure-platform. The only exception to this rule was that if a second dancer received a call in the same house, the restrictions placed on the first were raised while the call was actually upon the second; that is, between [illegible] and *nuhusam*. After that both were subject to strict continence, unless a third call came to the same dwelling. The Bella Coola of today offer no explanation for this law, save that disregard of it was displeasing to the supernatural beings. An offender in this case was likewise punished [688]
by being struck once by a marshal.

The religious aspects of the dances, as exemplified by the 575
attitude of the Bella Coola to the masked figures and other 796
phenomena, was described in the early part of this chapter, 781
but additional observations may now be made. The writer realises that the reader must find it difficult to understand how the uninitiated can be deluded into thinking that masked

575 figures are really beings from another world. The explan-
796 ation lies in the profound belief of all Bella Coola in the near
presence of the supernatural; consequently, a supernatural
781 explanation is the one normally given for all unusual incidents. The dances themselves are filled with strange manifestations, particularly the weird whistling concerning the origin of which the uninitiated have no idea. Once convinced by this means of the presence of unknown powers, it is easy for them to believe that the masked figures are visitors from the other world. Nor was their belief in former days shaken by certain representations which were palpably false, such as that of the sun. No one could believe that the disk which moved across the back of the house was the sun itself; but on the other hand it seemed marvellous to the uninitiated, ignorant of the means used to portray it. To the white man there seems a fundamental difference between a supernatural being and the representation of a strange object made to move by unseen means, but to the Bella Coola both belong to another realm, and are accordingly akin. Moreover, there were occasions when the uninitiated must have seen the shifting or actual falling of a mask, for example, during the fight with wasps. But here again the deep belief of the non-members came to the help of the *kukusiut*, who told their guests that this was caused by the coming of a call to the actor, and what might easily have become doubt and suspicion was thus changed to respect.

The writer laboured under two tremendous difficulties in
[178] collecting information about *kusiut* matters; the present dances
are mere shadows of what they formerly were, and there are
[123] no more uninitiated. His presence and quest for information
served to stimulate interest and led to a partial revival of the
old rites, but the bulk of his material was obtained from infor-
[114] mants rather than from actual observation. It is a universal characteristic of mankind to idealize accounts of former practices, so it is not only possible, but probable, that the foregoing descriptions are more perfect than many of the rites to which

they refer. Even when full allowance is made for this, the fact 575*
still remains that the *kukusiut* were able to carry out dances 796*
in which they deceived the uninitiated. Above all, it is clear
that those who were not members of the society had the great- 781
est respect for the powers of those who were, and although 114
doubt may have existed concerning the identity of the supernatural visitors, there was not the slightest concerning the ability of the *kukusiut* to have, for example, their stomachs ripped open. The writer discussed this point with too many old men and women to have the slightest uncertainty on this point, and he feels confident that anyone who could have listened to the account of a reliable old man concerning his fears when he had "killed" a *kusiut* in this manner, would have shared his conviction.

It would be fascinating to discuss at some length the prob- 575*
able history of the *kusiut* society, but this would entail a com- 796*
parison with the rites of other coastal tribes and belongs to the
realm of comparative ethnology. This monograph deals only 178
with Bella Coola practices as the writer saw them or heard 184
them described, so that the history of the society can only be 532
treated from this angle. It appears certain that the rites have increased in secrecy. One old marshal with whom the matter was discussed remembered having heard that long ago masks were constructed in the presence of the uninitiated. Considered as an isolated statement this would have little value, but in conjunction with information derived from Kimsquit it becomes of importance. It is true that in Kimsquit the masks are made in secret, but they are shown to the uninitiated as masks, and the writer was told of one instance in which *Tlogots*, during his round of the village, fell into the water and remained there all day, to the amusement of non-members who recognized that he was merely a disguised human being. It is even said that long ago the manufacture of masks was entrusted to influential uninitiated. It is clear that there has been a tremendous increase in secrecy even at Kimsquit, and a great deal more at Bella Coola. The writer believes that

*575 *796 178 184 [532] long ago the *kusiut* society was composed of individuals regarded as having supernatural endowments, and who perhaps believed this themselves. In course of time their influence increased to such an extent that they were able to convince non-members of the supernatural origin of objects used in their ceremonial.

[115] Unfortunately, information from Kimsquit was obtained almost exclusively from one old man, who, though a marshal well informed in *kusiut* matters and in many ways an almost ideal informant, had long since realised that the dances could be nothing more than representations, and it is possible that his remarks were coloured by this knowledge. Though he tended to minimise the attitude of belief with which the uninitiated regarded masked figures, yet he fully agreed with [781] every statement made by the Bella Coola themselves with regard to the firm belief of non-members concerning the supernatural powers of the dancers. He also confirmed statements [688] respecting punishment if an error should occur, and mentioned the shooting of a Bella Bella dancer who had allowed his mask to fall during a *sisaok* dance. As far as actual ritual is concerned, the differences in procedure between Bella Coola and Kimsquit are unimportant, and differences in belief are less than they appear at first sight. The Bella Coola *kukusiut* [781] seem to have perfected their organization and to have been able to impress the uninitiated to a greater extent than their Kimsquit fellows, but the fundamentals of the society are identical.

*575 *796 173 Traditions concerning the early history of the society are probably of little value historically, but they are important as indicating the mental attitude of the Bella Coola. Considering the importance of the society there are relatively few accounts of what took place long ago; the Bella Coola know that it exists, believe that the rites are identical with those carried out by their ancestors for generations, and theorise no further. It was only in the beginning of time that things were radically different; it is believed that then all the people were endowed

with such powers that they killed one another in their per- 575*
formances. Consequently, they decided to dance only in the 796*
winter months, and merely to imitate the actions which had 179
been previously carried out.

There are other traditions, probably with an historical 575*
basis, describing conflicts with the *a'alk*. The Bella Coola say 578
that long, long ago there were not enough *kusiut* names for 179
more than the old people to be admitted to the society, and
that though members were regarded as having supernatural [424]
powers, yet the *a'alk*, confident in their numbers and strength, [551]
used frequently to assail the supremacy of the *kukusiut*. On
one occasion, when the latter had prepared an elaborate feast
of smoked goat flesh for themselves, the *a'alk* collected their
weapons and demanded a share of the feast. The *kukusiut*,
furiously angry, felt compelled to yield, though later they took
revenge through the destruction wrought by many Cannibals
and Scratchers when frenzied. It is said that even recently [431]
if the *kukusiut* did not invite the *a'alk* to one of their dances,
they were always careful to placate them by sending half of the
food as a present.

Sometimes the *a'alk*, collectively, were bold enough to kill 575*
a *kusiut*, particularly if something had gone amiss in a dance 578
house. Or other motives might be strong enough to outweigh 682
respect for a member of the society. On one occasion a chief,
who was not a member of the society, was told that his wife,
who was, had been in the habit of prowling off at night with a
Cannibal. The jealous husband prepared his bear-spear and
slew the Cannibal when next he entered his house during a
frenzied rampage of the village. *Kukusiut*, both from that
village and others in the vicinity, combined to cause the murderer's death with the aid of a member of the society who was
a professional killer.

Success did not always come to the *kukusiut* in quarrels 575*
between members of the two societies. Long ago, the *a'alk* 578
were invited to a potlatch in a village in the upper Bella Coola
valley. One of their own dances was taking place, but they 796*

* 575 accepted the invitation. The house was so crowded that the
578 uninitiated in front were driven forwards by pressure from the
rear until they encroached on the space behind the fire. An
* 796 elderly *kusiut* decided that this was a good occasion to frighten the visitors, so he whispered to a recently admitted member of the society:

"You fall down, and I will explain that it is because you have attracted to yourself the spirit of an uninitiated person."

Under most circumstances this would have terrified the uninitiated, as indeed it did the majority. But the leader of the *o'alk*, perhaps excited by the dance in which he had just taken part, refused to be impressed. He knew that the *kukusiut* would threaten to throw the spirit of the offender into the fire, irrevocably compelling the owner to follow it, but he was not afraid.

"Let us see your powers," he said. "Go ahead with your throwing of a spirit into the fire."

The *kusiut* responsible for the scheme knew that it must be carried out, and only hoped that, as the spirit was about to be burnt, the owner would offer to pay for its return, as usually happened in such cases. He instructed the fallen *kusiut* to proceed and the latter rose, fumbled at the back of his neck, as if drawing something forth, and thrust the "something" into the fire. Breathless with fear, the uninitiated waited for someone to be forced into the flames. But nothing happened. It was a dangerous situation for the *kukusiut*, and as the only means of maintaining their reputation, they began to whisper that the man must have accidentally extracted his own spirit instead of the alien one. The heralds repeated what was being said, and the guests watched to see what would happen. The unfortunate *kusiut* was surrounded by a group of his fellows and thrust into the fire, although their acting was sufficiently good to make it appear that they were trying to check him. By these drastic means the *kukusiut* were able to add to the prestige of their society, though it is said that the *o'alk* leader

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

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expressed the opinion that the whole affair was a stupid blunder.

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The Bella Coola state that long, long ago the usual outcome of friction between *a'alk* and *kukusiut* was the incorporation of members of the former society into the latter like any other uninitiated. The following account of an incident of this kind was obtained from a Kimsquit man who regarded it as historically accurate.

Some five hundred years after the first settlement of this earth, the members of the two societies used to live amicably together during the summer, which was not surprising considering that both contained members of the same families. But during the winter the *kukusiut* all gathered in a village on the Dean River for their dances, while the *a'alk* also performed at the same season in the village of *Tçalilä*, opposite the present Matilton Cannery below Kimsquit.[illegible] There was considerable jealousy between the two organizations, and the members were always seeking an opportunity to deride and ridicule their rivals. A Cannibal dance had been given by the *kukusiut* and the *a'alk*, who were present as uninitiated guests, had watched with wonder the disappearance of the performer into the mysterious realms above. But a few days later, *Xamamlsis*, a chief and leader in one of the *a'alk* dances, happened to be in a lonely part of the forest where he was amazed to meet the Cannibal. The latter, confident of his supernatural power, spoke:

"In meeting me today you have met disaster, you will soon be a corpse."

Xamamlsis, a middle-aged man of powerful physique, was not impressed by the other's powers, whether physical or supernatural.

"No," he answered. "It is you who have fallen into trouble. You are old and feeble and if you try to injure me it will be the worse for you."

"My age has nothing to do with it," reiterated the Cannibal. "You have met me and will die."

At this juncture two of the Cannibal's guardian companions appeared, but *Xamamlsis* still did not fear because they were both old and unarmed, whereas he had an axe. But when two more *kukusiut* appeared,

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[illegible] This Kimsquit informant stated that long ago a similar segregation of *a'alk* into one village and *kukusiut* into another took place in Bella Coola. Bella Coola informants knew nothing of this. The expulsion of the uninitiated from houses in which *kusiut* dances are taking place leads to a division of the village, and it is easy to understand how two sections could have been created without definite intention. This would hardly account for a separation into two villages and no explanation for the statement is offered.

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178 he lapsed into silence, knowing that the odds were too great for him.
575 The Cannibal realized that if this powerful man could be initiated into
578 their society he would be a source of strength, so he said:

"You are now an initiate of mine."

Xemxemlaix understood that this meant he was to be initiated into the *kusiut* society. He agreed, but asked to be permitted to complete the *a'alk* dance which he was performing that evening, and to get beating sticks for which he had gone to the forest. The *kukusiut* were only too willing to grant this dispensation in their joy at having a valuable convert.

On his return to the village, *Xemxemlaix* told his fellow *a'alk* that he was going to be a *kusiut* and they were greatly grieved at loss of their leader. That night they gave the dance which had been started and composed a song of which the theme was the way in which their rivals had fallen until their heads were upside down. The *kukusiut*, mocked in this way, feared that this was a prelude to further trouble with the *a'alk*, but *Xemxemlaix* duly carried out his promise and was enrolled as a *kusiut*. Bereft of their leader, many of his disconsolate associates were admitted as *kukusiut*, and ever since that time there has been relatively little friction between the two societies. In due course the Cannibal gave his dance with a song describing how he had met a strange creature over whom he had prevailed; this was, of course, the uninitiated *Xemxemlaix*.

[203] [746] To these two is attributed the origin of the practice of shoving to decide priority of invitation giving. It is said that both *Xemxemlaix* and the Cannibal once wished to invite the people to a ceremony on the same evening and agreed to shove against each other to decide which should have preference. *Xemxemlaix* prevailed, and the Cannibal duly postponed his dance and went with his associates to the winner's house.

[178] As before stated, stories of this kind dealing with the alleged history of the society are of slight value. As far as they go, they agree with other evidence pointing to the gradual growth of the *kusiut* society from a band of elders endowed with supernatural power to a society with enormous prestige, dominating the life of the community and entirely overshadowing the *a'alk* who seem once to have been their rivals.

CHAPTER II

SONGS

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Introductory — Sısaok Songs — Xe·tla Songs — A'alk Songs — Nusäxkämx Songs — Marriage Songs — Mourning Songs — Shaman Songs — Kusiut Songs — Non-Ceremonial Songs

INTRODUCTORY

THE singing of songs is an essential part of all Bella Coola rites so that a study of them is important, entirely apart [790]* from their musical value. Their texts throw light on the beliefs of the performers, on the aims of the ceremonies, and, [575]* above all, give concrete instances of what the uninitiated are led to believe. This is particularly true of those used in *kusiut* dances, and for this reason all songs have been deferred until this chapter in which they can be grouped together.

The texts of songs are difficult to obtain. Snatches of many 126 are remembered, but few individuals are acquainted with the 115 complete version. A phonograph was used to record the music, and it was soon found that very few people were qualified to 533* sing into the machine. Some became confused and forgot the words; some began to laugh; and some lacked the poise to attempt to sing. One elderly Kimsquit man, Jim Pollard, was found to be the best and most reliable singer, and he was used almost exclusively for phonographic work. Hence the records are stamped with his musical technique. Others approached his ability, but he alone preserved an art which had been common in former days. Over one hundred songs were obtained with the assistance of this man.

The text was always obtained before a song was sung into 126 the machine, thus assuring that the recorded version agreed 533* with the written words. Even with this check, the writing 195 down of songs is extremely difficult. Choral endings are widely employed, consisting of non-essential suffixes inserted for musical effect. It was often impossible to record these in the

126 text, although they are obvious on the phonograph records.
195 In singing, moreover, sounds, especially vowel sounds, are
altered to fit the tune, a factor which accounts for further
*533 discrepancies between record and text. A frequent device is reduplication, a word or group of words is repeated in singing when not called for in the spoken version. Finally one sound occurs in singing which is practically unknown in speaking, a velar *s* (recorded as *ʂ*) which gives a whistling effect. Most choruses and some whole songs consist of meaningless sounds; in such cases the tune alone is important and no attempt was made to record the syllables.

It was quite as difficult to obtain interpretations as to record texts. Songs which have been handed down for generations abound in archaic expressions which are meaningless even to the older men: some recently composed are full of metaphorical devices to conceal their real significance from the uninitiated. The result is consequently a series of words which, taken one at a time, convey no meaning. In many cases it was impossible to obtain literal translations, even with the willing assistance of younger men familiar with English. Every effort was made to get the general *meaning*, and it is felt that this object was tolerably achieved, though the transcriptions may not be sufficiently accurate for grammatical analysis.

*533 Singers function at every ceremony; in fact, its success
depends so largely upon their efforts that they are always
*796 important members of the community. Some singers are
*575 created by the validation of an ancestral prerogative; others
[554] by having composed a suitable tune. The young man who has
done so, calls one of the established musicians aside and hums
[424] it to him; if the hearer is favourably impressed, he may learn
and repeat it to his fellows, and if it wins their approval, the
[555] composer may be asked to join their ranks for the occasion on which it is to be used. Thus encouraged, the young man is likely to try again, or he may be invited to assist at some ceremony for which a large number of singers is required. If proficient, he is certain to win recognition in course of time,

until it is accepted by all that he is one of the men who should 533*
be called upon to take part in all rites. If possible, he endea- 796*
vours to legalize his position by a distribution of presents. 575*
Men are always eager to become singers, both for fame and for [555]
emoluments.

New songs are required every year for *sisaok* and *kusiut* [424]
dances, necessitating an almost limitless number of compositions. Singers frequently make use of fragments of old tunes, or snatches from half-forgotten songs, but they are ridiculed as inefficient if the plagiarism be too obvious. Tunes are always prepared in advance; in fact, proficient composers spend much of their time at all seasons of the year in humming over to themselves possible combinations. When word is passed around that a song is required, they meet in some lonely spot and each who has one in readiness hums it, tapping a gentle accompaniment. After considerable discussion, one is selected as being the most suitable and the singers make themselves familiar with it. Words are then put to it, consisting of fragments from the ancestral myth of the person for whom it has been prepared, or from some other theme appropriate to the occasion. Sometimes this is done by the composer of the tune; sometimes by another singer more familiar with the subject. The provision of words is considered less difficult and less important than the composition of a tune; no one knows the source of inspiration for the latter, but the former is said to come from either the heart or the head. All ceremonial songs are divided into three sections; *kolulo·s* or first part, *as·iko·tl* or second part, and *ālox* or third part, separated from one another by the *siutmālos*, wordless chorus. The three parts correspond, approximately, to verses and each contains four, rarely six, subdivisions. In mourning songs there are sometimes as many as six or eight *ālox*, and the whole is correspondingly lengthened.

On the night of a ceremony, the singers always take their
places beforehand for a final rehearsal. Each brings his own [534]
beating-stick, a stout baton about two feet long to pound on
the floor in time with his singing. The only other musical

* 533 instrument is the drum.[1] In former times the drum consisted
* 796 solely of a box, though recently skin drums have been adopted
* 575 from the Carriers. There is usually one singer especially proficient
in using this, though sometimes another takes his place;
[534] all such arrangements are completed during the final rehearsal.
[177] A final decision is also reached as to who shall fill the three
principal parts, *sankwalsäm*, *âlaia*, and *lsulkm*. It is the duty
of the *sankwalsäm* or *leader*, to regulate the time; he squats
facing the others, who are grouped in a close semicircle, and
indicates the rhythm by pounding with his stick on the floor.
When a song is to start, he first taps rapidly, then modifies and
regulates it throughout. The leader should be the best musician
among the singers, and the same individual usually
functions on all occasions although a rearrangement is sometimes
necessary. In the centre of the singers sits the *âlaia*, *announcer*,
who must possess a powerful voice. As already mentioned,
every song consists of three parts, each with several subdivisions.
When the leader has beaten time rapidly to indicate
that the singers are ready, the announcer bellows out the
words of the first subdivision so that all the audience can hear
them. Crash! goes the leader's stick and his voice gives the
key for singing the words just called out, in which the audience
is expected to join. As they are finishing, the announcer roars
the next subdivision, and the same procedure is repeated. Instead
of proceeding to the third, the announcer often next
returns to the first, following it by the second. The subdivisions
of a single part are never sung through in order once only, there
are always repetitions and ramifications according to the discretion
of the announcer. At the end of the first part, the
leader again beats time rapidly in which his fellow-singers join.
[535] If a dancer is performing, he crouches down without making
any effort to keep time with the rapid tapping, and the singing
ceases. After a short pause, the second part is sung in the
same manner, followed likewise by the third. The function of

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[1] Rattles, made of dried maple, are used by some masked dancers, but they can hardly be termed musical instruments.

the *kwalhom*, *prompter*, is equally important, though less obvious. 533*
As many as one hundred songs may be in constant use 796*
in the course of a single *kusiut* season, and it is impossible for 575*
any one individual to remember them sufficiently well ever to become confused when calling them out. Consequently, one or more prompters sit beside the announcer, ready to whisper to him the words of the next subdivision. Prompters are expected to be thoroughly familiar with the myths of all performers and, since they neither announce nor sing, they are able to concentrate their whole attention on remembering the words which have been considered suitable.

This somewhat complicated mechanism ensures a minimum 533*
of error in all important rites. Mistakes do creep in, however, 796*
and it is related with glee how on one occasion the singers com- 575*
pletely forgot a text and substituted a description of a mask
used at the rite in question. Moreover, even the solemnity 522
of a *kusiut* dance cannot entirely check the love of the Bella Coola for practical joking. A blind singer once laid down his stick for a moment, whereupon one of his companions kicked it away. It appears to be virtually impossible for a man to sing unless he can accompany himself by tapping, and the frantic efforts of the sightless one to recover his baton almost betrayed his companions into obvious mirth. Occasionally, too, a prompter neglects his task[9] and the announcer is forced to improvise, while the leader endeavours to conceal the error by lengthening the pause between subdivisions.

Marriage songs, shaman songs, non-ceremonial songs, and 533*
a few others of special type are sung by an individual, unaccompanied. The technique is, therefore, quite different from that just described. Dance songs of all kinds should, if complete, have the three parts; these are indicated as *A*, *B*, and *C*

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[9] During the winter of 1923-4 there was only one man in Bella Coola with sufficient skill and poise to act as announcer and prompter. He found it impossible to perform both duties and requested the aid of the writer as prompter. The texts were written down, and it was the writer's duty to sit beside the announcer, waiting for a nudge signifying that he had forgotten the next subdivision. From personal experience the writer can state that the task of prompter is wearying in the extreme. [123]

*533 in the following examples. The subdivisions as called out by the announcer are separated by vertical lines and, where possible, a translation of each is given. The sounds of wordless choruses were not recorded. The different types are arranged according to order of mention in this monograph.

Sisaok SONGS

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The themes of *sisaok* songs differ according to the purpose for which they have been composed. For instance, when a young person is being initiated into the society, the words usually refer to his crest, the *tutwinam* which brought his song; at potlatches, to the goods which will soon be given away and the phrasing is often grandiloquent; sometimes the two concepts are combined. These differences are clearly shown in the examples which follow. A few *sisaok* songs have been preserved for generations, but most are newly composed for each winter season and the old ones forgotten. Since few rites of this type have been carried out during recent years, it was difficult to obtain complete versions.

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Song Used by Wilnlks (a) of Kimsquit when Initiated into the Society (b)

A *Litsmmaxgms-e*	*stã'ãksaolt*	*skälpalmipdai(c)*	*dídahända*
Go out	ye citizens	to see	the arrival

disintsäls
of my supernatural being.

[WORDLESS CHORUS] (*d*)

B *Diqmisandai*	*daklãhmdus*	*dikukpilsdai*	*dikãsãlwalamstems*
That is what	brought down	my grandfather(*e*)	and has left for me(*f*)
Alkãlramidjudax	*mnmmtcanai*	*mxmmntcanai*	*kãtcikrapgualandai*
Be careful	my children	my children	it will spear you

dalk'lãhmsdai	*dikwalnattãlsaiyia*
what has come to me	my crest(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Yaxadusdax*	*didiãjauxdai*	*didiãjauxdai*	*Digãxãnã-mikwala*
Shame him	the unsuccessful one(*h*)	the unsuccessful one.	He desires

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ala sabpamiqwao	*wamamantcao*	*wasitanmmtsals*
eagle down on his head(*i*)	ye children	of chiefs.

aaraaraaraaraaraawai
[meaningless concluding hum.]

(*a*) For some unexplained reason this song has been used without change for three generations. It was composed for a certain *Stahmq*, willed by him to *Wi'talao*, who transmitted it to the present user. [424] [428]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 22, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) All suffixes of *dai* should probably be *daix*, but in singing the final *x* sound is usually indistinguishable and has accordingly been omitted throughout. The *d* sound is often sung as *d* but the one spelling has been used consistently. [195]

(*d*) The wordless chorus of this song consists of a series of grunts which are said to be the voice of a heron, the crest of *Wilsılks*.

(*e*) The meaning of this is: What my grandfather brought down.

(*f*) The grandfather of *Wilsılks* had willed to him the right to use this crest. [424]

(*g*) The man from whom this song was obtained did not know what was the crest of *Wilsılks*. He judged from the text that it must have been the heron, although this is not one of the generally recognized birds. [428]

(*h*) Meaning: The heron which has failed to jab its prey. When this song was used, a masked figure of a heron appeared and stabbed several of the spectators, who were later reimbursed for having permitted a prerogative to be displayed. [431] [424]

(*i*) An ambiguous expression for presents.

Song of Aqalais of Kimsquit when Initiated into the Sısaok Society(*a*)

A Yeyailimatimaltaqwao	*aiawashmapao*	*Yao skaisilaqipilaistao*
Be of good courage	ye of the potlatch(*b*).	Use up and down(*c*)
dialsraltanakslalaistao	*Yaimutnmnimutiman*	*dinuqsmalsmimdai*
your land.	They have met with an accident(*d*),	the house being flooded (*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Sa'alkqwaltan-isuals	*oldikaaiyasaaipalls*	*kapallasdimutslanaowastao*
Watch their faces [to see]	whose will become amazed	when rises to flood
sawas-aisxwaamstao	*Kasiasamai-akams*	*dasqwallakalasqudai*
the Kimsquit River(*f*).	They who use dishes (*g*)	will prepare their biggest ones.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 12a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) The wording shows that the song was to be used at a potlatch.

(*c*) Meaning: Make use of in all directions.

(*d*) Referring to the expected guests.
(*e*) The literal translation is that it is *full of water*, but the meaning refers to the large amount of olachen grease prepared for the occasion.
(*f*) A euphuistic reference to the amount of *food* about to be given away.
(*g*) A reference to the expected guests.

Sısaok Song Composed for Spuxpuxta, a Kimsquit Woman(a)

A *Skaitpátimutlnu*	*aiatcistim-ahāmlt*	*Ālatatsqalaramadai*
Why are you adorning yourself,	my mother (*b*)?	Is almost ready to seize (*c*) me

yaa dik'lālitnuaudai
what was sent down for me (*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Nimmmakdimutit*	*swanutskwalsdanaals*
Carry with both your hands	what is heavy *for your* house(*e*)

ādlaatmainuatlindai	*dilitutum-adl'''dai*
when the guests enter,	repay them with *food*.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part has been *forgotten*.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 12b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) The text is worded as if a girl were addressing her mother about an approaching potlatch.
(*c*) As an eagle grips its prey.
(*d*) Meaning: My crest is almost ready to seize me.
(*e*) A reference to the goods prepared *for* the potlatch.

Song of Nuxpımda when Initiated into the Sısaok Society(a)

A *Tlālinauita*	*sanaatsaitumisfdai*	*Ilapatslandai*	*sawasamsmamāls*
Come,	come and hear,	he is about to start	a story (*b*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Qyumāqsdai*	*aiyasatsālatslsudai*	*wasānālatim*	*swaatsalsālal-ials*
He is pleased	Echo(*c*)	when he can	alter his re-echoings (*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Qaiyāmalsandai*	*yaa skakawalam-imsudai*	*Dlaiyallaisandai*
They(*e*) will start	to laugh at him(*f*).	Even now he is starting

sālālqwaawālsas
to imitate Raven(*g*).

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(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 34, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tal'ia* Charlie and Steamboat Annie.

(*b*) Meaning: He is about to display an ancient right; this song was used at a potlatch.

(*c*) That is: Echo is pleased. This supernatural being was used as [illegible].

(*d*) Echo is said to display a proud and aristocratic disposition by trying to imitate the voices of others.

(*e*) That is: Human beings.

(*f*) Echo.

(*g*) That is: In his pride he is trying to imitate the voice of a great chief.

Song of I'masihk of Kimsquit(a)

A [illegible] | [illegible]
I am angry, | I shall presently display

[illegible](*b*) | [illegible]
the water that was brought down | by him(*c*) who came down(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS] (*e*)

B [illegible] | *Ālikmatlsois* | [illegible]
Were ready for | *Ālikmatlsois*(*f*) | his dishes(*g*).

[illegible]
It was sometimes as large as a pond(*h*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 43a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) A figurative expression for olachen grease.

(*c*) Referring to one of the dancer's ancestors, a chief who descended to Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

(*d*) This song was used at a potlatch and is accordingly phrased grandiloquently.

(*e*) The wordless chorus consists of an oft-repeated *ooaw* which is said to be the note of the pigeon. The singer was unaware of its application.

(*f*) *Ālikmatlsois* was a chief who, in the beginning of time, came down midway between Kimsquit and Kitlobe.

(*g*) That is: Dishes, carved in form of his crest, were awaiting *Ālikmatlsois* on his arrival.

(*h*) A reference to the great abundance of olachen grease.

Song Used for [illegible] of Kimsquit(a)

A [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
They(*b*) will come to receive | my valuable goods(*c*) | which *Ālqnulik*(*d*)

[illegible]
brought down.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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B [illegible] Count how many times will distribute	[illegible] my mother,	[illegible] how many times

[illegible] she will scatter [presents].	[illegible] Will hide [the guests].	[illegible] our returning food and goods(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 43b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was used about 1915.

(b) Meaning: The guests.

(c) This song was used at a potlatch and is accordingly phrased grandiloquently.

[556] (d) One of the dancer's first ancestors. It is not claimed that [illegible] actually brought to earth the goods which his descendant is about to distribute, but the wording is ostentatiously bashful as if the dancer were unwilling to claim the honour.

(e) That is: The food and goods which we are about to give in return for previous donations will entirely overwhelm our guests.

Song Used for [illegible] of Kimsquit(a)

A [illegible] Clear the way!	[illegible] Is coming down for me	[illegible] my supernatural being(b).

[illegible] It bears	[illegible] what pay	[illegible] to those who sing(c).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B [illegible] Do not insult	[illegible] you have less than	[illegible] my father(d).	[illegible] Always is increasing

[illegible] my box(f)	[illegible] in my house(g).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 43b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) This song was used at a potlatch. Those used on such occasions were practised carefully and are accordingly the best remembered at the present time.

(c) That is: It bears presents for those who sing and assist the ceremony in any way.

(d) That is: Do not pride yourselves on equalling my father, he is greater than any of you.

(e) When this song was being sung for the phonograph, this subdivision was temporarily forgotten and replaced by a repetition of the third division of the second part.

(*f*) The receptacle for valuables.

(*g*) That is: I am constantly having to increase the size of the box in which I keep my goods.

Song Used for Łāloxmān·a(a)

A *Sawiqāmalsanals* | *datalildimut·amlits* | *waxlānlāmkalidats* | *siosāloxlānamls*
It is from my ancient myth that I gain strength for myself(*b*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Skāmālosłmainuxisqwdax* | *dōmndamiskidax* | *aiyaoyaskālālmisdax*
Had just gained the summit | whither he was going | when he got

dālukwalayemkis | *daqwnusainusteqidax* | *nuyālxikdimutsteqidax*
his shamanistic power | which showed the way | the solitary, depressed one(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Skāmālxwpākmainuximqwdax* | *oldāqxlenaoskidax* | *nutciyakimqwisandax*
He arrived | at the river.(*d*) | they gave him

xwisamkilaqwsoitl | *aiyailmnatskidax* | *Yelsqwikaiyaskidax*
comforts and riches, (?) | the child of | *Yelsqwikaiya*(*e*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 17b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of the first part of this song.

(*c*) The text is taken from a myth previously cited. The first *Łāloxmān·a*, utterly depressed and weary of life, went off alone into the forest and was finally very fortunate.

(*d*) Kitlobe River.

(*e*) *Yelsqwikaiya* was presumably father of the first *Łāloxmān·a*.

Song Used for Łāloxmān·a(a)

A *Nustlxwolādimutxwao* | *Yao āldilmainulilsdai* | *dī'ixqwntaiyadjutldai*
Be bold! | The ability to hold potlatches(*b*) | has come strongly to him

hānultokikaiyailsandai | *aiyastāltaiōmsudai* | *yao diqaostcālosdusdai*
on his shoulders has put it | that chief, | and has scattered it to all(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Yao kā'ālaiaqtsmalsan* | *yao skākilkimākmilsan* | *Skāsxālxālpdimutāmkits*
I do likewise | in all my actions(*d*). | Sometimes like a land-slide are

waxnuālimālsātsals | *skā'āloxqmāntitsals* | *was·tāmstātmmdcātsals*
my goods(*e*); | I shall stand above | all other chiefs.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*533 *C* This is probably the type of song with only two parts; if a third was composed, it has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 17a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) The intangible ability of a chief, "Success."
(*c*) The literal translation is obscure; the meaning is that success has come to a chief who has taken it upon his shoulders and then dispensed it, in the form of presents, to all. The reference is to one of the dancer's ancestors.
(*d*) This song was used at a potlatch, and in this second part the theme changes from the past to the present.
(*e*) That is: My goods are as overwhelming in their abundance as a land-slide.

Song Used for Lalómsk(a)

A	*Ästämalisalisks*	*dai'aiyatsdix*	*dàlalticimdix*	*a'lksqāla*
	Where is	the talking,	the voices(*b*)	without(*c*)?

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B	*Älimay*	*ahlsump*	*ticmāqo*	*dusmāt-smpali*
	Come	and see,	they are(*d*)	my friends.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C This type of song has only two parts.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 40b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to be very ancient.
(*b*) The voices of the supernatural beings; that is, whistling by *cusiut* accomplices.
(*c*) That is: Outside the house.
(*d*) A reference to the supernatural beings without.

Song Used for Tsimlais, a Man of Snut(a)

A	*Älatcixwaqalksdaxxskqaiyalap*	*altsalsam*	*skänuqupsdimutap*
	Why do you(*b*) not come direct	to my house	to eat,

skäxsulsdimutap
to fill yourselves to repletion?

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B	*Mällakqualuts'*	*stämluq'limutim*	*alaqualxwaldix*	*watcälmalal*
	One time	they put him to shame(*c*)	when he lived in	the expanding house(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part, if it ever existed, has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 59a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Hump-backed Tommy. This song is said to be very ancient.
(*b*) Plural.

(*c*) An incident in the dancer's ancestral myth; one of his forefathers succeeded in shaming a rival chief. 533*

(*d*) Many origin myths describe houses, provided by *Âlquntäm* for the first settlers, which expanded of their own accord to accommodate guests at potlatches. The reference is to one of these, although it was impossible to record the myth itself. [773]

Song Used for Qomi of Kimsquit(a)

A *Pâlmpsôlais* | *sti'ākoaalt* | *Shikiyukipdai* | *aiyadistyatals*
Rouse yourselves for it, | ye residents! | See which is my supernatural being(*b*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Nuslmakstukslas* | *dukliliyimdas* | *tkānamtacis* | *our ualstamilals*
At the bottom(*c*) | the first-comer(*d*) | seated himself | of our provided food(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part, if it ever existed, has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 8b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. *Qomi* was his mother's brother.

(*b*) The dancer's associates are invited to gather to witness his performance.

(*c*) That is: The mouth.

(*d*) Referring to one of the dancer's earliest ancestors.

(*e*) The reference is to the Kimsquit River which teems with salmon; the dancer describes the fish as the fare provided for his ancestral family by *Âlquntäm*.

Song Used for Qomi of Kimsquit(a)

A or B(b) *Liwamasôlais* | *ye sti'ākoaalt* | *Tutwimamiandai*
Go out and see, | ye residents! | It is apparent(*c*)

diyalaalai | *diqwatalluts a* | *dutnalyamatlimls*
what travels everywhere(*d*), | what brings our food(*e*) | from its home(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Dipmaqulas* | *distālumpdas* | *Lixliokikla(g)* | *ditqumaqualmis*
That is | the chief | *Lixliokikla*, | he carries a heavy burden(*h*)

wastmqpādai | *lanalyamatlimls*
in his canoe | from his land.

[776
424]

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 8a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) Only two of the three parts are remembered.

(*c*) The actual meaning of *tutwimam* is: What is Apparent. Its use in this case is, therefore, an untranslatable pun.

*533 (d) A somewhat boastful reference to the power of the dancer's [illegible].

[776] (e) Another arrogant reference to the [illegible].

(f) In Bella Bella.

[424] (g) This is a Bella Bella being of whom little is known by the Bella Coola. The right to use him as [illegible] came from a remote ancestor.

(h) Presumably, the dancer's right to perform.

Fragment of a Song Used for [illegible], a Kimsquit Man(a)

A [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Protect your faces,	you quiet people!	Is always shooting arrows

[illegible]
my crest(b).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

[illegible]	[illegible]
Don't do that,	they will cover us with valuables(c).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 27b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to be an extremely ancient one, used by some of the earliest settlers; the tune is said to be entirely different from any recent [illegible] compositions.

[424] [825] [773] (b) The dancer's crest was the wasp, an insect which is believed to sting by the discharge of invisible, minute arrows. This admonition to the guests to hide their faces was, of course, a boasting reference to the goods which would be distributed at the approaching potlatch. None of the first settlers was sent down to earth as a wasp, but several, including *Naakila*, were guided and assisted by these insects to such an extent that they have been regarded as crests.

[558] [424] (c) It is customary, when quoting this song, to add this final remark. It is related that, many years ago, a Kimsquit man used his wasp prerogative, but was shamed at the potlatch by being inundated with goods from a rival. Since that time, none of his descendants has dared to use the right and the admonition against doing so has become almost proverbial.

Fragment of a Song Used for [illegible] of Kimsquit(a)

A [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
We all go	to see(b).	He(c) informs us	of what he carries.

B and *C* No more of this song is remembered, though it was used at a potlatch about 1910.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 29b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louis Hall.
(b) Meaning: To gaze upon something supernatural.
(c) An unnamed supernatural being.

Fragment of a Song Used for [illegible], a Man of Salmon House(a)

533*

[illegible]	[illegible]
Whence came those(b)	who were too late?

No more of this song is remembered.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 9c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Refers to guests at the potlatch.

Fragment of a Song Used for [illegible] of Kimsquit(a)

Xatipmaija	xatipmaija	haadai
I am happy at seeing you(b),	I am happy at seeing you,	good-bye(c).

No more of this song is remembered.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 31b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Presumably refers to the dancer's totemism, Beaver, obtained from his mother's mother, a Kitlope woman. [424]
(c) This word is said to be in the Haida language.

Song(a) Used for [illegible](b) of Kimsquit(c)

A *[illegible]*	*[illegible](d)*
I make two of myself(e).	Raven(f).

[illegible]	*[illegible]*
I make a huge whale of myself,	Raven,

[illegible]	*[illegible]*	[illegible]
at the place of lucky finds (g).	People will dismember me,	I make a huge whale of myself(h).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *[illegible]*	[illegible]	[illegible]
I stand upon	my point(i);	I cry out loudly(j)

[illegible]
with respect to my position as chief.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *[illegible]*	*[illegible]*	[illegible]	[illegible]
Go yourselves!	Pick out what you want!	My house	is open(k).

(a) It is doubtful whether or not this song should be included in this section. It was used by a professional warrior at a potlatch but, like all others with his

[701]
[575]
[424]

*533 prerogative, he was debarred from seclusion in the back-room and consequent
[701] initiation as a *sısaok*. The exact relationship between warriors and members of
the *sısaok* society is obscure.
[575] (*b*) *Laxaiyaok'* is a Kitkatla name from the north. The first owner moved to
[424] Kitlobe where he married, and the designation was transmitted to his descendants.
One of the latter migrated to Kimsquit, where the name has since been handed
[177] down from generation to generation though its original source has not been forgotten.

(*c*) Recorded as song VII D 36, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been used about 1870.

(*d*) Vocative form.

(*e*) That is: I double my importance. This kind of expression is popular among chiefs.

[424] (*f*) *Qoni* is one of the ancestral names of Raven, the dancer's crest. In thus addressing the bird, he called attention to his ancestral history.

(*g*) The home of the first *Laxaiyaok'* was near a point where dead whales often
[262] drifted ashore. The dancer likens himself to a whale on which people will dine.

(*h*) Such repetition is not uncommon. The dancer implies that his wealth will be divided in a manner similar to the cutting up of a whale's carcass.

(*i*) A promontory owned by the first *Laxaiyaok'*.

(*j*) That is: I summon people (to a feast.)

(*k*) An invitation not to be taken too literally.

Xe·tla SONGS

The tunes of *xe·tla* songs are believed to have been handed down, unaltered, for many generations. The words, too, are frequently ancient although the singers sometimes make slight changes so that they will be more suitable for the chief in whose honour they are being sung. Owing to the decline of cere-
[796] monials in which they were used, few *xe·tla* songs are now remembered.

Xe·tla Song Used by Sinaqsil of Kimsquit(a)

[727] A	*Alinayuwo*	*Ahlewal'aipdai*	*Di* [illegible]	[illegible]
	Come!	See!	The chief	a man stands in the bow(*b*)

di yâlxatsal'aikdai
of those who travelled everywhere.

[WORDLESS [illegible]]

B	*Alaiqwalnagaosts*	[illegible]	[illegible]
	He did so,	my pattern(*c*),	whence I came(*d*);

593*

[illegible]	[illegible]
he climbed and returned	*Song*(b).

[BURDEN CEASES]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 39a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) A sign of victory, eagerly watched for when a war-party is returning.
(c) A reference to *Wiɬmai*, one of *Kimsquit*'s first ancestors in the beginning of time. He made a journey to the Heavens, returning from there with canoe and paddles decorated with sun designs. The exploits of his descendant are compared with those of his pattern, that is, his first forbear. Such references to family history are sources of pride to the chief being honoured.
(d) That is: From whom I am descended.

[727]

[773]

Fragment of a Xo'da Song(a) Used by [illegible] of Kimsquit(b)

A *[illegible]*	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
Presently he will be ashamed	that chief	if I get

[illegible]
my copper.

(a) Both tune and theme are said to be of Kwakiutl origin.
(b) Recorded as song VII D 34b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

[177]

Fragment of a Xo'da Song Used by [illegible] of Kimsquit(a)

A [illegible]	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
They are smiling,	greetings to the out-stretched glass!	They drink

[illegible]
the food of white men(c).

[BURDEN CEASES]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 41b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Literally: *Hello!*
(c) This song was used at a potlatch where the fare provided was whisky. The tune is said to be very ancient although new words were composed for the occasion.

[556]
[279]

A'alk Songs

A'alk songs somewhat resemble *[illegible]* ones and, like them, are difficult to collect completely. Parts of many are remem-

[575]
[796]

9

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[575]
[799]

bered, but the rites in which they were used have been practically discontinued for several years so that unabridged versions are almost impossible to obtain. *[illegible]* themes vary according to the ceremonies in which they are used. For potlatches, they consist of incidents from ancestral myths; whereas for non-ceremonial occasions following the *kusiut* season, they deal with current events. The following examples are divided into these two classes.

THEMES DRAWN FROM ANCESTRAL MYTHS

[illegible] Song Used for [illegible], a Man of Kimsquit(a)

A *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
They give valuable counsel, | my goods(b), | they formalize their own opinion

[illegible] | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
concerning to whom of those seated in my house I shall give presents(c).

[meaningless chorus]

B *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
I speak lightly | of everything(d). | Through them(e)

[illegible] | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
I become elevated, | my power to give potlatches [is] | my male relatives(f).

[meaningless chorus]

C *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
Presently I shall stand | within the box | at the corner door(g),

[illegible] | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
where flowed to all(h) | the corner-skins | of [illegible].

(a) Recorded as song VII D 31a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) That is: The goods which I am about to distribute advise me. This statement is not to be taken literally.

(c) It was impossible to obtain a translation of each subdivision.

(d) Refers to the dancer's many prerogatives.

(e) Refers to his male relatives.

[424]
(f) The dancer had obtained several prerogatives from ancestors, traced patrilineally.

[773]
(g) A reference to the dancer's origin myth (I, p. 220). The house of his first forefather, [illegible], had its door in a back corner instead of the centre front.

(h) That is: [illegible] were distributed at potlatches.

(e) Brought from above as a present from *Ālquntām*.
(f) One of the dancer's first ancestors.
(g) Combined themes such as this, referring both to the approaching potlatch and the dancer's origin myth, are common at potlatches and *kukusiut*.

am'hl'a *Song Used for Ḳímqpastimem of Kimsquit(a)*

A *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
Presently the people who lack prerogatives will envy(*b*) what I possess. Because

[illegible] | *[illegible]*
it increases annually, it is am'hl'a(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *[illegible]* | *Ponpaltsdimut* | *[illegible]*
In the beginning there came down | *Ponpaltsdimut*(*d*) | with his river(*e*).

[illegible] | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
He seats himself | at the mouth | of the "Heavy One"(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The last part has been forgotten(*g*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 30a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) The word *supem*, which is translated as *envy*, is used only for the desire of ancestral prerogatives which can never be attained except by those who are members of the ancestral family concerned. [424] [614]
(*c*) It was impossible to obtain literal translations of the subdivisions.
(*d*) A name which *Smaaus* (I, p. 332) took for himself on earth. It is claimed that the composers of this song erred in using this designation.
(*e*) *Smaaus* came down to the Kimsquit River, but the grandiloquent phrasing expresses the sentiment that man and stream came together.
(*f*) The Kimsquit River is sometimes termed *Watkis* as its name as chief. This designation was obtained by *Smaaus* from Bella Bella, with his marriage to a woman of that tribe, and bestowed by him on the river. [103] [424]
(*g*) This song was used during the winter of 1923-4 and nearly led to friction. It is claimed that the right to the name *Ḳímqpastimem* was lent to a Kimsquit man who failed to return it. The borrower has been dead many years, but when his son proceeded to dance, one of the singers who was related to the original lender refused to take part in the singing. [578] [426] [424]

Thaiyahum Song Used for a Kimsquit Man(a)

A *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
I have obtained | the ancestral right | which displayed | my forefathers(*b*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

#533

B *Yaqwiantaiqsaluksdux*	*skhlalimdux*	*tinlitsqsaladux*
He agreed	to being dropped(*c*),	he spoke the eagle language cheerfully.

Aiyaarmcuaxadux
Xemcua(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The last part of this song has been forgotten.

[779]

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 32a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) That is: Which my forefathers displayed.

(*c*) It is said that some of the first settlers were unwilling to be sent down to earth.

(*d*) *Xemcua*, one of the dancer's first ancestors, came to earth in eagle form and accordingly spoke the language of these birds.

Fragment of a Tlaiyákam Song Used for Sinaxsil of Kimsquit

Nuxlimaltukstng	*daL'lalimdux*	*skanammtt'xis*	*mensalsl*
It is ready;	his . . . .(*a*) that was sent down	has taken its stand	at Dean River(*b*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

[424]

(*a*) The term signifies any object, whether tangible or intangible, sent down from above in the beginning of time. In this case it refers to the dancer's *Tlaiyákam* prerogative.

(*b*) A reference to the coming to earth of *Smaun*. See vol. I, p. 332.

THEMES DRAWN FROM CURRENT EVENTS

Nusqual Song Used for Nuqsqámis, a Kimsquit Man(*a*)

A *Tsklpsshmdux*	*sk'lisumlimatip*	*tamkastcaallalis*
Let us stop	elevating(*b*) him(*c*);	he uses without authority

xwelmatstadimatns
a chief's name(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Qastirwakdufik'*	*yao distammuyamlals*	*spolipsmp*	*als'alim-idals*
Is feeble	the dancer(*e*);	let him accept from me	what he likes(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Alaisdadox*	*disiasklealamts*	*spqalikudals*
He was likewise(*g*)	my first forefather(*h*);	I summon guests

aiyuunstuimmutulals
for what I am about to display(*i*).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 28a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The tune is said to have been handed down for more than two hundred years. 533 +

(b) That is: Let us stop paying the customary respect to.

(c) It is not remembered which chief was thus held up to the scorn of his fellows.

(d) That is: He does not act in accordance with the traditions of the name he uses.

(e) That is: The dancer is feeble. This refers to another *nusqwal* dancer who, owing to his poverty, had not performed for many years. It is not known whether he was the same individual as the one derided in the first part of the song. [558]

(f) To flaunt another's poverty in his face is the height of Bella Coola rudeness. [735]

(g) That is: He, too, was a *nusqwal*. [576]

(h) The ancestor from whom the prerogative was derived.

(i) That is: In virtue of my *nusqwal* ability. This appears to be a departure from the usual theme of a mocking song.

Nusqwal Song Used for Ḳwixlākilakʷ, a Kimsquit Man(a)

A	*Tukwdjidjsdamalnuwit*	*yuḳwixlakikkwsudai*	*skē'änutsdyenmixwais*
	Please do not deny,	Ḳwixlākilakʷ(b),	listen to your

samaḳsipānnuswais
drums(c).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B	*Sämanmandjsmādu*	*snuyaiyuṭuwilais*	*ältältämstaḳaiisandai*
	I alone	am content(d);	is increasing

aiyadispalimatsdai
my prerogative(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 29a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) It is not uncommon in *susak* and *a'alk* songs for the dancer to address himself in this way. [575]

(c) That is: Be ready to listen to drums beaten at one of your ceremonies.

(d) The dancer is deriding another *nusqwal* who has not performed for a long time. [558]

(e) This song differs slightly from the usual mocking type in lack of specific references to the person derided; lack of reference to an ancestral myth, however, shows that it was not composed for a potlatch. [556]

Song of a Kimsquit Nusqwal(a)

A	*Dipsruqo*	*ṗḱānlslaix*	*dustältumxwos*	*disisut*
	That is he,	the impostor,	the chief	of the paddle(b).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

*533

B Sāostxtxaẍwao	*olāsults*	*skā'ālpsdulsdai*	*dismāt·ımẍdjs*
Go within	my house,	I am giving food	to my friends.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

[614] [424] [685] (*a*) Recorded as song VII D 28b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said that this song has been handed down for generations in an ancestral family; they now regard it as a family possession and would consider its use by others to be stealing.

[609] (*b*) Many years ago a solitary Bella Bella used to paddle to Kimsquit almost every year. He was dressed like a chief and had the mien of one, so that his hosts assumed him to be a person of importance. It was later found that he was a poor man. The mocking of foreigners is a common theme of *a'alk* songs.

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578

am'lel·a Song Used for Xımxımlaix(*a*)

A Nuiwuitukāxānamqwaisan	*silxwosmaikila*
He has fallen so that his buttocks are uppermost,	Hail(*b*)!
Damunmuisan·imut	*skusiutdas*
He has come to hurt,	that *kusiut*(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C*. The second and third parts have been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 3c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) A mockingly deferential salutation used in *a'alk* songs describing the *kukusiut*.

(*c*) *Xımxımlaix* was an *a'alk* who is said to have seen a Cannibal *kusiut* when the latter was supposed to be in the land above. A song was composed about the incident, and the above fragment has been remembered for many years. *Xımxımlaix* was initiated into the *kusiut* society; see vol. II, p. 265.

*533 As already described, whenever a dancer is performing, the
575 women utter a peculiar high-pitched drone and the heralds call
796 out remarks suitable to the occasion. A phonograph record[3]
was made of the drone, followed by a cry suitable for either
203 *sısaok* or *a'alk* dances. The following words are virtually sung:

Yelosāldimut	*stāltımẍakais*
Do not err,	chiefs.

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[3] Recorded as song VII D 29c, National Museum of Canada.

Nusäxkämx̣ SONGS

The texts of *nusäxkämx̣* songs are fragmentary and unsatisfactory. The rites in which they were used have long been discontinued and, since they were never ceremonially important, there was nothing to impress either tunes or words on the minds of the singers. In addition, it is probable that the songs were always less carefully constructed than those of other types. 533* [796]

Song Used for Qolon(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

Qixänaowitaiya	*silhmstänäbtcistaiya*	*sätwinmmlsndai*
Be happy,	ye people,	it is about to come,

däsq̇wltuyumdai	*däqolonlaotcaiya*
that hidden one(*c*),	Beaver.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

Qoloni'i	*Qoloni'i*	*wa·xai·yai*
Beaver(*d*)!	Beaver!	*wa·xai·yai*(*e*).

(*a*) This word means "Beaver." It is most unlikely that it was the dancer's own designation, more probably a nickname used in connection with the *nusäxkämx̣* rite. [551]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 9b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.

(*c*) This signifies a person who is hidden ceremonially, such as a *kusiut* dancer who has gone to the land above. The dancer expected to be a Cannibal and the rite in which this song was used served as a kind of rehearsal. [796] [575]

(*d*) This refrain replaces a second and third part of the song itself.

(*e*) A meaningless series of choral ejaculations.

Song Used for a Kimsquit Woman(a)

Axnnux̣dimqwduks	*ṫlopiwacsudax*	*tusx̣wismaoskidax*	*ältusmätskidax*
They heard	of Fawn(*b*),	when they were playing	long ago(*c*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 9d, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) The theme being of a fawn, the dancer wore a deer-skin. [535]

(*c*) As in many *nusäxkämx̣* songs, the words refer to an ancient story, probably one describing the adventures of deer and wolves; see vol. II, p. 425.

Song Used for Waosäqslaix, a Kimsquit Man(a)

Lilitwmusäninax̣	*waowmsoqsän·ai*	*waix̣tski*	*sqolänops*
Run in all directions,	ye dogs,	for the first time	it is there

[776]

nunuqaolsmm	*osutcäx̣änam*	*maoutc*	*maoutc*
he brings much food(*b*),	go below the house	?(*c*)	?(*d*).

[192]

*533 (*a*) Recorded as song VII D 9c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.

[776] (*b*) Presumably a reference to *Noakxnm*, the dancer's *kusiut* patron(?).

[192] (*c*) The meaning of this word is not known; it is considered to be quite distinct from the identical term in Chinook jargon for "deer."

(*d*) The meaning of the whole song is extremely obscure.

MARRIAGE SONGS

*533 585 [586] [578]

As marriage songs, two distinct classes may be considered:

A. Those used at weddings;

B. Shaming songs used in connection with divorce rites.

The former are said to have been handed down from the distant past and consist of a few almost meaningless words. The latter are composed whenever required, and consist of foul allusions to the person being ridiculed.

WEDDING SONGS

Stuux Marriage Song(a)

Nunusqwaldimutqwsanitl	*yao ixläqwlaiyulao*	*ältusaqwnainuxis*
Danced for joy	*Qwlaiyu*(*b*)	when they brought

ai'ailmnanaodax	*yao dutxasxc·msudax*
the girl	from the place of light(*c*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 3b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

[773] [424] (*b*) *Qwlaiyu* came down with *usyuyuyut* in the beginning of time, and brought, as a gift from *Älquntäm*, the prerogative of dancing at weddings. He landed at Kimsquit, and no explanation is given by the Bella Coola for the use of this song by the people of *Stuux*.

[773] (*c*) A reference to a marriage among the first people on earth. One of *Qwlaiyu*'s associates married a woman whose relatives had brought light with them from above.

Kimsquit Marriage Song(a)

Säk'lälälimqwsuduks	*yao daxomtslalaoals*	*wasäsqolxnäsdomdax*
They sent down	*Xomtsla*(*b*)	with his relative

yao ixläqwläyulaoals
Qwlaiyu (*c*)(*d*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 2b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) *Xomtsla* came down from above with *sıyuyuyut* in the beginning of time; he had the prerogative of dancing at weddings. 533*

(*c*) *Qulaiyu* likewise came down with *sıyuyuyut*, bringing the same prerogative as *Xomtsla*. 585

(*d*) The rest of this song has been forgotten. [773]

Fragmentary and short as are these songs, they are more elaborate than many used at weddings. These frequently contain no words, merely an ancient tune accompanied by humming and meaningless choral interjections.[4] [424]

SHAMING SONGS

Songs of this type are sung by the singers while the principal performer dances; in this respect, they resemble *sısaok* compositions and differ entirely from the abbreviated and individualistic wedding songs. Though used primarily to shame a runaway husband or wife, one is sometimes employed on other occasions. 533* 586 578 [585]

Song Used for No·qwna(a), a Kimsquit Woman(b)

A	*Yelakaix*	*dalima*	*Mıstelos*	*sälnaixtus*	*dämnaltcaiya'a*
	Has too much	looted	*Mıstelos*(*c*)	further,	he has taken with her

tcakwaakaslitumal	*dämnältcaiya'a*
my child, *Tcäkwaakus*(*d*),	he has taken with her(*e*).

[103]

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B	*Sänalqoldimut*	*sawästänmmtsaìs*	*ikät·äkänutsaixts*
	Be brave,	mothers(*f*),	when I speak of your ugliness(*g*);

aläskdjıltslimanap	*wanusqwdsätsahmxais*
you have had much trouble,	your breasts have become long and pendant.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) This word means "The one (feminine) with the very hairy pudenda." The woman in question had run away from her husband and the nickname was conferred at this shaming *ilaiyäkam* rite. [551] [553]

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[4] Two examples of such wordless songs were collected. They are song VII D 2a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard, and song VII D 3a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

*533 (*b*) Recorded as song VII D 35a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

586 (*c*) That is: *Mustelos* has looted too much. He was the seducer of *No·q̓wna*.

578 (*d*) This ancestral name is one of the designations of Mount *Nusq̓alst*.

[103] (*e*) This repetition merely adds force to the complaint of the aggrieved husband. It was impossible to obtain an accurate translation of each subdivision.

(*f*) Referring to old women in general.

(*g*) In this second part, the theme changes from the specific plaints of the aggrieved husband to his condemnation and criticism of the whole female sex. Such combinations are common in shaming songs, and are often accompanied by a change of tune.

Song Used for Nulkitl(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A	*Dixsoloks*	*dāsxwiłātłiwatom*	*diqwawlāmkdjutl*
	Being poverty-stricken(*c*)		has come to this rite

nulkaiyaitldai
Nulkitl(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B	*Diāltxāmātsltom*	*wasqilixilals*	*āltakaiyāk'*
	All the foul expressions used by men are applicable to(*e*)		the crippled

yasilias
Silias(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) This song was sung by women to shame *Nulkitl* who had deserted his wife. It was the work of a feminine composer, *Nuxem*.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 38b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) It was impossible to obtain translations of each subdivision.

(*d*) Any weakness is picked upon in a shaming song. *Nulkitl* must have failed to perform rites of any kind, and the feminine mockers chose to deride him for this instead of his faithlessness.

(*e*) It was impossible to obtain translations of each subdivision.

(*f*) *Silias* was one of the regular Kimsquit singers who had shown especial aptitude in the insertion of obscene expressions to songs used by men to deride faithless women. The women apparently considered this a good opportunity to voice their general disapproval by coupling his name with that of *Nulkitl*. *Silias* had suffered a broken arm when fighting and it had been badly set.

Song Used for Som(a), a Kimsquit Woman(b)

A	*Wastālq̓pstutdjalustnuwit*	*aiyaoyāsoyomsudsaix*
	Do not talk too much in a proud manner(*c*),	*Som*,

was·munmulnmnimotnu you are the prey of misfortune,	*si·xwotldimutnudja* you unmarried mother;	*xwas·iäsqilixaoals* you are *sqili*(*d*), you women	533* 586
xwaä'lälye·ya·lusals who pretend to be virtuous(*e*).	*Änäna* Alas(*f*)!	*Yumtcaia* I am ashamed,	*somtcaia* I am *Som*(*g*). 578

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B

Qänmaxwulxs·alotskidax Exactly similar	*däsboitldtsälotskidsaix* is the little boy's nose	*yao oldistänäbsul·ux* to that of the round-headed

aiyaoyaqolosdidai *Qolosti*(*h*).	*Änäna* Alas!	*Yumtcaia* I am ashamed,	*somtcaia* I am *Som*.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part, if it ever existed, has been forgotten.

(*a*) This differs from most *ìlaiyäkam* songs in that *Som* was an unmarried mother, not a faithless wife. She was held up to scorn by the men of Kimsquit and this song composed for her by a certain *Blo·qwas*. [848]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 38a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) It is said that women, even of slave blood, used to endeavour to increase their importance in the eyes of their children by boasting, falsely, of ancestral history. [554]

(*d*) A term of opprobrium, difficult to translate. It is said to imply slave ancestry, but is more probably a mere epithet, referring to the female organs. [195]

(*e*) This is addressed to women in general.

(*f*) An expression of pain or sorrow, used under all circumstances. [192]

(*g*) The theme is here changed as if it were *Som* herself speaking. This is a common device in all kinds of songs.

(*h*) *Qolosti* was supposed to be the father of *Som*'s child.

MOURNING SONGS

Mourning songs excel all other Bella Coola compositions in length, complexity, and wealth of detail. Especially those composed for mighty chiefs contain numerous references to the ancestral history of the deceased and mention incidents referred to in origin myths, a source of pride to the survivors and of envy to those who listen. 533* [765] [766]

Song Used for Qowi when Mourning his Son, Qwinao(*a*)

A

Stämalma	*waxìläkdatoms*	*ìlälinaxwao*	*sänäbsultpai*
Why has my son done so(*b*)?		Come, ye who are residents of foreign lands(*c*)	

*533

ānusıcayenmip̣dai | *dinultınänkımlaix̣ia* | *Diwal·ixwlimdai* | *X̱dāstältımx̣laix̣ia*
hear | my mourning song. | He(*d*) has gone. | The chief

daqwnımisandāx | *xwasiut·ālsaix̣ia*
has taken him, | his supernatural being(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Sasamyeq̓wiluisika* | *yetläkwakilasudax* | *dustāmtamx̣ʷ· dimotsiskidax*
Was good | *Tłākwakila*(*f*) | when, unaided, he made the river

aiyax̣duwanuqsudax | *Yao duix̣nuwix̣sslax̣* | *aiaqwax'tcinas·udax*
at Rivers Inlet(*g*). | Hail to the widened river | of Raven(*h*)!

Aiyakā·māisandax | *skānusmātllaiyailsandax* | *Dā·lālqwālosandutl*
He(*i*) will soon become petrified there(*j*). | He(*k*) seized

yayaxwo'om·aitlsoitl
Yexwomaitl(*l*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Kālkwanāsnukmas* | *skāstāltımx̣nu* | *kāmai·ts* | *Kānımnamāknukmas*
Be thou highest(*m*), | chief(*n*), | please. | You will hold two

skānux̣ieknu | *Ixkāḵlaix̣nu* | *olā·stamx̣ʷ·misxaixia*
guardians of light(*o*). | He(*p*) will carry these | when he descends to the river(*q*);

wasālkwmmdom | *wa·kıs·udax*
that was what brought | *Waākus*(*r*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C(*s*) *Skāmālusk̓'lānāmkiskʷ·* | *yao ilslukwalātomitl* | *xils·iosqwiainuximais*
Had just come down | the shaman-like power(*t*) | when he(*u*) used it

wasis·utstenaosuais | *daspuxpuxx̣mālosdusdax* | *daāsāts·imitskidax*
to open the road(*v*); | eagle feathers(*w*) | he used(*x*).

Aiyatākālāhmisan | *dasqwnutsamstānaoais* | *Yao dāsxsılkdimutstānao*
He succeeded in finding | the place of his food supply(*y*). | Greetings to what has filled

stāmxitılqwalāsitl
those who speak with us(*z*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Skāmālnuqwasamnuxiskʷ* | *Tłaliaki'lak'* | *ye·snubusamnuxitdax*
Had just stilled the rough sea(*aa*) | *Tłaliaki'lak'*(*bb*) | when there rose from below

tcālāhliadudai | *Sistāltımx̣·yānmaksisandax* | *Yelnain'akwas*
the copper house(*cc*). | From it the brothers became chiefs(*dd*). | The good *Nain'akwas*,

siälḥiyuhtemisandax	*Tlaowika'lis*	*Tinlqlnmaisandax*
all, everywhere, know of	*Tlaowika'lis*(*ee*).	They(*ff*) crossed repeatedly

yao elduicawatsudax
to *Tcawat*(*gg*).

(*a*) The first four parts of this song were recorded as song VII D 7a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said to have been composed about 1870 for a chief whose son had been drowned. It was later used for a nephew of *Qowi*, and will henceforth be employed only by members of that family. [424]

(*b*) That is: Why has my son died?

(*c*) It was impossible to obtain translations of each subdivision.

(*d*) Referring to the dead son.

(*e*) That is: The supernatural being, the chief, has taken him. The reference is to the deceased's crest animal, a common rhetorical device in songs.

(*f*) An ancestor of the deceased and one of the first settlers of the world. He came down to Rivers Inlet.

(*g*) *Tlakwakila* is said to have widened, or even to have made, the principal river at Rivers Inlet. [773]

(*h*) *Tlakwakila* came in the form of a raven.

(*i*) Referring to *Qwinao*.

(*j*) It was impossible to obtain translations of these two subdivisions. *Qwinao*, now dead, will be irremovably connected with the scenes of his first ancestor.

(*k*) Meaning Raven.

(*l*) The mother of *Qwinao* who had died several years earlier.

(*m*) The theme now changes as if *Qowi* were addressing *Qwinao*.

(*n*) Referring to *Qwinao*.

(*o*) Refers to the supernatural beings who rouse the sun and moon and thus cause their light to shine on earth. Mention is made of these in *Qwinao*'s origin myth. [776]

(*p*) The theme changes again from direct address to *Qwinao* to a description of what he will be doing owing to his ancestral history. [821]

(*q*) That is: He will be in the form of one of the guardians of light when his life descends, at a memorial potlatch, to Rivers Inlet.

(*r*) That is: That was what *Waäkus* brought. *Waäkus*, another of *Qwinao*'s first ancestors, could not find a suitable place to settle in the beginning of time. After fruitless wandering, a whale emerged, vomited violently, and was changed to stone. The animal thus became Goose Island, and its vomit the rugged rocks at one end. *Waäkus* settled on that island. [773] [823]

(*s*) This song has three third parts.

(*t*) That is: The first people, with their shaman-like power, had just appeared.

(*u*) Referring to *ux·wnaisa*, another of *Qwinao*'s first ancestors, who also came to earth at Rivers Inlet.

(*v*) At that time the routes between different settlements had not been discovered.

(*w*) More specifically, the coarse, long breast feathers.

(*x*) *ux·wnaisa* used a supernatural canoe which frequently changed to eagle feathers. [773]

(*y*) Refers to Sea-lion Island where he and his descendants used to hunt.

(*z*) Refers to the Bella Bella; several of *Qwinao*'s relatives had married members of that tribe.

533 (*aa*) Referring to a spot outside Smith Inlet.

[776] (*bb*) That is: *Tłatiakī'lak'* had just stilled the rough sea. She was another of *Qwinao*'s first ancestors, the most powerful of a group of four consisting of her brothers, *Nain'akwas*, *Tłaowika'lis*, and *Tłäliatłis*, and of herself.

(*cc*) *Qomoqwa*'s house, a reference to an incident in *Qwinao*'s ancestral myth.

(*dd*) The house contained whistles and other valuables which they obtained.

[551] (*ee*) That is: All people, everywhere, know of *Nain'akwas* and *Tłaowika'lis*. Each name, though singular, has a plural significance since the other brothers are likewise implied.

(*ff*) Referring again to the band of first settlers.

(*gg*) A place on the mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island.

Song Used for Sinuxetl(*a*)

A	*Yao kä'äsmaiusdimqwdax*	*dänuioldaiämk'łdiits*	*yao ikäitskadnimodaox*
	They(*b*) will presently inform(*c*)	my dead relatives(*d*)	when they reach

yao oldätxwuniqwdstax	*dukukdjudjimultsidax*	*duolnultxämätłmdax*
the outer places(*e*);	they(*f*) see(*g*)	where they first came down.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B	*Ken·ambołm·itsmäisın*	*aiyawasmaiustaitsaits*	*ältusätainaoskidax*
	I clothe myself with(*h*)	my ancestral myth,	as it was

däsołtutiye·mskidax	*xdununuqwsım·älstskidax*	*aiyałämtsai'aisudax*
in the time	of the *Nunuqsmäls*(*i*)	house.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C	*Skämałnubusamnuximkʷ'*	*däsqwnutsamstänaoitsandax*	*stämitulqwläsitl*
	Had just emerged(*j*)	the place where our relatives get their food(*k*).	

Aiyadaomätatxstax	*tätiłulxikdimut·skidax*	*aiyawaäkıs·udax*
Thither went	when it became dry(*l*)	*Waäkıs*.

Siälkiyukłdinitsandax	*däno'osqän·ämkıldatł*	*aiyatämän·ukstitl*
That is why	all people, everywhere, know	of my ancestors(*m*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 37, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. Both words and tune were composed by him about 1907.

(*b*) Referring to *Waäkıs* and his band, (I, p. 350). *Sinuxetl* was descended from this group of first people.

[192] (*c*) The significance of this word is stronger than *inform*. It means that *Waäkıs* will relate to the deceased their ancestral myth.

(*d*) The chief for whom this song was composed had lost several relatives.

(*e*) Referring to Goose Island, *Yel·äxlaix*, where *Waäkıs* landed.

(*f*) Referring again to the deceased.

[192] [775] (*g*) The significance of this word is stronger than *see*. It means that those recently dead will gaze with rapture on the places which belong to them owing to their ancestral myth.

(*h*) That is: I incorporate myself into.

(*i*) The reference is to another of *Snuqatl*'s myths dealing with the coming to 533*
earth of *Hamcut* near Kimsquit. *Nunuqsmāls* was the name of his house.

(*j*) Referring to Goose Island once more.

(*k*) That is: Goose Island where our relatives, the Bella Bella, get their food, had just emerged and become visible. It was impossible to obtain a separate translation of these two subdivisions.

(*l*) Referring again to Goose Island. This small piece of land is shaped like a whale, and, as already described, it was originally one. *Ālquntām* bade the animal come to the surface to be changed to stone; then *Waāks* settled there as soon as the water had dried from what had been its back. [773] [823]

(*m*) The literal translation of each subsection may be inaccurate.

Song Used for Yeālos of Kimsquit(*a*)

A *Yenaaisandax*	*wakwaltundatl*	*sābxwaixisundai*	*disonx̣ʷsudai*
It is good(*b*);	our(*c*)?	has lifted	the sky(*d*).

2

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Q̣āqwaxqwisandai*(*e*)	*disiutsudai*	*skāaiyaldumdai*
He was Raven(*f*),	the supernatural one	when he descended

dinudtuniktāsdai
the post(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Snuqwla·xlisundai*	*distāltumx̣dai*	*yeyālosdai*	*sālipłisdai*
He is bright(*h*),	the chief	*Yeālos*;	he carries

siāsxwilāklaixs	*diłāliās·udai*
a unique	copper(*i*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 47a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been composed over one hundred years ago and since used repeatedly.

(*b*) With the significance of: It is highly satisfactory.

(*c*) The meaning of this word is obscure. It refers to the crest of *Yeālos* with the added implication of a memorial. It applies to the memorial rite being given. [765] [152]

(*d*) When a chief dies, it is said that the people in their grief feel as if the sky were pressing them down. A memorial rite lessens their sorrow and lifts the burden.

(*e*) When this word was being sung for the phonograph, the singer erred and replaced it by part of the first word of the third part.

(*f*) That is: He was in the form of a raven. The reference is to one of the first ancestors of *Yeālos*.

(*g*) Meaning one of the posts which stretched between earth and sky in the beginning of time. [773]

(*h*) This refers to *Yeālos*. He was formerly weighed down with grief, but by giving a memorial rite he is like the sun as it shines out brilliantly from behind the clouds.

(*i*) A reference to a special kind of copper mentioned in the chief's origin myth.

Song Used for Xaiāqalatl of Tāl·io(a)

*533

A *Tcaiyutsẋskākwanātnu* Stop crying,	*nuyālxiktuminu* I bring comfort to you,	*ẋdinusẋemiānaoais* the light(*b*)

sawaālq̓walāmnu
of all your brothers(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Kaālilum·ikisk^w* He(*d*) will stand upon	*yao dutcākwālo·tldax* the house that expands(*e*),	*yao duslukwalūstskidax* hail to that which gave shaman-like power(*f*)

yao dāixmolumskidax
to him who went under the water(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) The first six subdivisions of this song were recorded as song VII D 58, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tāl·io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie.
(*b*) Signifying the light of the sun. The reference is to an ancestral possession of *Xaiāqalatl*, the mention of which soothes his grief.
(*c*) That is: That shines on all peoples.
(*d*) Referring to the dead chief being mourned.
(*e*) Mentioned in *Xaiāqalatl*'s origin myth.
(*f*) Referring again to the house.
(*g*) One of *Xaiāqalatl*'s first ancestors. The myth could not be obtained.

Song Used for Yeẋtlun of Sunxl(a)

A *Sawānwalsālits·uduks* Like a dog is	*disiosāloxlāmums* my inheritable tendency(*b*);	*sinunusxwtlāmkiīsals* is continually shortening

sawaālxemnuxiīsals
my *xem*(*c*).

Ānānai Alas!	*Q̓okāmā·tsai* Please!	*Dāmnātsai* My child(*d*)!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Istaaidjamālsandja* I am like	*yexqaẋ·āxwsilasudax* *Qaẋ·āxwsila*(*e*),	*dusnustkakiyimskidax* when talons seized

ẋdaslixwnisālots·kidax
his cherished one(*f*).

Ānānai Alas!	*Q̓okāmā·tsai* Please!	*Dāmnātsai* My child!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 55, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tal'io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. 533*

(*b*) So many of *Yexthn*'s ancestors had been drowned that he considered such a fate to be an inheritable tendency and mourned accordingly. This song was composed for a memorial potlatch held after the drowning of three of his sons. [761] [827]

(*c*) *Xem* means, literally, the successive rising of the sun from day to day; it has therefore, the significance of: The span of life is shortening. [195]

(*d*) This wail replaces the usual wordless chorus.

(*e*) Raven. This is one of his rarely used chief's names.

(*f*) The reference is to an incident related about Raven in the beginning of time. He made, and gave life to a son who was his chief joy and delight. *Alquntam* wondered what the creature might be and sent down one of his eagle-like supernatural birds to seize him. Raven, ignorant of the reason for his son's loss and with no idea that he was being carefully guarded, was absolutely disconsolate. The myth is recorded in vol. I, p. 83. [773]

SHAMAN SONGS

In contrast to the carefully prepared and logically worded mourning songs, many of those used by shamans are extremely incoherent. This is natural in view of the belief, already described, that the words and tune are given to a sick person at the time that he is cured. Those who recover from an illness are convinced that they must have received a supernatural visitation, and at once begin to ponder on the song brought to them at that time. A person of imaginative temperament easily persuades himself that the words which begin to form in his mind were actually brought by an agent, and, having thus deluded himself, it is easy for him to convince others. The coherence of the text thus depends upon the ability of the patient, a factor which explains the extreme lack of skill in many compositions. The examples here given are, perhaps, unusually complete. 533* 756 [753]

Song Used by Ninitsumlaix(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A Wāxumkwaltsumqwdu | *skāninitsumlaixus*
In the beginning(*c*) | the life-giving power(*d*) was made;

yao diai aiyaitutl | *aldānalsimanudai*
that is what we have given | within them(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS] (*f*)

*533
756
B *Nuyamhmlimilnk* | *disnuslkakldinilsdai* | *dalqtpaqm-idals*
They(*g*) sang | over my wash-basin(*h*); | they all watched over
yeluluknwalitmm
my shaman's power(*i*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Anuqwikltumilnk* | *wanuslukwalitsda* | *amatadramilsaix*
Became open | the place of shaman's power(*j*); | there I saw
Tlitcaplilan-alsaix
Tlitcaplilan-a.

(*a*) This man received his name and his ability to cure the sick from *Tlitcaplilan-a* about 1850. He was very ill, apparently on the point of death, at the time of his visitation.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 45a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) The first part is worded as if supernatural beings were speaking.

(*d*) The reference is to the healing ability granted to shamans who have themselves been cured when seriously ill.

[753] (*e*) That is: Human beings. It is believed that a person can be cured only if *Tlitcaplilan-a* or some other supernatural being implant within the patient's body some of the healing power.

[776] (*f*) The two choruses of this song have different tunes, an unusual feature.

(*g*) Referring to supernatural beings; this part of the song is worded as if *Ninitsamlaix* were speaking, and describing the time he was made a shaman.

(*h*) Reference to the wash-basin shows that *Ninitsamlaix* had the ability to cure the sick.

(*i*) The theme is worded as if supernatural beings had tended and brooded over the power which they ultimately sent down.

(*j*) The reference is to *Nusmat-a* which, as the home of supernatural beings, is consequently the place from which comes a shaman's power. When *Ninitsamlaix* was at the point of death, it seemed to him that the sky opened above him so that he was able to gaze upon those resident there. He watched the supernatural ones conferring about his own fate, and gazed with joy at the departure of *Tlitcaplilan-a* to rescue him.

[551]

Song Used by Sikwalxwlelxa(a), a Bella Coola Woman(b)

[195]
A *Wiluksixilanmy* | *aiyumaxe-nq"als* | *darnuyamhmalim* | *aiyalqamxamila*
It waved up and down | *Song"*(*c*) | when they(*d*) sang | of salmon(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Sanuspuslimilnk* | *disnuslkakltinilsdai* | *alsmatam-alxandai*
They(*f*) placed eagle down | within the wash-basin(*g*) | where I was(*h*);
dinuk'stakmm-amqallsdai
he(*i*) pulled me forth.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Wantl-ánmainulh:* | *yas ditlulnmulalitsdai* | *diantllimatsulh:* 599?
I gazed upon | what gave me power as a shaman(*j*) | when it stood up 756
sentr-amsam-a-dr-uals
in the centre of a place of petrified power(*k*).

(*a*) This was the woman's *kusiut* designation; her shaman's name has been forgotten. [551]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 56, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tāl·ia* Charlie and Steamboat Annie.

(*c*) That is: The sky moved up and down. Grandiloquent phrases of this kind are frequent in songs used by shamans. [195]

(*d*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*e*) *Ŗȧmstmils* is said to be the word for *salmon* in the language of the supernatural beings; it is used by mortals in the rites following the taking of the first spring salmon. The shaman has received some of her power from a fish. [198] [226]

(*f*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*g*) Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.

(*h*) The meaning is obscure. Apparently the shaman had been carried away by *Tlitcaplitan·a* and treated by immersion in a basin in which eagle down was deposited.

(*i*) This refers to the supernatural being, *Ȧnunitaktum*, who restores to life mortals killed by the receipt of too much power from *Tlitcaplitan·a*. It is clear that this fate befell the shaman. [776]

(*j*) The woman is said to have received power from several sources, salmon, ghosts, and *Tlitcaplitan·a* herself. It is impossible to state which of her supernatural patrons is referred to in this subdivision.

(*k*) The woman must have been taken to one of the spots where cures could be effected by the power of a supernatural being petrified there. [755]

Song Used by Nusnār·mālesaix(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

[551] [776]

A *Ȧmȧpsmiyenuuals* | *mas·iattldumsuals* | *aiakusiaut*
Look at the teeming supernatural beings above(*c*), not one is my equal(*d*), | wise one(*e*)!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Swapȧlyiktaiyamt'uaḱ* | *sĕnatcyustsumalsuals* | *aiakusiaut*
You must sometimes waken at night to meditate on what I am bringing your mouth(*f*), | wise one!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Ŗatamyȧlnutlīlaḱ* | *skānsdlthkramnutsa* | *aiakusiaut*
You must sometimes use your wash-basin(*g*), | wise one!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

* 593
756
[551]
[776]

(*a*) "The One Who Dances Near the Fire." This is one of *Tl̓itcaplitāna*'s designations and, therefore, one of the names she gives to those she cures.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 20a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) As is often the case, the theme is worded as if *Tl̓itcaplitāna* were speaking.

(*d*) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions.

(*e*) Referring to *Nusmās-mālasaix*; such self-praise is a common device in songs used by shamans.

(*f*) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions. Reference to the mouth is in connection with the way a shaman accompanies his song by furious clashing together of his teeth. *Tl̓itcaplitāna* herself does this.

(*g*) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions. Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.

Song Used by Xumnmaclaix, a Kimsquit Woman(a)

A *Sqtpūsai'ailaamls* | *malukmaliltumānl* | *nuyālpiklumāntals*
All(*b*) have given me | the power of a shaman; | give me mental strength

maiyemasiat
the good supernatural beings.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Nuquiqlimilnla* | *aiyadiseyo-ng^w sudai* | *dimntsaqumaw-ālisandats*
They opened | *Song^w*; | they saw me

waqāliḍjudum-āldcāndalr(*c*)
as they peered down.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten(*d*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 21a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It was used when the woman first danced as a shaman.

(*b*) This refers to supernatural beings in general. The song is worded as if the shaman herself were speaking.

(*c*) When a record was being made of this song, the singer forgot this subdivision and substituted for it the final one of the first part.

(*d*) It is said that there was no mention of a wash-basin in the third part and that, accordingly, the shaman had no power to heal the sick.

[551]

Song Used by Nunaismmakmem(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A *Yao ālimstāndlaas* | *aitumindlaa* | *ptāu-ltsamwaxils* | *tkusiutalsdja*
Hail! Mortals, | I(*c*) repeat(*d*); | I give life, | I am a learned one.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

599*
756

B Ālmrlātlimapc(e) | *skāanīkmstnānamlum* | *ikusiatsdamqdai*
They measure when(*f*) | will be visible | my wisdom,

alukwalaiyākais
my ability as a shaman(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten; it is said that in it there was reference to a wash-basin, showing that the shaman was able to treat the sick.

[551]

(*a*) "The One of Whom All Sick People Think," a name received from *T̓litsaplilāw a*.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 32b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) Referring to *T̓litsaplilāw a*; this part of the song is worded as if she were speaking.

(*d*) That is: I do as I have done before.

(*e*) When this song was being recorded on the phonograph, the singer erred and replaced this subdivision with the first of the first part.

(*f*) That is: They decide upon the time when.

(*g*) The reference is to the dramatic performance which marks his status as shaman; this part of the song is worded as if the shaman himself were speaking.

[551]

Song Used by Tcitsmdyleiy(a), a Bella Coola Woman(b)

A Anamstimalsan | *dinustkakstaiyutsdai* | *diqtsmamāmp*
Is ready | my wash-basin(*c*), | I will use it

skāitsmkdjut-am-ādjnp
when you(*d*) come for treatment.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C.* The rest of this song has been forgotten.

[551]

(*a*) "The Sleep-Giver," a name received from *T̓litsaplilāw a*.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 27b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie. In 1922 he was about seventy years of age and the song was used by his step-mother.

(*c*) This reference shows that the shaman had power to treat the sick.

(*d*) Referring to human beings in general.

Fragment of a Song Used by Nusutsmmdmam, a Bella Coola Man(a)

Sāmskatkarkmāknadai | *yao dikusiatsdai* | *alamatstomisitsdai*
Held me in his cupped hands | the learned one(*b*), | when he bore me

waālitmkdjutslamisils
to the place of treatment.

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NEà Bellacoola NEb

#583 (a) Recorded as song VII D 43b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

756 (b) That is: The supernatural one held me in his carefully cupped hands. The theme is worded as if the shaman were speaking and describing the way he was carried away to some far-off spot for treatment.

Fragment of a Song Used by [illegible], a Bella Coola Woman(a)

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Laughed	[illegible](b)	when they(c) started	my rise as shaman(d).

[DRUMMING CEASES]

[illegible]
See how wretched I am(e).

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 43a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

(b) That is: The sky laughed. Shamans often use grandiloquent expressions such as this.

(c) Refers to supernatural beings in general.

(d) It is not known how this woman received her power except that it was from a salmon.

(e) The singer entered fully into the spirit of this song, and ended his singing by calling out these words and chattering his teeth as shamans are wont to do.

Fragment of a Song Used by [illegible], a Bella Coola Woman(a)

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
The sun(b),	the sun,	is our father	(c)?

The rest of this song has been forgotten(d).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 34a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

821 (b) This is the sun's name as chief.

796 (c) The meaning of this word is unknown. When the song was sung, the people used to follow the shaman to the river and throw water over themselves four times, accompanied by the crying out of this word.

718 (d) It seems highly probable that incoherent songs such as this were commonly used by shamans. *[illegible]* herself is supposed to have derived her power from *[illegible]*, but no explanation could be learnt for the rite of washing.

The most fragmentary of all shaman songs are those used by *[illegible]*. Although the last survivor of this type of visionary died many years ago, all the older Bella Coola state

emphatically that the songs which they used were little more 533*
than series of meaningless phrases, often in languages unknown 756
to the hearers. It was possible to collect the two following examples of this type:

Aiya siya[a].

[a] Recorded as song VII D 35b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

It is believed that this song was composed by Raven, but no one has any knowledge of when, or for what purpose, it was made. A *snáxom* used it in Bella Coola many years ago, and the words and tune have since been remembered. *Siya* is said to be the word for *man* in a language spoken on the west side of Vancouver Island, so it is assumed that the visionary must have come from that region.

The second example consists of a single word:

Aiyaliox[a].

[a] Recorded as song VII D 35c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

Aiyaliox is in a language unintelligible to any of the Bella Coola. This word and tune are supposed to be even more ancient than the first example.

Kusiut Songs

Kusiut rites are the only ones now carried out by the Bella 533*
Coola with even approximate completeness, and many of the 575*
songs used at them are still remembered by all. A number of 796+
dances took place during the period of investigation and the
texts of all the songs used were collected, as well as the music [126]
of the majority. This explains the full versions of the examples in this section as compared to the preceding ones. Moreover, it is probable that *kusiut* songs, composed with care by [756]
the singers, have always been more logical than those employed by shamans in which the fiction of supernatural instruction has been preserved. In former times, *kusiut* songs were always

7

*593 *[575] *[796] newly composed whenever required, though in recent years old ones have occasionally been re-used owing to lack of ability on the part of the singers. The following songs have been arranged in the same order as the descriptions of the *kusiut* dances at which they were employed.

Song Used for Anaspanm-ain, a Kimsquit Man(a)

A *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
Everything(*b*) | shook slightly(*c*) | when he came(*d*)

[illegible]
to the first point.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
Have made up their minds | the calendrical experts(*e*);

[illegible] | *[illegible]*
they have curtailed | through their greed(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *[illegible]* | *yas [illegible]* | *yas [illegible]*
Constantly refills | water(*g*) | the dishes

[illegible]
which elevate him(*h*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 46a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been used about 1870.

(*b*) This is a reference to *Song*[illegible].

(*c*) This is a grandiloquent expression, such as are common in *kusiut* songs.

(*d*) Referring to *Noäkpnm*, the dancer's patron.

[805] (*e*) That is: The calendrical experts have come to an agreement.

(*f*) That is: They have abbreviated the period of waiting owing to their greed. This song was used by the *kukusiut* at one of their gatherings during *Noäkpnm's* approach. At Kimsquit no uninitiated were present on such occasions so it was possible to indulge in comments without betraying the secrets of the society. The significance here is that the experts were so greedy to share in the food that they agreed to say that *Noäkpnm* had arrived before his proper time.

(*g*) That is: Water constantly re-fills. By *water* is meant food and mountain goat grease.

[556] (*h*) That is: The dishes of which the contents, when distributed, increase his status.

Song Used for Yuxasila, a Kimsquit Man(a)

A *Wiluksixilaxamlals* | *aiyamasaye-ny*ʷ*tsuls* | *altlutsiklimadjutdals*
Rocked and waved | *Sony*ʷ(*b*) | when launched his craft
aiadasiutdax
the supernatural one(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Nusqumtuxtlaowilsika* | *wanammampalatlnamlals* | *daskamalkxomnulimdax*
Were happy | the passengers(*d*) | when was leaving
yao dalsllaksdax
his canoe.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Nuqwaxumltumilssika* | *wansutstaisudax* | *Dasexsuldimutlisandax*
He(*e*) makes smooth | where he paddles(*f*). | Lights a fire
sanowakymmsudax | *dasnokakayal'limdax* | *kamalnuilankldisdax*
Noakymm(*g*) | ask him for food | those of the first town(*h*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 15a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song, used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4, is said to be an old one.
(*b*) That is: *Sony*ʷ rocked and waved.
(*c*) That is: When the supernatural one launched his craft. The reference is to *Noakymm*.
(*d*) The reference is to the passengers in *Noakymm*'s canoe.
(*e*) Referring to *Alquntam*.
(*f*) That is: *Alquntam* smooths the waves before *Noakymm*'s course.
(*g*) That is: *Noakymm* lights a fire. This reference in the text shows that *Noakymm* is the dancer's patron.
(*h*) That is: The inhabitants of the first town ask him for food. The exact significance is obscure, although the reference is to the inhabitants of the first salmon town.

Song Used for Nuxim, a Bella Coola Cannibal Dancer(a)

A *Likwmakwanalisdals* | *aiyamasaye-ny*ʷ*tsuls* | *Daskalaixnimutls* |
Has opened | *Sony*ʷ*!* | Thence has come danger, thence
dimaxolymnahlda
has come power(*b*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Wasnukpikdimutls'wals* | *makxpuntamlals* | *sismutlaltimdax*
ixidqdimalqadax

The chiefs(*c*) are in agreement as to the amount of food which the eagle(*d*) is to eat(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

*533 C *Ipālxstmaxdumiinka* | *yao dāiisamāmucda* | *kāmālpaxolaiskidax* | *iialayāndusdax*
There was a big cloak for his(*f*) forefather; two men held him in it(*g*).

Yao sexsexfālaixsudax
Hail, *Sexsexfālaix*(*h*)!

(*a*) This song was composed and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*b*) Referring to the call. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of these two subdivisions.

(*c*) Presumably referring to the supernatural beings in the land above.

(*d*) The dancer's cannibalistic incubus was the eagle. The slightly vague expressions are necessary to deceive the uninitiated.

(*e*) It was impossible to obtain a translation of each subdivision.

(*f*) Referring to the dancer.

(*g*) The meaning of this is obscure. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each subdivision.

(*h*) The dancer's patron.

Song Used for Kol·iaiyuhmx, a Bella Coola Cannibal Dancer(*a*)

A *Sawasqolkmailaixsmāisiks* | *a'lihulkaliwamlais* | *dasnumunskainudtim*
No one spoke | at the meeting(*b*) | when he counted

anosdāxlps umāltimais
how many should be eaten(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Sawasmmmmulysālao* | *waānutciyudjalaix* | *āltāsnuiwinudjikels*
Alternately, two men | kept giving him food(*d*) | in his house(*e*);

yao dakunkun·idjudax
there is incessant growling(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Wasnutcaxālāmitumdai* | *aiatāqwan·ik'liisdax* | *Yao dā'ālqpāmliisdusdax*
The wood shivered(*g*) | as he walked(*h*). | Hail to the shaking off(*i*)!

Yao sexsexfālaixsudax
Hail to *Sexsexfālaix*(*j*)!

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 10a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

[787] (*b*) The uninitiated assume this to be a reference to the meeting in the land above at which it was decided to send down a call to the dancer.

(*c*) That is: He, the dancer's patron, decided how many human beings should be eaten. The reference is slightly peculiar since *Kol·iaiyuhmx* has the prerogative of biting himself.

(*d*) The uninitiated assume that this refers to human flesh.

(*e*) Referring to his repository. The exact meaning is intentionally obscure.

(*f*) A reference to the growling of the Cannibal by which the uninitiated are frightened.

(*g*) A reference to a wooden sidewalk in the land above, described sketchily to impress the uninitiated.

(*h*) The significance is as follows: The Cannibal is so powerful that, as he walked on the sidewalk, it trembled so that anyone else standing upon it was numbed as if he had been holding a metal bar struck by a heavy hammer.

(*i*) *Sexsexḳālaix*, the dancer's patron, guards his path along the sidewalk by shaking his fingers. This has the further implication of *presents*, since these are referred to as dust flipped off during the shaking. The whole phrase is intentionally obscure.

(*j*) The dancer's patron.

Song Used for Ḷxwuntnam, a Kwakiutl(a) Cannibal Dancer(b)

A *Sānuqwilānkldinitsisandja* | *xdāsdixwodjamadilsdai* | *dinunusq̇āxemānk'lidais*
They(*c*) proffer me | my own food(*d*), | then cried

aiyaoyelq̇aominoaka·is
Q̇aominoaka(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Sānuyexwlimilsuk* | *yao Sexsexḳālaixdai* | *oldālknix̣ālosmisdai*
They(*f*) called out, | hail, *Sexsexḳālaix*(*g*), | when wanted to eat

yao Bāxbāxqwanālosyua
Bāxbāxqwanālociwa(*h*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Wasnusāx̣dimutlaoais* | *waq̇watlq̇watlnusamais* | *wasnuhaohaowalsas*
They come to me | the masks(*i*), | the *haohao*(*j*)

yabexbexqwaiyasudax
of *Bāxbāxqwaiya*(*k*).

(*a*) This man had long been resident in Bella Coola and decided to perform his Kwakiutl dance, to the great interest of the Bella Coola. This took place during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4, the first time that such had ever occurred. [177]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 44, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The song was composed by Kimsquit Alec, and is probably translated from the Kwakiutl.

(*c*) That is: The supernatural beings.

(*d*) That is: Human flesh.

(*e*) This is a Kwakiutl supernatural being, the dancer's patron, and equivalent to the Bella Coola *Skwanāt·ān·a*. The dancer's call consequently rose and fell as at a mourning rite. [171]

(*f*) That is: The supernatural beings.

(*g*) That is: *Sexsexḳālaix* and the other supernatural ones called out.

(*h*) That is: When *Bāxbāxqwanālociwa* wanted to eat the dancer during his sojourn aloft. *Bāxbāxqwanālociwa* is a Kwakiutl supernatural being who is model to their Cannibal dancers.

*533 (*i*) The exact interpretation of this word may be inaccurate; the reference is to the masked figures which will presently appear.

(*j*) Plural.

(*k*) *Bāxbāxqwaiya* is a Kwakiutl supernatural being. The Bella Coola do not profess to understand this allusion which, they say, is quite contrary to their own usage. The implication is that the *haohao* actually exist within *Bāxbāxqwaiya*.

Song Used for Łisiqwam, a Bella Coola Scratch Dancer(*a*)

A Wasukk̇āltwanulitsaỉs | *aiyawasoyo·nx̣$^{w'}$suaỉs* | *āltāsoskaiosltomdax* |
Was like a hurricane | *Sonx̣$^{w'}$*(*b*) | when his(*c*) face projected

dānusk̇āxmnulltsdax
and made me cry out(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Sanunusmmlaixdumq'dax | *daqwmtanakainux̣ālsdax* | *Diāsk̇isāmkuliỉstalidaỉs* |
Sanunusmmlaix(*e*) | has taught me(*f*). | My parents are preparing to

wanunuqwiutsnamlaỉs
distribute goods(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Wasalāltcimnulits | *yao nuskāsiutsta* | *wasiqpulx̣āmnimutstldums*
I was close to | the repository | when it opened and taught me

aldikālkāl·ātlmiỉsdai
what I should presently do.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 13a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song, composed by Reuben Schooner, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*b*) That is: *Sonx̣$^{w'}$* was like a hurricane.

(*c*) Referring to the dancer's patron.

(*d*) That is: Made me cry out in the manner of Scratch dancers. It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these two subdivisions.

[776] (*e*) A supernatural being who scratches in the land above.

(*f*) This song was used at the dancer's initiation and is accordingly worded as if he were speaking and describing his experiences.

(*g*) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions.

Song Used for Alimaltwalaix, a Bella Coola Scratch Dancer(*a*)

A Sawasaik̇sāmāỉsandja | *wasinaixlunutsltumdai* | *diaiyaotcainux̣ātslstaix*
It was long ago | that they(*b*) made ready, | that they changed,

dānusk̇xāmnux̣altsdai
my scratcher's cry(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

533*

B Sālosamtānamlimdai | *yao nuskāsiutsta* | *yao gdiāltxamātaludjas*
He(*d*) sat down above | the repository; | that is whence came(*e*)

diālḳwuntālimasldjaix
my inspiration(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Skāmālqwilusaiyaigelsdai | *aiatimaiyens·udai* | *dāsyellākainulim*
The face had just become angry | of his father(*g*); | it was too much(*h*)

yao di·tsḳālostnamidai | *oltās·tākānakaigas* | *oldilixwnimotḳodai*
when he scratched; | he went away to a | man of placid temperament(*i*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 14a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) Referring to the supernatural beings above.
(*c*) A reference to the peculiar cry used by all Scratch dancers. The phraseology is intentionally obscure.
(*d*) The dancer's patron.
(*e*) That is: It was he who taught.
(*f*) In the sense of: What enabled me to perform.
(*g*) That is: His father's face had just become angry on account of the excessive scratching. *His father* refers to *Ālquntām*, father of *Sno'olxults Ālquntām*, the patron of Scratch dancers. The theme declares that *Ālquntām* was annoyed at the superabundant zeal of his son.
(*h*) In the sense of: It was more than he could bear.
(*i*) The meaning of these two subdivisions is problematical.

[776]

Song Used for 'Nāx·wtān·a(a) a Bella Coola Scratch Dancer(b)

[424]

A Nusikmālstumilsnka | *omātutsamalimlaix*
There is violent talking above where(*c*) | the patrons are meeting;

diālqolaiyainulimlaix | *dlsixsixkultomlaix*
they give too much(*d*) | to the one that is hidden(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Pots·utcltomilsnka | *dānuskaxgmāmkitsdai* | *dāsnuliḳwainulimdai*
Is increasing | the crying(*f*); | return to him

diāsmok'kum·itsdai
his cedar-bark ornaments(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Dipoxpoxhainuldānāls | *swalaxmdimutlals*
He(*h*) rushes around too much(*i*) | those left are troubled(*j*)

dās·galakainulimlaix | *ālānutcimikldumals*
when too much | is the talking above(*k*).

*533

[424] (*a*) This is a Rivers Inlet name, the dancer's prerogative having come from that area.

(*b*) This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*c*) A reference to the house in the land above. The somewhat grandiloquent phrasing is to impress the uninitiated.

[424] (*d*) The dancer had prerogatives both as Scratcher and Cannibal, a rare combination.

(*e*) The dancer must, presumably, have been in concealment for some reason. The implication is that the fear and danger of his powers had been increased from the fact that he was out of sight.

(*f*) That is: The crying is increasing. The reference is to the peculiar cry of all Scratch dancers.

(*g*) That is: His cedar-bark ornaments return to him. These indicate that he is about to dance.

(*h*) Presumably referring to the dancer.

(*i*) The wording is as if the *kukusiut* themselves were startled at the excessive vigour of the dancer.

(*j*) The significance is that those who have not received calls are terrified at what has come to the dancer.

(*k*) That is: When there is too much talking above. The uninitiated are led to believe that lengthy discussion in the land above presages some strange power coming to the dancer.

Song Used for Smmk̇ka°kus(a), a Bella Coola Fungus Dancer(b)

A	*Wasımnuimälusiklts*	*ä'länusx̣ayanemltits*	*sawäsıłk̇otsilao*	*waıxq̣untämläls*
	I am terrified	at what I hear(*c*),	more talking	by *Älquntäm*.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B	*Sipudjutnäloslao*	*sawak̇amäsdimutals*	*ältäsıx̣mılmılaixltum*
	They(*d*) have hidden themselves,	they do not want to die(*e*),	they are debating furiously,

yao x̣disiaxyaosaix̣lao
their faces become strange(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C	*Samıxq̣wiaitimutldulaix*	*yao disılk̇aoals*
	Some have parted in anger,	their thoughts being at variance;

dixılkänkım·alisındai	*alänodjonotsıltimäls*
[623] they move round to be with those of the same opinion(*g*);	they agree with a wise man(*h*).

*[575]
*[796] (*a*) This woman performed during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4, the first time a Fungus dance had been displayed for many years. Four songs were composed for her.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 23a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

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(*c*) The theme is worded as if the dancer were listening to the supernatural beings discussing the call which they proposed to send down. The uninitiated are led to believe that she actually has this ability. [787]

(*d*) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(*e*) The implication is that the power of the dancer is so great, and the rite so dangerous, that even the supernatural beings themselves are afraid.

(*f*) The discussion is so animated and on such an important subject that the faces of the participants take on strained expressions.

(*g*) When a Bella Coola meeting is being held, those who hold similar views usually group themselves together. [623]

(*h*) A man of forceful character has expressed himself and the others concur.

Second Song Used for Smnikka^{a}kus, a Bella Coola Fungus Dancer(a)

A *ustāl̇slutslāloqo* | *uxlasamsmayemkelt'* | *skā·ltāmqwiaiinuxits*
It is true what my mother | recounted to me(*b*); | has opened to me
aiyawaseyo·nx̣$^{w'}$ais
Sonx̣$^{w'}$(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Yao kaqwixomātsk'qolisaix* | *altciālunāmk'limisaix*
He(*d*) told me to raise my head to see what he was holding(*e*),
tcisixwismaklaoais | *sawaqulxwaixlats*
the model(*f*) | of the gathering above(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Sqwalxolixomalaoais* | *āmitkusdimutalais* | *yao disiksnalosidjot'lao*
Bent their heads together(*h*) | all the chiefs(*i*); | those of lesser prestige
ānusxixitlxwamlats
fled away in fear, unable to participate(*j*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 25a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song, composed by Peter Nelson, was used during the *kustiut* season of 1923-4.

(*b*) This was the second song used when *Snmkka^{a}kus* danced, and the theme follows, to a certain extent, the first one. The uninitiated are led to believe that the dancer was able to see what her mother had described to her in previous years.

(*c*) That is: *Sonx̣$^{w'}$* has opened to me.

(*d*) Referring to a supernatural being, probably the dancer's patron.

(*e*) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions. The implication is that the dancer was sitting with head bowed on her chest when the supernatural one bade her look upward to see what he was holding out to her in his hand. [787]

(*f*) *Model* is a poor translation. The reference is to the rite above on which the dancer patterned her performance.

(*g*) A reference to the gathering of the supernatural beings.

(*h*) As if in secret and animated discussion.

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(*i*) A reference to the leading supernatural beings.

(*j*) That is: Unable to participate in the meeting at which it was decided to send the dance down to *Smmkka'ks*.

Third Song Used for Smmkka'ks, a Bella Coola Fungus Dancer(a)

A *Sātlāmkdjusʻldumilnka* | *djisxixsustemaxmlosals* | *sinuksultemals*
All(*b*) have failed, | they(*c*) have decided | to send it(*d*) down

sawaslumstenālosals
to mortals(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Wasnuisthl̓ltum-ainksdai* | *dālāl-slxummdai* | *yao diālqumlaixixsundai*
No one soils | what we see(*f*); | it warms us(*g*),

aiasunxālatla
hail, *Sunxālatla*(*h*)!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Smmqsiumnualitsdai* | *yao dinaixlijualtumdai* | *dikelkpsdjudimāmkalisdai*
I heard the growling of a *smmq*(*i*) | as they(*j*) were preparing matters(*k*),

smusaiks-ālxinaosumals
the skeleton(*l*) was as a bed to it(*m*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 24a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song, composed by Kimsquit Alec, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*b*) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(*c*) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(*d*) Referring to the Fungus dance.

(*e*) The significance is that the supernatural beings, having failed to raise the Fungus, have sent it down for human beings to try. The words used imply that it has been sent as a patient to a doctor. This boastful phrasing is to impress the uninitiated.

(*f*) That is: What we see, the Fungus, is bright, shining, and unsullied.

(*g*) The meaning is obscure, perhaps that the sight of the supernatural object strengthens the beholders.

(*h*) No reason could be learnt for this reference to *Sunxālatla*.

(*i*) The composer assumed that the dancer's patron was a *smmq*. It was impossible to obtain an individual translation of these two subdivisions.

(*j*) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(*k*) That is: As they were discussing the sending down of the Fungus.

[773] (*l*) This refers to a skeleton, belonging to *Alquntām*, which remains in the rear part of *Nusmāt-a*. It is frequently mentioned in song but no detailed information about it could be obtained.

(*m*) That is: The Fungus was resting upon the skeleton. Such references, not fully understood even by the *kukusiut*, increase the awe and wonder of the uninitiated.

*Fourth Song Used for Smnukka*ᵃ*kus, a Bella Coola Fungus Dancer*(*a*)

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A Skämälkupstaiχnimuts | *yao tcikusiutisai* | *ältäpxwulsaixnulitais*
Has now recovered | the *kusiut* woman(*b*), | after they(*c*) exposed

wnxulkumlaitais
the heavy burden(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Χimiqo·tsldumiisika | *dimuninaks·amaisandax* | *dälkäpäxmemqodai*
There is light at the edge(*e*), | looks down | the much revered

enilatlaikilasudai
Moon(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Waskiitsulxul·aiχalstaix | *dikusiutstenaosuais* | *daskatcämkusam·alisdai*
They(*g*) become frightened | of that *kusiut*(*h*) | whenever he displays

disqoqolimqoxiaix
his blackened face(*i*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 50, National Museum of Canada; trio, *Täl·io* Charlie, Reuben Schooner, and Steamboat Annie. This song, composed by Nebuchadnezzar, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*b*) That is: The *kusiut* woman, the dancer, has now recovered. The implication is that she was grievously stricken when the power first came, before she knew what was required of her.

(*c*) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(*d*) Referring to the Fungus.

(*e*) Referring to the edge of *Sonχ*ʷᵗ.

(*f*) That is: The much revered Moon looks down. The Moon is one of the dancer's patrons and the song asserts that he looked down on her when he heard that she was in trouble. "Much revered" refers to the attitude with which she regards her patron. [776]

(*g*) Referring to all *kukusiut*, human as well as supernatural.

(*h*) Referring to Moon.

(*i*) That is: Whenever he blackens his face. At an eclipse the face of the moon is said to become blackened, and the song implies that this is done deliberately by Moon in order to perform a *kusiut* dance. [776] [821]

Song Used for Saiχnäs, a Kimsquit Mystery(*a*) *Dancer*(*b*)

A Sätialtimotaowit | *yusllumständlesa* | *olikäps·liwatatup'*
Stand firm and be brave, | mortals(*c*), | when you guess(*d*)

dikekelo'stamldai
its place of concealment(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

*533

B *Aiatālsiyutlsudja*	*ālāqwmntānaosuaḷs*
Observe(*f*) the supernatural being	where my thoughts are centred;

ālhxmāmlixwlīmdai	*dāmātsltominuḷsdai*
becomes hidden	my place of power(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Waskolānāl·ālumaks*	*dikānānuskxitsdai*
No one can contradict the words of	my pattern(*h*);

disnusḷaxwaiyelsasḷaix	*dinunudjonostemdai*
it is the unsolvable mystery	of *Älquntām*(*i*).

(*a*) That is: *Älmutsämk.*

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 41a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) The words are addressed to the uninitiated whom the dancer pretends to regard in the same light as supernatural beings regard mortals.

(*d*) This song was used on one of the occasions when people were called upon to guess the hiding place of the dancer's power.

(*e*) That is: The place where my power is hidden.

(*f*) An invitation not to be taken literally.

(*g*) That is: My place of power becomes hidden. The implication is that the supernatural beings have carefully concealed it among themselves.

(*h*) The being from whom the dancer has obtained his inspiration.

[776] (*i*) *Nonodjonostem* is another designation for *Älquntām*.

Song Used for Änudakänuts, a Kimsquit Mystery(a) Dancer(b)

A *Istästutwinakımldap*	*gdiänuqwmntnikmmldai*	*yao gdisikeloxsamlip*
I am grateful to	*Änuqwmntnikmm*(*c*);	you(*d*) have succeeded in guessing(*e*)

diämatstlominuḷsdai
the hiding-place of my power.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Säqwäl·alimiḷsıka*	*yao tcisnitsmän·anaoaḷs*	*skäaoltxwosam·alisdai*
They(*f*) called upon	*Snitsmän·a*	to drone(*g*)

sänulukwalältaoaḷs
for the shaman-like one(*h*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) That is: *Älmutsämk.*

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 40a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was used about 1910 at Kimsquit.

[776] (*c*) A supernatural being who gives inspiration.

(*d*) This is addressed to the uninitiated, one of whom has guessed correctly. 533*
(*e*) The assumption is that this has been done with the aid of *Ânuqwmntnikmm*.
(*f*) Referring to the supernatural beings above.
(*g*) That is: To utter her supernatural droning cry.
(*h*) The reference is to *Sno'olxults Âlquntām*, the dancer's patron. The meaning of the whole passage is obscure but seems to be as follows: *Sno'olxults Âlquntām* was perturbed at the coming of the call to his protégé and, to help their fellow, the other supernatural beings called upon *Snitsmān·a* to drone. This sound has a healing effect and would, therefore, enable human beings to solve the mystery. The phraseology is intentionally obscure. [776]

Song Used for Willie Johnston(a), a Bella Coola Thunder Dancer(b)

A	*Skāmālnutwinmutsuls*	*didaxdakān·āldai*	*sixāyaotcam·ālisandai*
	I have just heard	it(*c*) coming down;	it changes its voice

ālaolsālolilais
above our heads(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B	*Stixwotsamlimilisika*	*dikusiutstenaosuals*	*yao skāoskimānldisdai*
	They asked plainly	the *kusiut*(*e*)	to lead the frenzied beating of sticks(*f*)

sawaqulxwailais
at the gathering of the supernatural beings in the land above.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C	*Soālkktmaxlamilsika*	*wakālālxwolāltimuts*	*dāsnustkik'limisandai*
	Too many to be seen	are those called(*g*);	when they increased

dinutsymālsdimutldumdai
the water(*h*).

(*a*) The Bella Coola name of the dancer was unfortunately omitted.
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 57, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, announcer and prompter, assisted by *Tāl·io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.
(*c*) Referring to the call.
(*d*) It is doubtful whether this statement is more than a rhetorical device to impress the uninitiated.
(*e*) Referring to Thunder.
(*f*) Thunder, one of the most powerful of the supernatural *kukusiut*, has the prerogative of leading the orchestra of stick beaters to "cure" a fellow-dancer. The song states that his fellows requested him to perform this function. [776]
(*g*) That is: So many are in attendance that they cannot be recognized. The reference is to Thunder's dance in the land above, for which the supernatural *kukusiut* assemble from all directions. [773]
(*h*) The allusion is to the rain which follows Thunder's dance. [821]

Song Used for Älamtci, a Bella Coola Thunder(a) Dancer(b)

*533 *A Istäxkilikämälalutsduks | yao täsixwin·imut·alsdax | ältasiḳnuwasamlais älixwaltuwal·itsais*

I cannot tell whence comes what(*c*) I hear, I cannot tell where it is; there is nothing but fog above, I am in trouble(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Alqwalxwekmem·akudai | sä·lanşkämdimutdasdai | dinunuqumlaixdusdai yaiyulätimutsudai

The hands of everyone helped *Yulätimut*(*e*) in the wonderful works he was doing for himself; all wanted him to do the same for them(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Senonstkäxk·imälimqwdai* | *diyaiyaxdimutdasdai* | *diälpikmelosdusdai*
Is moving again | the fire-holder(*g*), | it is being shaken by

saiutlaikilasudai
Thunder (*h*).

[776] *[575] *[796]

(*a*) *Älamtci* has two patrons, Thunder and *Yulätimut*. During the winter of 1923-4 he was initiated into the *kusiut* society as a Thunder dancer; in the following song, reference is made to both his patrons, but he would have to be introduced once more, with a second name, before he could dance with respect to *Yulätimut*.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 51, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, announcer and prompter, assisted by *Täl·io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. This song, composed by *Täl·io* Charlie, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*c*) Referring to the call.

(*d*) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions.

(*e*) One of the dancer's patrons.

(*f*) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions.

[776] [821] *[575] *[796]

(*g*) That is: The fire-holder is moving again. The reference is to the article shaken by Thunder which causes lightning. In dances, this is shown as a hollow rattle containing smouldering cedar-bark of which fragments are scattered in all directions.

(*h*) The dancer's second patron.

Fragment of a Song Used for Nexnäx·mälosaix, a Bella Coola Ghost Dancer(a)

A Qjs·kwatstätimotilax | *Aiyawastwinutsmim*
Why is there no name(*b*)? | Each(*c*) speaks proudly of himself(*d*);

dinulḳutamilsandai | *stciqwaltayasudai*
they use as house posts(*e*) | their shin-bones.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

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(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 11b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This was incorrectly announced on the record as a shaman's song.
(*b*) The meaning of this is problematical. Ghost dancers habitually deride the dead and this is certainly a veiled allusion of a derogatory nature.
(*c*) Referring to ghosts.
(*d*) That is: Each uses the kind of grandiloquent language employed by chiefs. [195]
(*e*) More specifically, the two uprights nearest the front-door.

Song Used for Qomcua, a Bella Coola Sun Dancer(*a*)

A *Sawāskāmaiutslaoals* | *waaiyalilaxastai* | *sāoaolīwots·amalit* |
The two | *Aiinlāxa*(*b*) | drone in unison when

yao dimaxlīwatomdai
he(*c*) enters(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Ālkāṗākamem·āqodai* | *diponponilamatemdai* | *lalitnaxlīwatomdai* |
All(*e*) watch as he draws near at the time they called him(*f*); is waiting(*g*) |

dās·umsumlkānldusdai
his salmon blanket(*h*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Skāmālamtainulim* | *yao dilq̣walst'liwalīsandai*(*i*) | *oldītākānikstāsdai*
They invite the lofty one to place himself(*j*) | on his seat;

aiasnuxālotladai
hail, *Sinxālotla*(*k*).

(*a*) This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4. The patron of the dancer, a woman, is *Sinxālotla*, the name of *Ālquntām* as Sun. [776]
(*b*) Referring to the two *Aiinlāxa* who drone daily as sun and moon travel.
(*c*) Referring to *Sinxālotla*.
(*d*) That is: When he enters *Nusmāt·a* at the winter solstice to join the gathering of the supernatural beings. It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for these two subdivisions.
(*e*) Referring to the supernatural beings.
(*f*) A reference to the gathering of the supernatural beings before the winter solstice.
(*g*) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for these three subdivisions.
(*h*) That is: His salmon blanket is waiting. The reference is to *Ālquntām*'s blanket with salmon on its lining. [776]
(*i*) When the song was first used, this subdivision consisted of a repetition of the second subsection of the second part. This was considered poor technique and the phrasing was altered for later occasions.
(*j*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations of these two subdivisions.
(*k*) The dancer's patron.

Song Used for Snuyaxlikwan·a(a), a Female Bella Coola Sun(b) Dancer(c)

*533 A *Änuximnulitsduks | wa'äluskälān·itsais | sa·nämkekm·alimdai disiälqapstailaixgas*

There was light above me when they(*d*) opened the very powerful thing for me(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Łakwälsdutsmlimitsika | dixayawa·kmlimdai*

Loud voices(*f*) are discussing his(*g*) multitudinous works(*h*);

däsnuqpanlänamldumdai | *disnusłkäkstinitsandai*
when he stirred sunwise | the water in the shaman's wash-basin(*i*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Was·mkwaltmmqudu | skä'alpälgaluslaixas | dälqwalxos·m·itqoais yälsmayaikilasuais*

Smaiaikila(*j*) and his associates are immortal; they g[illegible]rd life. In the beginning of time they created *Älpälgaloslaix*(*k*).

[551] [424] (*a*) This is a Rivers Inlet name, inherited by the present owner as a result of the marriage of one of her ancestors with a Rivers Inlet woman.

(*b*) According to a strict definition, *Snuyaxlikwan·a* is not a Sun dancer. Her patron is *Alquntäm*, but she does not refer to him as *Sinxälotla*, Sun, but as *Smaiaikila*. [776]

(*c*) This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*d*) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(*e*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions.

(*f*) Referring to those of the supernatural beings.

(*g*) Referring to *Smaiaikila*.

(*h*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations of these two subdivisions.

(*i*) The reference is obscure. Allusions to wash-basins are usually found only in songs used by shamans; it is said that the dancer had a prerogative of that nature in Rivers Inlet, and insisted on it being mentioned in her *kusiut* song. This is contrary to Bella Coola custom. [424]

(*j*) The dancer's patron.

(*k*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions. *Älpälgaloslaix* is a supernatural being with the ability to revive mortals; little is known of him and he may be a Rivers Inlet being. [776]

Song Used for Äiqwaiosamlaix, a Bella Coola Moon Dancer(a)

A *Yao istäsqomnuxälsduks | dislulutsdimutlisandai | yao alä'ämätlaoais*

I was surprised at what was told to me; it was too much, it described(*b*)

sawaäsiutsuais

the descending supernatural being(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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B *Aiakāspitsmālaimandja*	*āltidāk-ānmīldai*	*dikilamamātutsldai*
I was not good enough(*d*)	when came to me	my patron;

numḷmatquammalīnndai
I told him so.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Wasqatlwailats-ltiamālnks*	*āmātedramālimdai*	*diqailqatlimḷadai*
No one passed outside his house(*e*)	within sight	when blackened his face

cnīlatlaikilasudai
Moon(*f*).

(*a*) This song, composed by Reuben Schooner, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*b*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

(*c*) The reference is to the call. The meaning of this whole first part is highly problematical; the references are intentionally obscure to impress the uninitiated.

(*d*) That is: I did not have sufficient goods to distribute for a ceremony.

(*e*) The theme here changes from a description of the dancer's experience to an account of his patron's actions in the land above.

(*f*) That is: When Moon, the dancer's patron, blackened his face, no one passed even within sight of his house. As uninitiated are forbidden to pass in front of a dwelling in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place, so supernatural beings avoid the vicinity of Moon's house when he is performing. The blackening of the face refers to an eclipse, but has an added significance since it is an intimation of a dance. [776] [784] [821]

As already described (II, p. 229), the Otter dance differs from most *kusiut* rites and the songs are likewise peculiar. They do not vary from year to year and the following example, used during the season of 1923-4, contains many points of an unusual nature, not even understood by the participants themselves. It has only two parts, each with a different tune, and the performer carried out her rite by dancing in two distinct ways. In the first part, she raised and lowered her fore-arms as is customary, but followed this with a smoothing motion, as if she were levelling upturned earth. The significance of this seems to have been forgotten entirely.

533*
[575]*
[796]*
[535]

Song Used for Kasulān-i, a Female Kimsquit Otter Dancer(*a*)

A *Alaiasalaqadax*	*yao daḷīsyumyumdax*	*sawāskpākstnamsdax*
It has always been so,	it(*b*) has no shame(*c*);	all see it

*533 *yao dnasiulidax*
when the supernatural one comes down(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS] (*e*)

B Waskonts-âmâqudax | *mas-ipayamak'mitsdax* | *dis-tabosainalidsdai*
He(*f*) is pleased at what I have been doing, I have exposed to him the thing of

dnimtpamisqodai | *diskalnailalidusdai* | *yao Ālqumtaimsudai*
great worth(*g*); in like fashion calls his people(*h*) | *Ālqumtam*(*i*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 27a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.
(*b*) Referring to the otter.
(*c*) That is: It is blameless. The meaning is obscure.
(*d*) A reference to the catching, by the dancer, of the figure of an otter, a spectacle watched by all.
(*e*) The wordless chorus is unusually long.
(*f*) Referring to the otter.
(*g*) Presumably referring to the rite in which the figure of an otter is used; the whole part is practically unintelligible.
(*h*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these five subdivisions.
(*i*) That is: *Ālqumtam* summons his followers just as I have called you. The unusual lengthening of this part, combined with an apparently illogical mention of *Ālqumtam*, suggests that the last two subdivisions may be relics of a former third part.

Song Used for Anaximālas, a Bella Coola Bark-Beater(a) Dancer(b)

A Ipakstcalslandja | *yao skânuspimmikldats* | *dsiłak-Imalatimadlmandai*
dinaalalcimalsldalsdai
The one(*c*) who was talking so vociferously to us was so excessively happy that I almost curbed his mirth(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Was-âlyyats-am-âlimkʷ | *aindiriums* | *mas-nune-yaalim*
They(*e*) alone heard | the song | they practised

alkpulsnaindilals
at the gathering of the supernatural beings(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Smaalatadsimālim | *sanaʼamomâtats* | *tcisp̓isp̓ishmadas* | *aiasanalalo*
Counts his work(*g*) | the patron(*h*), | the Bark-Beater | of *Snaxākʷla*(*i*)

[776] (*a*) The dancer's patron was the supernatural Bark-Beater.
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 11a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been composed about 1900 and has since been used repeatedly. It was employed during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

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(*c*) Refers to a supernatural being.

(*d*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations of these four subdivisions. The meaning of the whole part is obscure.

(*e*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*f*) The translation is accurate for the part as a whole, though the interpretations of the first and third subdivisions may possibly have been transposed. The significance of the words in relation to the dance is obscure.

(*g*) That is: Keeps count of how much he has done.

(*h*) That is: The patron counts his work.

(*i*) The supernatural Bark-Beater was the dancer's patron.

Song Used for Ánuximâm·a, a Female Bella Coola Carpenters'(*a*)*Dancer*(*b*)

A *Istaiastam·ilsiha* | *maransdjahım·idsudals* | *masxwol·âlım·alisandja*
When I was bold and head-strong(*c*), I nearly killed myself, I went to the place of(*d*)

altpâxotlemaqwals
dreaded power.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Sâlusijhmânltominils* | *pdinunuqwiatsmmldai* | *xsdisiasiakâlar·aiyas*
Nunuqwiatsmm(*e*) placed eagle down upon my head; for that reason the carpenters(*f*)

pdimuqusakstimut·aomls
made light(*g*) for me(*h*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Samonshâmdimutqudusdai* | *yeyulâtimutstudai* | *xsdjiuqwolxwatnâm·âmkidals*
Long ago(*i*) | *Yulâtimut* | made this rite unaided,

aiatsim·u·dnaomls
the child(*j*).

[776]

(*a*) Her patrons were the four supernatural carpenters.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 26a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*c*) This song was used at the dancer's initiation; the text describes her experiences for the benefit of the uninitiated.

(*d*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

(*e*) A supernatural being about whom nothing could be learnt.

[776]

(*f*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

(*g*) In the sense of: Provided illumination.

(*h*) That is: The carpenters showed me the way to power.

(*i*) In the beginning of time.

(*j*) A reference to the figure of a child which is made to walk as a puppet at this dance. No further information could be obtained.

[532]

Song Used for [illegible], a Female Bella Coola Kusiut Dancer(a)

*533

A *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *yaa [illegible]*
[illegible]

My path was both crooked and erratic when I searched for a supernatural being(b), when I finally succeeded(c).

[wordless chorus]

B *[illegible]* | *yaa [illegible]* | *[illegible]*
I was stationed firmly above | the repository; | at times it was hidden,

[illegible]
there was no road(d).

[wordless chorus]

C *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
Pounded with his stick | *[illegible]*(e); | he succeeded in opening it(f),

[illegible]
and light appeared.

(*a*) There are so many *kusiut* dances that it was manifestly impossible to obtain details of them all. This song, composed by Nebuchadnezzar, was used at the initiation of *[illegible]* during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4. The neophyte, a mere infant, did not dance and no information was obtained concerning the proper conduct of the rite. Her patron was the supernatural being, *[illegible]*.

[776]

(*b*) This being an initiation song, those who are not members of the society are regaled with an account of the alleged experiences of the neophyte.

(*c*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions.

(*d*) These assertions are not to be taken literally; they are all for the benefit of the uninitiated.

(*e*) That is: *[illegible]* pounded with his stick. He is the dancer's patron.

(*f*) Referring to the repository.

Song Used for [illegible], a Bella Coola Kusiut(a) Dancer(b)

A *Yaa [illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
yaa [illegible]

When I was an uninitiated person(c), I used to wonder what *[illegible]* was like, but I was entirely wrong(d).

[wordless chorus]

B *[illegible]* | *yaa [illegible]* | *[illegible]* |
It(e) is hanging beneath the roof of | the repository; | everything is open to

[illegible]
me, my limbs have opened it(f).

[wordless chorus]

6 [illegible] I hear the coming	[illegible] figure(g),	[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible](h).

539*

(a) This song was used during the kusiut season of 1923-4 at the initiation of an infant into the society. The full ritual was not performed on that occasion, and it was impossible to learn the proper procedure. The neophyte's patron is [illegible] [illegible], whose privileges are usually kusiut or Sisaok dances, but [illegible] has neither of these prerogatives.

[776]

(b) Recorded on song VII-D-45, National Museum of Canada; trio, Reuben Schooner, Felix Charlie, and Jim Pollard, the last-named acting as announcer. This song was composed by Reuben Schooner.

(c) The theme is worded as if the neophyte were speaking to the supernatural whose realm he has just left.

(d) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions.

(e) This refers either to supernatural power or to some object imbued with it.

(f) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions. The meaning of the whole is obscure, although the implication is that the dancer now knows everything having, figuratively, found upon the repository.

(g) More accurately, the memorial figure; the meaning is obscure.

(h) The dancer's patron.

Kusiut MOURNING SONGS

539*
965
575*
[766]

Several prominent kukusiut died during the spring and summer of 1923. Memorial rites of the usual nature were held, but in addition several kusiut mourning songs were composed and used in their honour during the next ceremonial season. When a relative was initiated, his song contained numerous references and words of the type normally restricted to mourning songs. Such a combination may occasionally have taken place in former times, but the present comparatively common usage is due to the difficulty of holding regular potlatches. In each case the kusiut rites were abbreviated, and no description of the proper ceremonial was obtained. The following are examples of combined kusiut and mourning songs:

[777]

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Song Used for [illegible], Combined with Mourning for Yúlatlu(a)

#535 A [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
I kept talking to myself as if I were crazy when I was near(b)

[illegible]
the supernatural(c).

[mourning chorus]

B [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Presently, now, | Yúlatlu(d) | will do as

[illegible]
the eagle-voiced one(e).

[mourning chorus]

C [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
They(f) give him | the covering(g); | hail to the provided food

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
of *Komaw*(h); | the smoking(i) | is visible(j).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 18a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The exact relationship between *[illegible]* and *Yúlatlu* could not be learnt.

(b) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

(c) This first part of the song follows the usual *[illegible]* pattern; the words are arranged as if the neophyte were addressing the uninitiated.

(d) The dead man who is being mourned. The chorus is now of the usual mourning type.

[775] (e) A reference to *Komaw*, one of the first settlers of the earth and an ancestor of *Yúlatlu*. As described (I, p. 330), *Komaw* came to earth in eagle form and [illegible] calling for food. This is an onomatopoeic word.

(f) Presumably referring to the supernatural beings.

(g) That is: The form of an eagle. The chorus continues as a mourning song, describing the fate of the deceased.

(h) That is: The food brought down by *Komaw* as a gift from *[illegible]*. Olachen was the provender supplied to him.

(i) A reference to Mount *[illegible]*, from which flames are said to have burst forth within the last century and a half.

(j) *[illegible]*, being the [illegible] of *Komaw*, is delighted to welcome one of his descendants and shows his pleasure by blazing merrily.

Song Used for [illegible], Combined with Mourning for Yúlatlu(a)

A [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
They(b) summon | the supernatural; | it is opened

[illegible]
to be [illegible] bottom(c).

[mourning chorus]

593*

B [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
It is so(d); | the two(e) coasts | had seated himself between

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Yōhatls(f); | he binds them together(g) | and the name likewise(h).

[illegible]

C [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
[illegible] was the first creator in the beginning of time; we still pride from

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
his works(i). | As my memorial (?) is | [illegible](j).

(a) The exact relationship between [illegible] and Yōhatls could not be ascertained. The first twelve subdivisions of this song were recorded as song VII D 12, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by Tal'ia Charlie and Steamboat Annie.

(b) Presumably referring to the supernatural beings.

(c) This part of the song is worded as if the neophyte were addressing the uninitiated; the meaning is intentionally obscure, though obviously boastful.

(d) That is: It is true.

(e) Referring to two coasts owned by the deceased; the song has changed to a mourning theme.

(f) That is: Yōhatls has seated himself midway between the two coasts.

(g) By incorporating himself into both.

(h) The whole song was extremely difficult to translate and this reference to a name was absolutely unintelligible.

(i) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions; in fact, even the free translation may be inaccurate.

(j) [illegible] appears in the dancer's ancestral myth, but no real explanation could be obtained for mentioning him at this point.

Song Used for [illegible], Combined with Mourning for Yōhatls(a)

A [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
He(b) meets a supernatural being who gives him the words of a mourning song

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
for his father; then he proceeds to the land above(c).

[illegible]

B [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Where the last | Yōhatls(d); | he sits down within

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
the impossible house(e); | they laughed | [illegible](f).

[illegible]

[773]

*593

C *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | [illegible]
Is like a fire | *Tlakwakila(g)* | the copper of(h);

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
has carried him round(i) | his grandfather | *Nakiadji(j)*.

(a) Recorded as songs VII D 5 and VII D 6a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. VII D 5 is a two-minute record, and as the song was too long, the last part of it was concluded on VII D 6. This resembles an ordinary mourning song, and is said to have been used formerly as one at Kimsquit. During the season of 1923-4, however, it was used at a *kusiut* dance given by *[illegible]*, son of the deceased *Yakatla*.

(b) Referring to the dead *Yakatla*.

(c) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these six subdivisions, and even the free interpretation may be inaccurate.

(d) That is: *Yakatla* wants the best. The meaning is that the dead man is seeking out the finest elements in his ancestral myths.

[779] (e) Referring to a house at *Nusqalst* used by his first forefathers; it had the power of expanding so as to provide room for all who came to potlatches.

[551] (f) The name of the house.

(g) A Bella Bella name owned by *Yakatla*.

(h) That is: The copper of *Yakatla* is bright and gleaming like a fire. The reference is to a copper mentioned in the deceased's ancestral myth; the article furbished itself in delight at the sight of one of its first owner's ancestors. Such boasting remarks are frequent in mourning songs.

(i) In the sense of: Around the places where his first forefathers ranged.

(j) That is: His grandfather, *Nakiadji*, carried him around the scenes of the experiences of his first forefathers. *Nakiadji* was a Kwakiutl chief.

Song Used for [illegible], Combined with Mourning for Yakatla(a)

A [illegible] | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
I was careful, I watched myself, when I felt strange(b); I rose above the ground(c)
when I reached(d)

[illegible]
the repository(e).

(WORDLESS CHORUS)

[551] *B [illegible]* | [illegible] | [illegible]
As soon as he saw | *[illegible](f)*, | the lordly mountain(g)

[illegible]
illuminated itself(h).

(WORDLESS CHORUS)

C [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Rejoiced | *[illegible](i)*; | she welcomed him(j)

[illegible]
as the expansible house(k).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 19a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4; the exact relationship of *Sigmaw·a* to *Yākotles* could not be learnt. 533*

(*b*) *Sigmaw·a* was being initiated into the *kusiut* society and this part of the song describes, for the benefit of those who were not members, her experiences when she discovered her repository. The theme states that she felt peculiar when she reached its neighbourhood.

(*c*) An expression inserted to impress the uninitiated.

(*d*) Individual translations for these three subdivisions could not be obtained.

(*e*) When this song was being recorded on the phonograph, the performer erred and substituted for this subdivision the following:

alimuntaiasuals
where I went.

(*f*) One of the names of *Yākotles*. The theme here changes to the usual mourning type, describing the experiences of the deceased. [551]

(*g*) Referring to Mount *Swaly* near Kimsquit.

(*h*) This mountain is said to have been an active volcano within the last century and a half. The first ancestors of *Yākotles* landed upon its slopes, hence the mountain became wrapped up with their fortunes and showed its delight at welcoming one of their descendants.

(*i*) That is: *Q̇akmo* rejoiced. She was one of his first ancestresses.

(*j*) That is: *Q̇akms* welcomed *Yākotles*.

(*k*) A house which figures in the origin myth of *Yākotles*. It had the ability of expanding to accommodate as many guests as assembled. [773]

Song Used for . . . . . (a), Combined with Mourning for Q̇omānakwala(b)

A *[illegible]* | *[illegible]dai* | *dixxsultimutl̇sandai*
I(*c*) was in trouble, I was in fear, when I saw illuminate itself(*d*)

[illegible]
the place of petrified power(*e*). [773]

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *[illegible]* | *Q̇omānakwalasudax* | *ikön·exliwan·uxim*
Is now established(*f*) | Q̇omānakwala(*g*) | at the place of

[illegible]
his established name(*h*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS] (*i*)

C *[illegible]* | *yu·ānuximāxotsdāx* | *skāi·kpātltoyuqulsandax*
Welcomed him(*j*) | *Ānuximāxots*(*k*) | and guided him around

[illegible]
the places of his crests(*l*).

*533 (*a*) A female infant whose name was not known by the singers from whom this song was obtained.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 53, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tāl·io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. This song, composed by *Tāl·io* Charlie, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of an infant great-granddaughter of *Q̔omānakwala*.

(*c*) Referring to the neophyte. This part of the song is worded for the benefit of the uninitiated.

(*d*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

[773] (*e*) This might apply to any mountain where a group of the first settlers landed, but is said to refer to *Nusq̔alst*, the home of the dead man's ancestral family. The implication of the theme is that the mountain erupted; Mount *Nusq̔alst* is not regarded as a volcano, and it is possible that the composer confused the origin myth of the dead man with that recorded in the preceding four songs in which there are references to the illumination of Mount *Swaχ̣* at Kimsquit. Such a mistake would not be impossible in view of the decadence of Bella Coola culture.

(*f*) In the sense of: Has rejoined his ancestral crest.

(*g*) That is: *Q̔omānakwala* has rejoined his ancestral crest.

(*h*) That is: At the place where the first to possess his name came to earth.

(*i*) An unusually long wordless chorus separates the second from the third part.

(*j*) That is: *Q̔omānakwala*.

(*k*) That is: *Sānuximāxots* welcomed *Q̔omānakwala*. The former was one of the latter's first ancestors.

(*l*) A reference to the localities where his first forefathers came to earth.

[776] *Song Used for Lilitwumlaix(a), Combined with Mourning for Q̔omānakwala(b)*

A *Aiyailaixdimutk̔isandai* | *tapuxpuxχmlaixq̔odax* | *sawastālnimuḿmistax* |
All is ready, proceed | thou "Opener"(*c*) | who brings what puts

yas ditcaitcaiyutslaiχas
an end to all our grief(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Āltciakimlimiīsiks* | *dastālkmχayakesldax*
He(*e*) is waiting with outstretched hand | for the chief(*f*);

sk̔ānuikm·ilxwisdax | *yatcākwaākaiyusudai*
now he stands upon | *Tcākwaākus*(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

[773] C *Skānuamtaiālsisqudax* | *sawatcākwālotl-dadax* | *skāsnusık̔āls-mimqulsandāx*
Sits down within | the expansible house(*h*) | *Snusık̔āls*(*i*)

susānutk̔imdimutsudai
on *Sānutk̔imdimut*(*j*).

(*a*) "The Beautifier." This is one of the appellations of the infant's patron, the otter, so-called because people adorn themselves whenever an Otter dance is given. 533*

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 16a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of *Lilitwumlaix*, a female infant distantly related to *Q̇omānakwala*. [776]

(*c*) A reference to Otter, the neophyte's patron. The significance is that chiefs have an opportunity to display, "open," their generosity by lavish giving at every Otter dance. [556]

(*d*) The elaborate ritual of an Otter dance dispels grief. It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions.

(*e*) Referring to one of the dead man's ancestors. The theme changes, and is henceforth of the usual mourning pattern.

(*f*) Referring to the dead *Q̇omānakwala*.

(*g*) "The Loftiest." This is one of the many designations for *Nusq̇alst*, one of the dead man's crests.

(*h*) A reference to the expanding house described in the dead man's origin myth. [773]

(*i*) One of *Q̇omānakwala*'s names.

(*j*) This is another name for *Nusq̇alst*. The meaning of the whole part is: *Q̇omānakwala* sits down within the expansible house on Mount *Nusq̇alst*. There is the added implication that he seats himself as does his supernatural namesake in the land above.

NON-CEREMONIAL SONGS

The Bella Coola are not an intensely musical people. Singing in unison is an essential feature of every ceremonial rite, [796]* but, when alone, an individual seldom bursts into melody from sheer *joie de vivre*. They have, however, a certain number of non-ceremonial songs, shorter and more diverse in theme than any of those previously recorded. The people themselves do not attempt to classify them, though they can conveniently be grouped in accordance with their themes. Some deal with love, others are sung jocularly at sight of certain birds or [825] mammals, while a third class can only be described as miscellaneous. Still others accompany stories and games; these are included in vol. II, chap. V, and appendix B.[1]

LOVE SONGS

Men sometimes compose songs which they sing, unaccompanied, to their lady loves. Occasionally, too, the maker of a popular one will teach it to his friends who will serenade the 533* 832 424

[1] [See cat. 116, pp. 543 to 567 - ANALYST]

*533 [832] [424] woman, he taking the leading part. Such songs are not private property. Women, likewise, compose songs about men, though these are usually of a mocking nature and are sung only by a group of girls when on a picnic or fern-gathering expedition.

Man's Love Song(a)

Kàlläpnoälto	*oltasoyo·nχuta*	*maxmilìänmmsta*	*skäkwnnsdjinu*
If you went(*b*)	to *Sonχ*ʷ',	I would become a star,	I would capture you.

Kàlläpnoälto	*oltusulotudax*	*suslot·lämmsta*	*skäkwnnsdjinu*
If you went	to the ocean,	I would become a bull-head(?)	I would capture you.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 33c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This is said to be an ancient Bella Coola love song.

(*b*) The vertical lines indicate merely the end of a word group, not a clear subdivision as in ceremonial songs in which the services of an announcer are required.

Man's Love Song(a)

Kàlläpnualtuq'	*oläkoluhmχao*	*sawäskwaqwaiyials*
If you should go	to the land	of the bull-head,

aìmäkwammsto	*skämohmtcinu*	*skäislixudjinu*
I would change myself to a kingfisher,	I would dive down,	I would eat you.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 33a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The singer composed this song about 1900.

Man's Love Song(a)

Saiyulsamldinitsqwsokoks	*aiyel·a*	*xaiyel·a*
?	*aiyel·a(b)*	*xaiyel·a(c)*

Sänusukkomänläk·otsl	*oldjuxdjuxdjux*	*aiyel·a*	*xaiyel·a*
?	her	*aiyel·a*	*xaiyel·a*

Wax·äχs·oqoyaalais	*xaiyel·a*
?	*xaiyel·a*

Wastamyelsuqu	*yadisn·lkts*	*olldjuxdjuxdjux*	*aiyel·a*	*xaiyel·a*
?	good opinion	her	*aiyel·a*	*xaiyel·a*

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 6d, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) This word has no meaning.
(*c*) This word has no meaning.

The above is a very popular song, said to be ancient. Unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain a literal translation although the significance is well known. A free interpretation is:

"They say I loved her very dearly? No! The dimple in my left cheek merely smiled at [had a good opinion of] her."

It is often sung when a man is accused of being on unduly friendly terms with a girl.

Man's Love Song in Chinook Jargon(a)

[198]

Klunās	*karta*	*naika*	*tumtum*
I wonder(*b*)	what	I	think(*c*)
kap·a	*okok*	*taii*	*klutcmān*
of	that	chief(*d*)	woman;
haiyu	*naika*	*wawa*	*yāk·a*
a great deal	I	talk	her(*e*);
helo	*cem*	*naika*	
no	shame(*f*)	I(*g*).	

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 48, National Museum of Canada; singer, Reuben Schooner. The singer completed the record with a Bella Coola song of which the text could not be obtained.
(*b*) Literally: Perhaps. This word is used for many dubitative expressions.
(*c*) This song follows the usual English pattern so it has been arranged in lines.
(*d*) In the sense of: Important.
(*e*) That is: I have been talking a great deal to her.
(*f*) This is the English word "shame" which has been adopted into Chinook.
(*g*) That is: I have had no shame in what I have said to her.

Kimsquit Woman's Love Song(a)

Stāmqwilks	*wasilliuks*	*dilliukşdimuldai*	*alxwopmāklaixdisxānmitlmem*
Why is the man talking so much(*b*)?			I don't like him any more.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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Älhx	*äxdjanl*	*olälaia^{oa}*
Come(*c*),	let us lie down together	not far away.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 33b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This is the type of song sung by a group of women on a picnic.

(*b*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

(*c*) This is addressed to another man.

Woman's Love Song(*a*)

Kismätldudjaia	*diyuƥnkstaiyätsdai*	*yao oldisnnäx̣*	*aiyaqolosti*
I do not want him	to lie down with me	that slave	*Q̣olosti*(*b*).

Ax̣taxyälqotsamnu	*qänux̣om·iken·u*	*kaiƥainuxstsx$^{w'}$*
Don't go too far down(*c*)	or you will be unable to stop defecating(*d*).	

Skamätcitmmulxlts	*six̣padiinuldiinu*	*skä·noponix̣stsxw'*
I went to sleep,	I dreamt of you(*e*),	how disconsolate I am!

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 38c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

[578]

(*b*) *Q̣olosti* was a man who specialized in composing songs that mocked women, hence the singer used his name in this derogatory manner in retaliation.

(*c*) The implication is that her lover had been fondling her face, and that she did not wish him to touch her body. The three parts of this song have no apparent relationship to one another.

(*d*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions. The introduction of the obscene expression is unexplained.

(*e*) Referring to her lover.

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ANIMAL SONGS

Fishing Song(*a*)

This song is sung by boys as they cast for trout.

Waitutupän·ai·,	*wasänukxmits*	*wasänukxmits*
Come along, trout(*b*),	I want to triumph,	I want to triumph,

yao tilqwakiänas	*ilitutupän·i*
over you biggest	trout.

Älsitutupän·i	*älsitutupän·i*
I fish for trout,	I fish for trout.

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Nutskulqmaqstumkx	*olďisẋtcuntcunki*	*olďisẋtcuntcunki*
Swallow right down(*c*),	to your very tail,	to your very tail;

dinusiamnahalulan·islaix
why you cannot even break one of our hairs(*d*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 9a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.
(*b*) The vocative form is used.
(*c*) That is: Swallow the bait.
(*d*) A reference to the use of human hairs for fishlines. The lad is, of course, trying to "dare" the fish.

Fishing Song(*a*)

This is a song sung by lads as they splash in the water after minnows, trying to drive them ashore.

Waksdimān·u	*Waksdimān·u*
Who is your father?	Who is your father?

Qwalciyulānk	*dimān·u*	*qwalciyulānk*	*dimān·u*
"Rotten stomach"(*b*)	is your father;	"Rotten stomach"	is your father.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 26b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) It is uncertain whether this refers to any particular kind of fish, or is merely a general term of opprobrium.

Song Sung to a Cormorant(*a*)

533*
825

When a cormorant is seen near a canoe, the paddlers often sing the following song. The bird, delighted, is said to come near and dance around the craft.

Qānāẋyomāks	*dallopān·idax*	*qānāẋyomāks*	*daisitsowidax*
Dance,	cormorant,	dance,	cormorant(*b*).

Nusāsaik
Take the breast(*c*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 34c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) This is the Bella Bella word for cormorant.
(*c*) The singer insisted on inserting this refrain after the song. It is really a lullaby and it is doubtful whether it normally accompanies the cormorant song.

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Song Sung to a Bat(a)

*533 825 When a bat is seen flitting around in the dusk, lads often greet it as follows:

Ständabitlam	*xololo*
Bat,	*xololo.*

These two words are repeated an indefinite number of times.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 24b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

MISCELLANEOUS SONGS

*533 525 177 Gambling games have always been popular among the Bella Coola, especially the one known as *lehal* which may be of European origin. Contestants sing as they play, but the songs, lacking words, consist merely of a series of meaningless ejaculations. The tunes, however, are remembered, and certain ones are considered to be the proper accompaniment to certain games. When a number of men are singing in unison, they follow the directions of a leader, but at other times the "words" vary according to individual taste. The tunes alone are important, and it is often remembered from what area they first came.[4]

*533 177 A few songs have been adopted from the Carriers and are sung from sheer delight in the rhythm, since the words are unintelligible. The most popular is the following:

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[4] A number of such tunes were obtained:

A Kimsquit *lehal* song, recorded as song VII D 30c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A gambling song said to have come from the West Coast of Vancouver Island, recorded as song VII D 19b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A Bella Coola gambling song, recorded as song VII D 16b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A Bella Coola gambling song, recorded as song VII D 20b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A Bella Coola gambling song, recorded as song VII D 23b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

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A Song in Mixed Carrier(a)–Bella Coola(b)

ıxlexwan·i	*ıxlexwan·i*	*xonätsoldjo*	*sonaxwan·i*
ıxlexwan·i(c),	*ıxlexwan·i,*	?(*d*)	?

äkaiäldaltco	*äkaiäldaltco*	*äkaiäldaltco*
?	?	?

nuqwna	*ıxlexwan·i*
the very hairy pudenda	*ıxlexwan·i(c).*

(*a*) It is uncertain whether this song was derived from the Carrier or the Chilkotin.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 10b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) The anthropomorphized supernatural cold wind, resident in the upper Bella Coola. The old trail from the interior passed through the valley and the word must have been familiar to the Indians of the interior.

[776]
[821]

(*d*) The words marked with queries are all in Carrier (or Chilkotin).

(*e*) This third part of the song is called forth loudly, not sung, and always gives rise to laughter. It means: *ıxlexwan·i* has hairy pudenda, a reference to the luxuriant growth of bushes and grass in the valley where she is localized.

A Carrier Song(a)

This song is said to have been used at some ceremonial at Ulkatcho, in the Carrier country. The rite is spoken of as a potlatch, although the Bella Coola state that it differed entirely from one of their own potlatches, and that every guest brought his own song. The words are:

atis	*tcaxola*
Knife,	none at all.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 10c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

The Bella Coola have no idea of the meaning of this song.

CHAPTER III

WARFARE[1]

General Observations — Specific Accounts

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

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PRIOR to the establishment of British rule, there was considerable warfare among the coastal tribes of British Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the extermination of one or other of the participants were unknown, but there were constant raids, counter-raids, forays, and attacks. These were never as continuous as on the Plains, where martial achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast, but it appears probable that at least several villages of the Bella Coola were embroiled every few years. Nevertheless, [796] war was secondary in importance to ceremonial rites. During the winter, peace reigned and members of hostile tribes were even received as guests at some dances. [556] At potlatches they might be subjected to insult, later to be avenged in the same manner or by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence offered either to envoys or guests. 726 The symbol of peace and friendliness was eagle down; 825 the occupants of a canoe who bore an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests themselves, 778 used to blow this substance up into the air whenever [486] another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter [578] to veer over to the other side of the channel. [627] Eagle down was considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads. 721 In winter, hostilities were prevented by ceremonies, and in summer the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food; consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was [575] at all common. [622] Even then the dictates of ceremonial life were not entirely forgotten; no *kusiut* novice went to war and

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[1] Warfare having long been discontinued, the past tense is used throughout this chapter.

seldom a chief who had given many potlatches. Successful 721 [575]
raiders rarely slew such an one; his position placed him above [622]
the dangers to which lesser men were subject.

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the
purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their
prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle.
Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of
course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies.
The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often [648]
attacked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the
Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who
used to raid for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold
or traded for other commodities. Trespassing, too, was a [685]
source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case,
the offenders were usually held up to ridicule at potlatches, [626]
and the irritation gradually increased until wiped out in bloodshed. [556]
Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid
prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable
opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged,
and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already [688]
described, a ceremonial error brought punishment from a
neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused [628]
fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last
century there was a struggle of this kind between the people [727]
of *Stuux* and *Ălqālāxl* in which the former were victorious and
took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had [777]
dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the
inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes
by attacking another tribe.

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and *Tāl·io*,
made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive
war for which they were unfitted both on account of their [642]
unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On
the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent [648]
neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed
from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult [133]
to attack. [161]

721 to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once raided
648 it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near
the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free
themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches
727 of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and
steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but
628 were at last discovered and enslaved. On such occasions the
villages of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the
help of *Ǫomqo·ts*, the most exposed one, although there was
no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of
776 this town attributed their protection to *Älquntäm*, and used
to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune
owing to their close association with him. Though Bella Coola
361 itself was comparatively free from molestation, Kimsquit and
162 *Täl·io*, with smaller populations and less strategic positions,
were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at
712 the head of South Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade
of cedar trunks, set upright in a double row and entered by a
water-gate with a drop-door.[2] This water-gate protected the
648 residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one
726 Fort Rupert raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring
to batter down the door with a huge ram. The defenders,
armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled
in the open.

721 All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of
their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such
statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way
642 and were probably tolerably correct. Lack of a strong govern-
ment was a serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being
623 assailed, the members of the town would discuss retaliation,
and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was de-
622 cided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually
701 a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one
whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

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[2] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.

as a warrior. Such a chief had no command over his followers. 721
If he were a man of great prestige, many would be willing to 701
serve under him, but he could not compel the services of anyone 622
except his own slaves. A few individuals often declined to [626
follow their fellows to war, although the force of public opinion]
usually prevented a too individualistic course. Inhabitants of [628]
other towns used their own discretion whether or not to join
the party. If some of their relatives had been slain in the
previous attack, revenge influenced them to share in the retaliation,
otherwise only the prestige of a mighty chief could
attract them. No case is known in which all the Bella Coola [642]
villages joined in a single expedition; there were often temporary
alliances between neighbouring settlements, but complete [628]
lack of central organization. The course of events was
similar when a chief wished to raid without the motive of
avenging an attack. For example, if a Bella Coola had been [648]
enslaved by a foreign tribe and slain by his owner, a brother
of the victim might decide on revenge. The usual course was
to kill a slave belonging to the murderers, though sometimes
he led a raiding party if he could gain the necessary support.

Each warrior provided his own weapons, frequently the 726
same as those used for hunting. Bows with obsidian-tipped 411
arrows were most relied upon for offence, though slings were
also used from canoes. Every man carried a spear, pointed
like an arrow, for hand-to-hand fighting, although there was
relatively little of this, most of the combats being fought at a
distance with much noise, boasting, and expletives, but few
casualties. Spears were, however, useful if the attackers succeeded
in surprising a village at night. Hostilities are a thing
of the past, consequently it was impossible to obtain detailed
information respecting offensive weapons. Armour consisted 714
of maple or birch slats reinforced with moosehide and worn 726
around the body and chest; this rendered quick movement
difficult but was effective against arrows. Muskets were introduced [411]
many years ago and armour consequently became useless. [177]
Large shields of moosehide were carried in all canoes,

714 and one was held up by the bow paddler as the craft neared the
726 shore to protect him and those behind from arrows and stones
cast by slings. When not in use, shields were laid away in
boxes with some white substance resembling flour.[*] On the
[103] shore of the fiord below Bella Coola, opposite Winter Bay,
there are some boulders of the same white tint; even now
these are often spoken of as "The Shields of the Bella Coola."
It is said that hostile raiders, seeing them, used to remark that
they had reached the outposts of Bella Coola.

726 The same lack of leadership shown during preparations for
a war was evident during hostilities. The so-called leader had
701 little authority over his men, who could desert and return home
703 at any time. Lack of martial ability among their own chiefs
[648] sometimes led the Bella Coola to place themselves under the
authority of a Bella Bella in a way which would be impossible
[642] for a war-like people. Frequently such divided leadership led
to disaster, and is the surest proof that the Bella Coola were
not as aggressive or bellicose as other coastal tribes.

726 Except when attacking the Carriers, all raiding parties
[533] embarked in canoes and followed a definite order of procedure
handed down from the past. In the stern of each craft sat the
[703] captain, a chief, who, as the craft was leaving, began to sing
his *xe·tla* song, keeping time to it with the beats of his paddle;
the recounting of the glories of their ancestors was supposed
to encourage the warriors. Instead of leaving simultaneously,
a rendezvous was often chosen down the fiord, and the expedi-
tion finally moved off from there when all the canoes had ar-
rived. While still in friendly territory, a flotilla proceeded
726 openly. A small amount of dried salmon and water was car-
ried by a war party and morsels of the former were eaten at
789 intervals. The bow-man took as much food and drink as he
thought could be consumed at one sitting, put a fragment of
dried salmon in his mouth, chewed it four times on the same
side of his mouth as he was paddling, and swallowed it. Then

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[*] Some undetermined substance said to have had protective or preservative qualities.

he took a sip of water, followed by another piece of dried fish, 726
chewed it four times, and washed it down as before. This was 789
four times repeated so that the provender consumed consisted of four morsels of salmon, each chewed four times, and four sips of water; it was most important that no more should be taken into the mouth than could be swallowed at a single gulp. Having eaten, the bow-man passed the food which he had taken from the store to the paddler behind him who ate and drank in the same manner, except that he chewed with the other side of his mouth, corresponding to the fact that he paddled on the other side of the canoe from the man in the bow. So the food and drink was passed down to the captain. If possible, he was required to eat whatever was left, though if there was too much, he threw the remains over his shoulder into the water. He was also expected to swallow whatever water was passed to him, but if there was too much he would lie back, his head projecting over the stern, and pour it out over his face so that it fell into the ocean. As the food and drink were completely consumed, so it was believed the enemy would be annihilated. If the bow-man had failed to take out enough salmon and water, the captain received none of it, since no second portion could be served.

Each captain took with him a supply of dyed and undyed 726
cedar-bark which was stored in the bow of the canoe. During 714
the course of the day, the party would land and the chief decide 824
upon some decoration made by combining strands of the two colours of bark to serve as a distinguishing mark for members of the same canoe. He took out as much bark as he thought would suffice, and the bow-man was the first to don the symbol. The second paddler followed, and each in turn did the same in order of his position in the canoe. If too much had been taken, the captain had to wear collars of whatever was left over; if too little, he had to do without. Having thus arrayed them- 726
selves, the party continued until nightfall when a secluded spot 784
was chosen for camping. Wood was collected and fires laid, 722
but no light was ever struck and the warriors lay around the

726 cold sticks to sleep. Meanwhile, their wives at home were
784 required to be very careful, since a woman's heedless playing
would cause injury to her husband, and faithlessness, his death.
722 These restrictions were obligatory during the absence of the expedition.

726 As the party neared the enemy's country, they would conceal the craft under projecting trees by day and travel only at night. When within striking distance, a scouting canoe was sent forward to learn the hostile dispositions, the best means of approach, and so forth. This was usually done at dusk, and when the scouts had returned, the party would steal quietly through the forest and hide behind the unsuspecting village. At dawn the leader would give the signal, and the attackers would rush forward with a fierce shout, killing all the men and
[727] seizing women and children as slaves. When captives were
taken by slave members of the expedition, they belonged to
[422] the latter's masters. The victors would cut off the heads of
their victims, seize what loot they could, set fire to the village
[567] and rush home before support could arrive from neighbouring towns. At first, the slaughter was usually a somewhat unpleasant task, but as the warriors became inflamed with the heat of battle, they began to delight in killing, and even women and children frequently suffered.

727 The exulting victors sped homewards, rejoicing at their success but somewhat fearful that they might be cut off by overwhelming reinforcements. During the journey, each warrior who had taken a head removed the scalp by cutting the skin around the cranium close above the eyebrows and ears. These trophies were washed at the rock *Skolsexumunsta* on the fiord below Bella Coola. When within sight of home, the
[583] captain stood up in the canoe and sang again his *xe·tla* song, a symbol of victory as the bloody scalps were held aloft. Women and children would rush forth to greet the conquerors who landed amid scenes of wild enthusiasm and rejoicing.

[422] Prisoners of war became the property of those who had
[567] taken them, with the exception of those captured by slaves.

If the war had not been of long duration in which extremely 927 bitter feelings had been aroused, captives were often ransomed by their relatives, who came unmolested for the purpose when the heat of battle had subsided. Failing this, prisoners remained as slaves, [967] the children especially growing up virtually as members of their owner's family as far as food and clothing were concerned, though never sharing in the prowess of his ancestral family. Torture or killing of prisoners seems to have been a rare practice. One extremely old Kimsquit woman related that in her childhood she had seen a captive stretched out on the hot rocks at the side of the ocean, fastened there, his testes crushed with stones, and allowed to die. No other similar traditions could be obtained and it seems probable that this must have been an unusual case. It is true that hostilities have long ceased, but the Bella Coola have clear recollections of other long-abandoned customs, and it is unlikely that torture was ever a common occurrence. It is, of course, one about which reticence is to be expected, but information would have been obtainable if the custom had been common or if it had been one which played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola.

Scalps were hung on a cord and dried like salmon, then [422] suspended as valuable trophies in the taker's house. When setting out on a war expedition, he would often cover his head [714] with one, holding it in position by weaving its hair into his own. At a man's death, they were either inherited by his heirs or, [768] more often, burnt with his other possessions. It is said that the Fort Rupert people used to tie scalps in bundles to their masks. When the Bella Coola went to war to retaliate [721] for a murder, instead of scalping a victim, they sometimes [148] brought back his whole head and impaled it on a stake over [612] the grave of the person avenged.

At this late period it is virtually impossible to form any 921 opinion as to the amount of bloodshed in wars waged by the Bella Coola. Several of the older people spoke in gloating terms of the slaughter accomplished by their ancestors, but all

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these accounts seemed to be exaggerations, and the casualties were probably few. The Bella Coola did not have the same admiration for the successful warrior as for the man who gave many potlatches, while everything indicates that their raids were on a small scale, rendered singularly ineffective by lack of discipline.

SPECIFIC ACCOUNTS

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Active warfare has been so long discontinued on the coast that none of the living Bella Coola can describe conditions as they existed during hostilities. It was possible to collect the following accounts of raids and adventures which, though individually of small value, illustrate tactics and strategy, and recount incidents which throw light on the frame of mind of the participants.

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KITKATLA WAR

For many years there was animosity between the Bella Coola and the Kitkatla who, with the advantage of strong government, used to sweep down from the north for salmon and slaves. Bella Coola itself was comparatively immune from attack, but the Kimsquit people suffered severely. The attackers were not always successful; one old man related how, when his mother's mother was an infant, they were driven off with the loss of four canoes and many men. The fact that this incident had been remembered for so many years indicates that it was unusual.

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Slaves captured in this way were traded from tribe to tribe and rarely escaped. When an elderly Bella Coola was a lad, there was considerable excitement in the community owing to the return of *[illegible]*, a woman who had been carried off when a girl. She had been traded to a northern tribe among whom, she said, it was customary to crush captives beneath totem-poles and house-posts. Her diligence saved her from this fate, and she was passed on until she reached the far north, on the

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shore of a river where "the white men get money stone." Then *Slakmals* began to go south, and was finally sold to an important chief living north of Port Simpson. He used to beat her; in fact, she carried the scars with her to her grave. *Slakmals's* master had another slave, a male Bella Bella, with whom the woman was on friendly terms since she was related by blood to a Bella Bella family and could speak that language. Angered by her harsh treatment, *Slakmals* suggested to her companion in misfortune that they kill their master and escape. The man was at first unwilling, but she assured him that she knew the route southward. The conspirators awaited their opportunity which came when their master went halibut fishing, accompanied only by his two slaves. One evening *Slakmals* cooked a large meal for him which made him drowsy as he sat by the fire; then she stole behind him, picked up an axe, and killed him by hitting him over the head. The two murderers carefully scraped up all the blood, tied stones to the corpse, and sank it in deep water so that their master's friends would believe that he had been drowned with his slaves. Then the two, having stolen a canoe, paddled off, hiding by day, and subsisting on what shell-fish they could gather. After many perils they reached Bella Bella, whence *Slakmals* returned home.

She had been carried off as a mere girl, but was past the age of child-bearing when she returned and had almost forgotten her native language. The Bella Coola were keenly interested in the tale of her adventures, and especially in the way that slaves were buried in Alaska. It was assumed that some of their own captives must have been killed in that way, so a slave from the far north was crushed in revenge. It is said that this custom was common among the northern tribes from whom the Bella Coola adopted several practices, although this particular one was carried out but once.

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The most famous Kitkatla chief, and the one most dreaded by the Bella Coola, was *Tsibasa*, who is said to have had almost despotic powers over his northern warriors. The name itself was transmitted from one holder to another, but the most

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648 721 T 623 648 721 celebrated *Tsibasa* was he who held sway between 1830 and 1870, a man of almost gigantic proportions, of tremendous physical strength, and endowed with force of character and initiative as well. Pitted against him, the Kimsquit people suffered even more than before; there were few direct assaults, but Kitkatla canoes seemed always to be lurking in the vicinity, ready to kill or enslave heedless fishermen or those travelling between Kimsquit and Bella Coola or *Talio*. Friends of the victims repeatedly discussed counter-measures, but lack of leadership prevented them from coming to a decision for several years.

B 726 648 721 One winter, about the middle of the last century,[1] the Kimsquit determined to take the offensive in May. This plan was discussed both at Bella Coola and *Talio*, at *Qomqots* the leading chief, [illegible], gave his support and many men whose relatives had been killed or enslaved promised to join the Kimsquit raiders. Among others who took part in the conference was a certain [illegible], an influential Bella Bella chief who chanced to be visiting relatives in *Qomqots* at the time. It was decided that the rendezvous should be [illegible], on Labouchere Channel.

B [701] During the spring those who planned to take part in the expedition busied themselves with their preparations. No one knew how large would be the force, since as usual, everyone used his own discretion whether or not to join it; some did so to avenge injuries to their relatives, some merely to display martial ability, whereas others declined to [illegible] their [illegible].

B 726 648 At last the appointed date came round, and some fifty canoes, each containing twenty to thirty men, gathered at the appointed place.[2] Thence they set out and encamped for the first night at [illegible] River, [illegible], near Bella Bella. [illegible] knew the time of starting and the route that would be followed, so sent out two lads to hunt there at the spot, though, not wishing to [illegible] some of the raiders, he did not tell them what they were likely to find. The two hunters stumbled upon the encampment without being observed, and hurried home to report what they had seen. [illegible] had intended to join the party, so he now set out in a small canoe with the two as paddlers, after warning them that they must say nothing to [illegible] of his movements. His war equipment consisted of a [illegible] and two paddle-shaped boards with small

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[1] The approximate date was judged from the fact that the old man who told of the expedition in 1923 said that his father was about five years of age at the time.

[2] The strength of the expedition was probably exaggerated.

J:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE5 Bellacoola NE5

Bellabella NE5

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doisions, each containing a loaded and measured charge; these were novelties recently obtained in trade from the white man and considered very valuable. On reaching the place where the Bella Coola canoes were drawn up, *Lo qwa·i* called out four times:

"*Nacmōt·a*, are you there?"

On being answered in the affirmative, *Lo qwa·i* leapt ashore, sent back his own canoe, and defiantly joined the expedition.

The Bella Bella chief gave *Nacmōt·a* one of the prized paddle-shaped boards, and the recipient repaid this overwhelming generosity with the gift of a marten-skin coat which he was wearing. A Kimsquit chief likewise gave *Lo qwa·i* a valuable blanket-coat. As usual, the war-party was suffering from lack of leadership. *Lo qwa·i*, a properly validated warrior, was a man who had given many potlatches, and though not a Bella Coola, was related to them by blood; in addition, he alone knew the route to Kitkatla, so he virtually assumed command, although many of the Bella Coola were unwilling followers. *Lo qwa·i* suggested an immediate move, and gained his point owing to the fact that no one had a definite counter-suggestion. After travelling seven miles in the darkness, *Lo qwa·i* massed the canoes to address his ill-disciplined and somewhat uncertain force. He pointed out that the way to Kitkatla was long and difficult and that it would be dangerous to attack their northern foe-men, but that the *W'uyal·a*[1] near at hand would be an easy prey. The Bella Coola had no quarrel with these people, and were reluctant to attack them, especially as there had been inter-marriage between the two tribes. *Lo qwa·i* spoke fiercely, saying that the *W'uyal·a* had insulted him at their potlatches, and that many of their women, gathering sea-weed on lonely beaches at this season, would be easy victims. His arguments were given strength by the fact that he was a *wanted* chief and warrior; no one dared to stand against him, so it was decided to follow his wishes, though the Bella Coola stipulated that none of the *W'uyal·a* were to be killed.

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The Bella continued and in the early dawn raided a small *W'uyal·a* settlement and captured several slaves. Continuing their journey, they took prisoner a number of women who were gathering sea-weed, and destroyed the supplies which had been stored up. *Lo qwa·i* had joined the expedition merely in hope of getting revenge upon the *W'uyal·a*; now that this end was accomplished, he was willing and eager to return home, but uncertain how to leave his followers.

B [720]

With this in view, *Lo qwa·i* suggested an attack on a China Hat settlement, adding that he knew where some of their frames[2] used in Cannibal dances were stored, and that the China Hat people were too arrogant

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[1] Probably one of the Bella Bella-speaking groups.

[2] Such as were covered with skins to represent human bodies.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Bellabella NE5

Tsimshian NE15

6 in their ceremonies. Again the Bella Coola were unwilling, but again
6b their unformulated and uncertain wishes were overruled by the dominant
chief, and the assault was made. The frames were stored in an unguarded
641 shelter near the cemetery, into which the raiders broke, smashed them, and
721 threw the debris into the water. While this was taking place, a *W'acyel·a* canoe rounded a point, and *Lo-qwa·t* took the opportunity to jump aboard, saying that he was escaping from a Bella Coola raiding-party. The canoe paddled away and the expedition was left leaderless. The usual discussion took place about what was to be done, but finally the raiders returned home. They had been diverted from their original objective, had been led to attack a friendly tribe, had been deserted by their leader, and the only spoils of the long-prepared expedition were a few slaves.

6 Among the prisoners were two daughters of a certain *Olowa*, who was
727 hated because he had frequently been in partnership with *Tcibsa*. A few days after the return of the expedition, the father appeared to ransom his children. Some of the Bella Coola wanted to kill him, others demurred, and it was finally decided that a spear, fastened to a line, should be hurled against his canoe so that it would project outwards and lodge against an olachen stake, capsizing the craft and drowning the occupant. The spear was thrown, but clever handling prevented the intended disaster. *Olowa* was a validated warrior, one who never showed fear, so he calmly pulled out the missile and again paddled upstream. This time the Bella Coola fired shots close to either side of his head, but he sat unmoved and unarmed amid his boxes of presents. Finally, a Bella Coola tried to wrench off a tuft of hair from above one ear, but though he pulled with all his force, he did not succeed, and everyone on shore laughed at him. This restored good humour, and *Olowa* was allowed to land and ransom his daughters. When he left for home he was told to send his friends if they wished the return of their relatives. This was done and peace followed; if *Olowa* had waited a few days until the excitement of victory had cooled, he would have been able to land without molestation. The only other result of the expedition was that the China Hat *kukusiut* killed their own Cannibals for having allowed their frameworks to be exposed.

6 After this fiasco, the Kitkatla became even bolder and many years
7 elapsed before another expedition was sent against them. This time, there was no Bella Bella chief to interfere with the arrangements and
641 after the plans had been discussed for a winter, a flotilla from Bella Coola,
[721] Kimsquit and Ta'lio took the water one day in May.

6 Nothing of importance took place until, near Kitkatla, a canoe was captured containing a man and his wife. The former's face was marked
[720] with a vertical scar, and it was remembered that, four years earlier, when *Tcibsa* had been attacking Kimsquit, one of the defenders had shot an

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arrow downwards from his station above the doorway so that its obsidian 726
point pierced the face of one of the assailants. This was obviously the 648
same man, so a Kimsquit chief promptly slew him as a first taste of
revenge. From the captive woman it was learnt that *Tcibusa* himself was T
at Bella Bella. Here was a golden opportunity, but the Bella Coola 648
wasted it through divided counsels. Some wanted to proceed to Bella Bella to capture *Tcibusa* himself, others to continue to Kitkatla and attack during the absence of their warrior-chief. Either plan might have been successful, but as usual there was no central authority and days were wasted in idle talking. At length they determined to assault the village, and cautiously drew nearer for the purpose. The same futile discussion delayed matters, but at last one night some of the attackers lurked in the woods behind the unsuspecting town, while others guarded the canoes hidden at a distance.

Meanwhile *Tcibusa*, while at Bella Bella, had heard that a Bella Coola B
raiding-party had set out. He knew that its objective would be his own T
village, so he hurried home in a fast travelling canoe with relays of paddlers 726
to obviate delay through camping at night. Under cover of darkness, 648
he passed unmolested into Kitkatla at the very time that the attackers were in ambush. Though unaware of this, *Tcibusa* acted with promptness. He called his followers together and told them what he had learnt in Bella Bella, and that from the time which had elapsed since he heard the news, the enemy must be at hand. Drums were beaten and all the community called together in readiness. The lurking Bella Coola overheard the preparations, but could not make up their minds to attack instantly; some wanted to do so, others desired to wait for dawn, and once more lack of leadership caused an opportunity to slip by. Just at daylight the assault was launched. With a wild yell the Bella Coola fell upon the town, but the Kitkatla were on the alert, their arms beside them, and the onslaught was a failure. The first rush was driven back, so the assault degenerated into a sporadic musketry duel which continued
throughout the day with advantage to the assailants although the casual- T
ties were heavy on both sides. *Tcibusa* owned a small brass cannon which
he fired as a signal to other towns of the Kitkatla to rally to his assistance, [713]
and the Bella Coola were forced to consider the possibility of hostile [202]
reinforcements arriving at any time. Some of the attackers tried to burn the village by crawling on the roofs and setting them afire, but the wary defenders pulled them through the smoke-vents and killed them. In the afternoon several canoes came hurrying up, filled with allies summoned by the firing of the cannon. As they sped past the place where the Bella Coola canoes were concealed, they noticed one of the sentries and took a few long-range shots at him. One struck him on the wrist, and the

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intense pain caused him to shriek in agony. Judging by the sound that the guards had been overcome and were being killed, the raiders were thrown into confusion. With one accord they abandoned the attack and fled to their canoes; those who first reached them pushed off at once, abandoning their less fortunate comrades to their fate.

One of *Tcbusa*'s wives was a Bella Bella who feared that a dearly loved relative, a certain *Nusmát·a*, might be among the assailants. In the confusion that followed the rout she called out in her native speech:

"*Nusmát·a*, are you there?"

The Bella Coola had actually been reinforced by a number of Bella Bella volunteers including *Nusmát·a*, but he had made good his escape. Another Bella Bella, less fortunate, realized that this was a chance for help and called back, imitating the voice of the man addressed. The woman was deceived and told him to drag one of the Kitkatla canoes into the water and that she would bring paddles as soon as she could do so unobserved. About forty of the attackers took possession of a large canoe, but their courage failed as they waited for the woman with paddles and they shoved off, propelling the craft with their hands. Aided by an off-shore wind, they were able to steal away from the scene and had almost reached a tiny islet when they met another canoe coming to *Tcbusa*'s assistance. A fight ensued, the refugees were driven ashore to the island and their canoe carried off. Even in their perilous position, the party continued to wrangle. Some scoured the woods for yellow cedar from the bark of which the Carriers used to make canoes, an art well known, although not generally practised by the coastal tribes. Fire had swept over the island so that only two trees were found; the discoverers hastily peeled bark from these, fashioned it into rude canoes, and pushed off with their friends, leaving seven men marooned. The two craft ultimately reached Bella Coola after various adventures.

B/T [171] [501]

Among the seven abandoned were two uncles of the father of the man from whom this account was obtained, as well as the grandfather of a middle-aged Kimsquit man with whom the tale was also discussed. The two brothers were warriors, men whose bravery had been validated. One said to the other:

"You are always boasting of your valour, now is your opportunity to display it. Swim across and steal a canoe from the village we attacked."

Thus urged, the man agreed to make the attempt, first requesting the others not to kill his brother, the originator of the scheme, in case of his non-return, though this was the usual penalty for proposing a plan which led to the death of another. But the Bella Bella who had imitated *Nusmát·a*'s voice insisted on risking his life. He stripped, tied a knife to his head, took a board for support, and essayed the theft. He had no

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difficulty in getting near the village, but the dogs smelt his approach and their barking so dismayed him that he returned. Now it was the turn of the man to whom the scheme had first been suggested. He took the same float and pushed off into the darkness. A celebration of victory was taking place, so that he was able to land unobserved on the beach and mingle without suspicion among the many strangers who had assembled to *Tcibusa*'s aid. These included allies among whom were slaves and others whose faces were unfamiliar to the residents of the village itself. After walking around for some time, the Bella Coola noticed a canoe of suitable size at the end of the village. He joined a group walking in that direction, but detached himself by making some excuse when near the desired point. Once out of sight behind the canoe, he waited until he was unobserved and moved the craft a few feet; again he waited, then shifted it once more, until he was ultimately able to launch it. By great good fortune, he was able to slip in unobserved, and managed to rejoin his companions although he had only his hands and a few pieces of wood with which to paddle. The seven remained on the islet for two days more, making paddles and waiting until all suspicion of the proximity of any attackers had passed.

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Then they launched their craft and started homewards. Ignorant of the outside channel, they determined to follow the well-known inner route, though this course exposed them to constant danger and necessitated travelling by night only. There was so little darkness, however, that they could neither proceed fast nor replenish their stock of food. On the eighth day, when lying near Hartley Bay, they were almost starving. *Tsä'kmai*, one of the warriors, said to his brother *Opmikamp*:

"Do you want us to die of starvation? We cannot go on this way, let us camp for a few days and hunt, no matter what the danger."

Opmikamp agreed, and set off with a packer, telling his comrades not to worry even if he were absent four days since he did not know the country, and might have difficulty in finding game. Another hunter, *Kamilamaiktsnia*, went off with a packer in the other direction but soon returned unsuccessful and discouraged, though *Tsä'kmai* cheered him by saying that he was sure his brother would succeed. Before night *Opmikamp* and his packer brought back a fat buck which was divided among the starving wanderers. At first they ate the fat uncooked, but hunger at last drove them to build a small fire and toast the meat in thin strips so that the minimum of heat and flame was required. Thus strengthened, they eventually reached home.

Even those who had fled at the arrival of the first reinforcements had difficulties in reaching home owing to ignorance of the route. Some of the canoes reached Kitlobe in safety, whence the occupants proceeded

727 overland to Kimsquit, and from there to Bella Coola. The crew of another craft lost their way among the islands and fiords and wandered around for days until their food was exhausted. They were then near China Hat where they could have landed in safety but, thinking that they were still in hostile territory, they feared to camp and hunt. At last, spurred by hunger, they determined to catch some eagles, the only living creatures in sight. A rude shelter was built on the shore, a bark tray placed before it, and one of the party gashed the fleshy part of his back until the blood ran sufficiently freely to fill the vessel and serve as bait. A companion hid himself and clubbed the eagles as they swooped down to the fresh blood. Though the food was coarse and had to be eaten raw, it enabled the refugees to continue their journey home.

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Another canoe was surprised at the entrance to Douglas Channel by a party of Kitimat who slew all the crew except a certain *Yä k*axwaxwa* who succeeded in escaping into the woods. Thinking that the survivor would be driven down to the beach by hunger, the Kitimat patrolled the shore for days, but he eluded them by travelling overland, though his only food was uncooked plants and a single goat, killed by a stone. *Yä k*axwaxwa* was a Kimsquit man whose wife was from Kitlobe; her relatives, hearing of his plight, watched the shore of Gardners Canal, hoping that he might be able to reach that refuge. He managed to do so, though at the last gasp, and was taken to Kitlobe whence he returned to Kimsquit. This was the first time that anyone had travelled overland from Douglas Channel to Gardner Canal.

Still another canoe actually landed at Kitimat where the crew was butchered except for five men who fled to the forest. One of them, *Xwatli*, uncle of a man about seventy years old in 1922, had made several trading expeditions into the interior and was familiar with part of the route. He acted as guide, but soon lost his way and the five wandered for months through the trackless interior, often in dire straits for food, and becoming more and more weary. Their journey began in May, and
727 by October they were all enfeebled through hardship and lack of food.
787 *Xwatli* himself was the first to give up the struggle, saying that he could go no further. He asked his comrades to make him as comfortable as possible, and then to leave him; regretfully they laid him on some evergreen boughs, and tottered off, expecting their own death within a few days. Soon after their departure, there was a violent thunderstorm and, at the moment of a tremendous clap, Thunder, himself, appeared to the dying wanderer. The supernatural one went to a near-by rivulet and dipped up water which he brought *Xwatli* to drink; when he had done this four times, the man felt as if he had had a hearty meal. Thunder then told *Xwatli* to close his eyes. He did so; then the supernatural one

spit upon his own hands and rubbed them over the patient's head, his 727
arms, his trunk, his legs, and finally his feet, as if massaging him. *Xnutli*'s 787
strength began to return at the first touch of Thunder's hands, and, when the treatment was finished, he felt entirely rejuvenated. Thunder told him to overtake his friends and to massage them in the same way and they would be revived. He explained that they had been travelling in circles of ever-decreasing radius which was the reason that they had neither reached their destination nor recrossed their own tracks. He added that they must think constantly of their first objective, Ulkatcho, *Nukātco* in the Bella Coola language, and that at night *Xnutli* must sleep on the side of the fire nearest that goal.

Soon afterwards the four wanderers were surprised to see a stalwart 727
man swinging along the trail behind them, and their amazement was intense when they realized that it was *Xnutli* whom they had left at the point of death. He bade three of his comrades hide, and massaged the fourth as Thunder had done to him; this restored his strength exactly as in his own case. The one so cured then concealed himself, while *Xnutli* treated another of his comrades, and finally the third and fourth. This was not the end of the assistance so obtained. Within a few minutes of their recovery, they found the trail they had so long been seeking and reached Ulkatcho before night, though under normal circumstances the same distance would have required four days of travel. There were several Bella Coola at the settlement who were overjoyed at the safety of those for whom all hope had long been abandoned. They rested for four days, then set out for home. *Xnutli* told his comrades to fix their minds upon their objective, and as a result they were able to make the journey with phenomenal rapidity.

Thunder had granted *Xnutli* the boon of *sxlaxwaidjut* on this occa- 754
sion, and had promised that he would come to his help whenever called [776]
upon. *Xnutli* was a sorcerer, a profession which had been practised for generations in his family, and he now performed more openly than ever, assured that Thunder would be able to protect him. The malefactor killed more and more people, until he became an object of universal hatred and fear. At last the principal chief of the village, confident in [683]
the power which the giving of many potlatches had bestowed upon him, ordered an expert shot to slay *Xnutli*. The man so deputed had himself lost several relatives and gladly watched an opportunity. This came when the sorcerer was paddling across the Bella Coola near the old Hudson's Bay Company's post; he took careful aim from ambush, fired, and the evil man fell dead. A medicine can be made from the corpse of a murdered person, which, when used by the relatives causes the killer's death. To prevent this, the executioner called his friends and they took

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754 the body to his own house, preparatory to burying it. It was April, but [776] as they were waiting, a violent thunderstorm blew up from the east, the only time that such had ever occurred at that season. Thunder had promised to come to *Xnuṭli*'s aid, but the latter had died too suddenly to make any appeal; the supernatural one had just learnt of his protégé's death and had come rushing to his assistance. B [789] Realizing the danger, the executioner and his friends hastily buried the corpse, throwing over it a number of blood-stained cloths, and finally stamping down the earth. There was a furious hurricane; trees were uprooted, houses shook, the earth over the grave seethed as if in a whirlpool and chunks of it B [789] were carried up into the air. Only the potency of the blood on the cloths prevented the return to life of *Xnuṭli*.*

B T 648 This second unsuccessful attack on the Kitkatla so disheartened the Bella Coola that they made no more raids on their northern foemen who, flushed with victory, became even bolder than before. As usual, the Kimsquit and *Tāl·io* people suffered more than the inhabitants of the [721] main valley. On one of these forays, about 1855, the Kitkatla killed *Q̣olxweliotl*, a brother of *Potles*, the leading chief of the Bella Coola at the [726] time. This was contrary to all the rules of warfare since he was a member [622] of one of the leading families and the donor of many potlatches, a man whose name was as well known as that of *Potles*, *Nukāpenkem* of Fort Rupert, or *Tcibasa* himself. The fame of such chiefs was enough to protect them except during the actual heat of conflict, and the Bella Coola were justly angry.

B T 648 728 A few years later a single canoe came paddling up North Bentinck Arm and was beached about half a mile from the head. Scouts investigated, and returned to *Q̣omq̣o·ts* with news that the occupants were Kitkatla, and that *Tcibasa* himself was among them. At once there was heated discussion among the people of the lower valley. Many who had lost relatives in the protracted struggle wished to wipe out the party; B T [726] others, to see what they wanted. A few daring individuals skulked through the forest and fired on the visitors at long range; they were answered, not with bullets, but by the four times holding aloft of a moose-skin, a sign of friendly intentions. If the strangers had fired on the scouts, a fight would have ensued, but this peaceful reception disarmed suspicion.

B [787] *This tale is a curious illustration of the manner in which supernatural elements become woven into accounts which have an historical basis. It is to be assumed that the wanderers were in a suggestible state owing to privation, and readily believed that supernatural powers must have assisted them. *Xnuṭli* was feared as a sorcerer, and probably boasted of a visitation from Thunder during his wanderings. This was accepted and the incorporation of impossible incidents followed in due course.

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Tcibasa remained encamped for several days, during which time he sent word to the Bella Coola that he regretted the death of *Qolxwelio·tl* and had come to make peace. He added that his followers had tried to dissuade him, saying that he would be killed, but he had answered that he was too great a man to allow fear to influence his actions.

B T [726] [582]

Having waited for several days, the party came up the Bella Coola River, their canoe loaded with presents and eagle down, while *Tcibasa*'s brother, *Ne·ulo·s*, wore the mask of his *tutwinam* as further proof of friendly intentions. It was unusual to display one except in a *sisaok* ceremonial, but this was an unprecedented event; he knew that he might soon be killed and he preferred to die while bearing the obvious mark of incorporation with some incident of an ancestral myth. The canoe was beached opposite the house of *Potlas* where the crew blew eagle down into the air to mark their peaceful mission. Men had gathered from all parts of the Bella Coola valley and several hot-heads wished to disregard the safe-conducts and slay their enemies, a course which they had recommended for several days and had tried to precipitate by overt acts against the Kitkatla. *Potlas* himself had not spoken, but he now appeared and advised the people not to harm *Tcibasa*, since everlasting hostility would result. Though his wishes did not entirely quiet the angry ones, they virtually assured the Kitkatla of a welcome. *Potlas* brought forward a moose-skin, and told some of his people to hold it spread so that, when *Tcibasa* leapt from his canoe, he would land upon it, and could be carried to the house without putting foot to the ground. *Tcibasa* answered proudly that there was nothing on earth strong enough to support him, since his many potlatches had made him incomparably heavy. None the less, he accepted the honour, an assistance to landing shown only to mighty chiefs, and was carried into the house where he was seated in the far right-hand corner, an honourable location. *Potlas* invited all the people in the vicinity, slaves as well as Bella Coola, and the inner partitions of the house had to be removed to provide space for the throng.

B T [726]

B T [622] [554]

Though *Potlas* had decided against the immediate killing of the Kitkatla, he had concocted a scheme to test their bravery and the sincerity of their desire for peace. No one knew of this except his nephew, *Ne·ewandai*, who was to carry it out. When all were seated, the latter appeared, his face smeared with ashes, and his hair tied up in a top-knot with weasel skins as is customary during war. *Ne·ewandai* moved sunwise around the house, brandishing a musket and repeatedly pointing it at *Tcibasa* in a threatening manner. If the Kitkatla had shown nervousness, particularly if one of them had fired his own musket, a massacre would have resulted. But they remained unmoved, confident in the prestige of their leader, while he knew that though his body might be

B [714]

B T 648 728 killed, his reputation would only be increased by the manner of his death. At length *Ne·xwinkai* fired into the air; not until a shower of eagle down was blown forth did anyone realize that his musket had been loaded with nothing more deadly. This marked the establishment of friendly relations.

B T [535] [431] The Kitkatla had brought their own singers,§ who now began to beat out time for *Tcibusa* to perform a *sisaok* dance. He was followed by several other chiefs, and then the strangers gave presents to influential Bella Coola on the most lavish scale. *Potlus* likewise performed a *sisaok* dance, and bestowed gifts on the guests to validate it; such were, of course, not returnable. A meal was then served, and after that *Tcibusa* made a speech of which the gist was that the Bella Coola had previously known his achievements as a warrior, they now knew his nobility and bravery in risking his life, and that the name *Tcibusa* could never be forgotten, irrespective of his own fate.

Tcibusa left soon afterwards. It was somewhat difficult fully to comprehend his motive in thus risking his life. Undoubtedly his main object was to display his valour and disregard of danger. Moreover, it gave him an opportunity to impress these qualities upon the Bella Coola, and thus to exhibit his prowess actually within the enemy's camp, which must have been a source of tremendous gratification to him. The alleged motive, regret at killing a chief, may have been a contributory factor.

B T 648 556 574 [721] Although this visit was an intimation from *Tcibusa* that the Bella Coola need have no further fear of him, the suspicions of years could not be immediately allayed; in fact, an occasional skirmish still took place although *Tcibusa* himself refrained from fighting. A few years after his visit to Bella Coola, *Potlus* prepared to give a potlatch to which he determined to invite the northern chief. Many of the Bella Coola doubted whether the Kitkatla warriors would respect the safe-conduct usually afforded to envoys, and no one was anxious to bear the invitation. At length six chiefs volunteered for the task and set out, though with many misgivings. They stopped *en route* at Bella Bella where a chief of that tribe, *Ompsi*, joined the party; he thought that he would have influence with the Kitkatla and might add protection to the Bella Coola. Fearing to be seen by any small Kitkatla bands, the delegation travelled only by night until they could actually reach *Tcibusa*'s village. As they paddled up, they indicated their mission by singing one of *Potlus*'s *sisaok* songs. On hearing this, *Tcibusa* asked one of his Bella Coola slaves whose song it might be, and when he answered that it was one of *Potlus*'s, *Tcibusa* despatched a chief, *Kwinas*, to invite the guests to his house. *Ompsi* was thankful when he saw this man approaching, since he felt that it heralded a friendly welcome. The party was conducted to *Tcibusa*'s

§[i.e., to the peace negotiations – ANALYST]

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dwelling in spite of the fact that a Cannibal dance was taking place there. All the messengers were *kusiut* in Bella Coola, while three had Bella Bella rights as well; *Tcibsa* allowed the latter to take part in the ceremony while the former were treated as uninitiated. They were greatly interested in the details of the Kitkatla rites, which were exceedingly strict and included the eating of a corpse. At the conclusion, the envoys received their share of the small presents which were distributed.

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At this juncture one of the envoys, *Xemxemálsila*, fell seriously ill and was cured only through the attention and care of one of *Tcibsa*'s wives. This delayed their departure so that it was a long time before they and the invited guests finally set out, much to the envy of two Bella Coola slaves who greatly desired to return home.

Meanwhile the long absence of the messengers had filled the Bella Coola with fear that they had been massacred, and there was great rejoicing when a large flotilla was seen approaching. The guests landed on the shore at *Sɬmpo·ts* where the customary ceremonious greetings were exchanged. Many of the Bella Coola, inflamed by ancient wrongs, endeavoured to break the canoes of the guests and in other ways to threaten them, but *Patlo* finally succeeded in restraining them and establishing some kind of discipline. The ceremony that took place that night in the house of *Patlo* is said to have been the most spectacular ever witnessed in Bella Coola. One old man who, as a mere lad, had attended, grew eloquent as he spoke of the lavish display. Unfortunately, he had had no part in the rites and could remember none of the details except that his childish mind was amazed at a dance in which a masked performer, representing a whale, vomited grease on the fire to give light. *Tcibsa* did not return home immediately, but remained in Bella Coola until spring when the weather was more suitable for travelling.

This exchange of hospitality virtually ended all hostility, although the Bella Coola and other tribes of the central coast still regard their northern neighbours with dislike and suspicion. Between 1880 and 1890 a party of Rivers Inlet people went to Kitlobe to prepare olachen grease, for which purpose a number of Kitkatla had also camped there. Among them was *Tcibsa*, a descendant of the warrior chief whose exploits have been recounted, and his nephew. One day the latter was gambling with *Mitaw·a*, a Rivers Inlet youth who had recently been initiated into the *kusiut* society and was consequently decorated with a cedar-bark collar. *Mitaw·a*'s luck was amazing and some of the Kitkatla's friends asked him why he continued to play with a man who was clearly in such close contact with the supernatural that he could not lose. Heedless of this advice, *Tcibsa*'s nephew continued until finally, losing his temper, he

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seized his adversary's decorations and threw them on the ground. It is well known that anyone who does so, even if it be the wearer, will be punished. *Mataw·a* was prevented from fighting by his recent initiation, but he shamed his opponent by returning his winnings. The next day the Rivers Inlet people left for home without stopping to collect grease, since *Mataw·a*'s father, *Patlos*,[9] thought that it would be dangerous to linger in the neighbourhood of *Tcduoa*, who was angry at his nephew's defeat and the insult shown to him.

The Kitkatla remained at Kitlobe for the olachen season and then returned home. Soon afterwards *Tcduoa*'s nephew fell ill, and died in spite of the efforts of the most powerful shamans. They attributed his death to *Mataw·a*, and *Tcduoa* swore revenge on the Rivers Inlet people. The latter, hearing of this, avoided the Kitkatla as much as possible, although the establishment of British rule had made open warfare impossible.

One July, a number of years later, a party left Rivers Inlet to hunt sea-lions on Virgin Rocks. The captain of the canoe was a Newitte man who had married a Rivers Inlet woman, and with him were nine Bella Coola and several Rivers Inlet people including two female relatives of *Mataw·a*. In a heavy fog they passed their destination, and when, having realized their mistake, they turned back, they found a party of Kitkatla encamped on the rocks. The northerners made protestations of friendship and lent them tents. When they had settled down, the Kitkatla suggested target shooting as a recreation, although their real motive was to exhaust the ammunition of the Rivers Inlet people. When this sport began to pall, the two parties gambled till nightfall, when they stacked their muskets together as proof of mutual trust and went to bed. A Kitkatla half-breed, who had taken the lead in making amicable overtures, now learnt that his companions planned to slay the Rivers Inlet people; he tried to dissuade them, but was told that interference from him would only cause his own death. One of the Rivers Inlet men, *Qa'ākils*, suspicious of treachery, declined to sleep with his fellows and spent the night in the canoe, his musket and two shells beside him. His fears were well-founded; at dawn the Kitkatla cut down the tents of the Rivers Inlet people and clubbed them to death with axes as they were struggling under the folds. *Qa'ākils* was wakened by the turmoil and fired twice, each time killing a Kitkatla, but his ammunition was then exhausted and he was shot down. The murderers dug a large hole on the beach, threw in the corpses of their victims and rolled a heavy log over the top. Unknown to the others, the half-breed wrote on this in English that something lay below. The Kitkatla made an effort to hide the

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[9] No relation of the Bella Coola chief with the same name.

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marks of the tragedy and then returned home, hoping that suspicion would not fall on them.

As time went on, the people in Rivers Inlet began to worry at lack of news from the hunters. A passing traveller reported having seen smoke on Virgin Rocks, and this reassured them temporarily, but when several months had passed a search-party was sent out. One of the crew was a Carrier who had married a Rivers Inlet woman and had long resided there, but had not forgotten his knowledge of all that pertained to woodcraft. On arrival at the island, they found the canoe of the missing party drawn up on the beach above high tide, although there was no trace of their friends. The Carrier went ahead to investigate, warning his comrades to remain at a distance. He found the marks of buck-shot, smoothed over as if to obliterate them, but not sufficiently effaced to hide them from his sharp eyes. This attempt at concealment indicated foul play, and the Carrier called his companions and pointed out the signs to them. None of the sea-lion hunters had carried ammunition of this kind, but it was known that some Kitkatla had been in the vicinity about the time of the disappearance and were armed therewith. As a matter of fact, the marks were actually those of the shot with which *𝔔a'ăklis* had been killed. The Carrier next found potato peelings, trodden into the earth by boots; none of the hunters had taken foot-wear with them, but it was known that such had been worn by the Kitkatla. Having made these discoveries, the search-party returned home. Foul play was suspected; everything indicated that it had not been a struggle between members of the same party, but there was too little evidence to convict the Kitkatla.

A few weeks later a Bella Bella chief happened to be in Rivers Inlet and told the people that he had met a Kitkatla canoe returning northwards with two coffins. He had asked who were dead, but though they told him, he judged that the party had been engaged in some illegal operation from their reticence concerning the cause of death. Still later, a young Bella Coola travelled to Vancouver on the steamboat with a Kitkatla who told him of the slaughter, ignorant of his confidant's tribe. Finally, the Kitkatla half-breed, who had opposed the killing, began to drop hints of what had happened. In former times this would have led to war, but the evidence was not conclusive enough for a court of justice. The Kitkatla informed their Indian Agent that they feared an attack from the Rivers Inlet and Bella Coola, and asked him to lead a peace delegation to the former's village. He did so,[19] much to the surprise of the missionary established there. The conference led to nothing; the Kitkatla denied all knowledge of the fate of the missing hunters, but the suspicions of the Rivers Inlet and Bella Coola were increased rather than

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[19] No attempt was made to verify this statement from official documents.

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lessened. This ill-will has continued up to the present time. In 1920 word reached Bella Coola that *Tcibusa* had approached a Quatsino chief and asked him to spread the rumour that the missing party had been drowned at sea, at the same time admitting what had taken place. A year later a half-breed Kwatcino, hunting on Virgin Rocks, happened to unearth the bones buried beneath the log. There the matter rests for the moment as far as the Bella Coola are concerned, but they express the opinion that the continued ill-will may cause bloodshed at any time.

It must be remembered that the above account of this recent friction with the Kitkatla is of a partisan nature. No attempt was made to learn the Kitkatla side of the matter, so that the version here given may or may not be the truth. It has been inserted as an illustration of Bella Coola attitude, and of the manner in which, formerly, doubts, fears and suspicions led to war. This would certainly have been the case in the present instance but for the restraining influence of the white man's rule.

KWAKIUTL WAR

B K 648 721 K [622]

Only slightly less feared than the Kitkatla were the Kwakiutl-speaking peoples, especially those inhabiting Knight's Inlet, Kingcome Inlet, and Blunder Harbour, who were known collectively as *Djaldàtmx*. As *Tcibusa* § was feared among the northern raiders, so was *Siwid* among the southerners. Bella Coola itself was too difficult of access and too densely populated to be successfully attacked, but *Tàl'io* was subject to constant raids. Even more disconcerting was the constant danger of lurking foemen; one year it would be a hunter who was surprised and killed, the next a party of women would be carried off while picking berries.

B [712]

The raiders became so bold that the inhabitants of one of the *Tàl'io* villages decided to defend themselves by building a stockade. Everyone assisted in the task, so that the fortification was soon completed. It consisted of a fence of vertical logs with a platform running around near the top, on the inner side, on which the defenders could stand, and a water-gate through which canoes could enter at high tide. It surrounded five or six houses and was planned as a place of refuge for all the *Tàl'io* villages. One of the tree-trunks brought for the stockade was hollow, and there was considerable discussion as to whether it should be used, but finally it was set up with the others. A Kwakiutl who was visiting *Tàl'io* at the time took notice of this weakness, but no one seems to have suspected that he would inform his friends of it when he went home.

B K [726]

The summer after the stockade had been completed the Kwakiutl discussed the usual raid on *Tàl'io*; one of the principal chiefs opposed an expedition on the ground of the reputed strength of the defence, but

§ [a famous Tsimshian chief - ANALYST]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Kwakiutl NE10

he was over-ruled by the popular wish and the raiders set out. They had chosen an opportune time, since most of the people were absent hunting and fishing; in fact, three men and three children were the sole occupants of the fortified village. They saw the approaching marauders in the distance, closed all openings, and prepared to defend themselves. The Kwakiutl felled a large tree and with this as ram attempted to batter down the gate. It was too strongly built, and while struggling with it, the attackers offered excellent targets to those within. One of them, *Smmq*, was a good shot and took heavy toll. Convinced that the gate was too strong for them, the Kwakiutl turned their attention to the hollow log; their ram failed to shatter it and they again suffered heavy casualties. Nor had the defenders escaped scatheless. One of the three was struck by an enemy bullet, another fell from the fighting-platform and accidentally shot himself, while *Smmq*'s powder began to fail. Fearing that all was lost, he told one of the little boys to open a concealed rear door[48] and flee into the woods with the two smaller children. The three managed to escape unobserved from the village and hid themselves under leaves. The Kwakiutl did not know how weakly the stockade was defended, and *Smmq* disguised the fact by rushing from one part of the platform to another and calling out in various tones as if a number of people were speaking. He could fire only occasionally on account of shortage of powder, but the ruse was effective and at last the raiders withdrew, carrying their dead with them. Two of them wandered into the forest instead of accompanying their comrades; they must have died of starvation, since their corpses were found in an emaciated condition several weeks later.

B K 648 726 [721]

Not content with defeating the raiders almost single-handed, *Smmq* embarked in a small canoe and cautiously followed the course which he knew they must have taken. His children had been slain by the Kwakiutl during a previous raid, a circumstance which had so embittered him that he regretted the escape of a single one of them, and was determined to treat even their dead with ignominy. At length he noticed a number of crows congregated on a sandy beach, and rightly judged that this indicated the spot where the vanquished had buried their slain. *Smmq* exhumed one of the corpses and impaled it on a stake in a crouching position.

B K 648 727

Meanwhile the relatives of the raiders, expecting the usual easy success, had gathered near their leader's house. They were filled with apprehension when they heard a mourning song from the returning canoes, and anxiously called out to learn the fate of different members

K 727

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[48] Probably a mere chink in the stockade.

K
727 of the expedition. Some were able to answer for themselves, but to
many queries the reply came that the one asked about had been slain.

B This defeat did not by any means discourage the Kwakiutl, whose
forays continued as before. On one occasion, as they were returning
K homewards, they noticed several canoes drawn up on the west side of
721 South Bentinck Arm, not far from its junction with Burke Channel. The
raiders cautiously landed and stalked the unsuspecting owners, Bella
648 Coola who had landed to cut stakes for a salmon-weir. The Kwakiutl
bore down upon them with a rush; unarmed and taken unaware, the
Bella Coola could make no real resistance. One of them managed to flee
K into the deeper woods, but the rest were either killed or captured. Among
B the prisoners was a chief, *Sınd'lıxam*, who was wearing a handsome
648 marten-skin cloak at the time. His captor promptly appropriated this,
727 leaving the man naked.

Elated at this success, the Kwakiutl continued their return journey.
When near Kwatna, they encountered a fierce southeast gale which made
progress impossible; at this point cliffs rise so precipitously on either
side of Burke Channel that there is not even the semblance of a harbour,
and the only chance to weather the storm was by anchoring. There was
considerable anxiety as to whether or not the weight would hold, but it
did so, and the canoe remained tied, now carried to the full extent of the
mooring-rope almost against the cliffs, now to the same distance far out
in mid-channel. Towards night it began to rain and the cold grew bitter.
The crew, assured that the anchor would hold and weary from their exertions,
went to sleep, as did most of the prisoners. *Sınd'lıxam*, without
B covering of any kind, was too uncomfortable to follow their example. As
727 the canoe was tossed near the cliff, he happened to notice a narrow ledge
just above water, with a small cedar growing in a nearby cleft. Here was
a possibility of escape and the chief became alert at once. When next
the canoe was dashed near he examined the cliff more closely, and decided
that it might be possible to scale it. At any rate death was better than
captivity, and he determined to make the venture. As the craft came
shorewards again, he plunged overboard into the rough water and
succeeded in grasping the tree-root with the aid of which it was an easy
matter to pull himself to the ledge. The surf was breaking over it and
he was bitterly cold, but he managed to reach another root and to scramble
up to a second ledge. From it he gained a wider projection where he
could rest in comfort. His escape had been unobserved, and as *Sınd'lıxam*
looked downward he could see the canoe tossing to and fro at the end of
the cable; there was a large boulder near him, and he thought of tipping
this over to sink the craft, but refrained out of consideration for the prisoners.
From this point the climb upwards was comparatively simple,

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Kwakiutl NE10

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and *Sınk'lusam* soon discovered a protected hollow where, having covered himself with leaves and rotten wood, he went to sleep. When he awoke in the morning the war-party had moved away.

Without clothing to protect him from thorny bushes, *Sınk'lusam* could not pass through the forest, so he climbed above the tree-line and made his way to the west side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from the place where he had been captured. With much difficulty and many scratches, he made his way down to sea-level and paddled across the fiord on a log. Then he climbed up once more, and crossed the mountains to Bella Coola above the tree limit. The one survivor of the attack had taken the same route when bearing the evil tidings. Women were wailing and weeping when a naked man was seen coming down the mountain-side; it was *Sınk'lusam*. They welcomed him as one returned from the dead; in earlier years he had boasted that, if ever captured, he would escape, and it was recognized that he had made good his promise.

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The defeat at *Tāl·io* rankled in the mind of *Siwid*, who made another attack on the stockade a few years later. This time it was fully manned and the assailants suffered even more severely than before. As they advanced with a ram, one of the defenders fired a powerful charge and the bullet passed through the bodies of several of the raiders. This so discouraged them that they dragged away the bodies of the slain and departed, having killed only two *Tāl·io* men. As they were going homewards, they chanced to pass beneath a precipitous mountain on which two young Bella Coola were hunting. The latter fired on them at long range and were fortunate enough to register several hits.

After this second failure, *Siwid* decided to make Bella Coola itself his next objective. With this aim in view, a party of Kwakiutl raiders set out one year. As is customary, they hid during the daytime when in hostile territory, and happened to be in a small harbour below Green Bay when a party of Kimsquit, *en route* to Bella Coola, landed there for water. As one of them, the uncle of a man of fifty in 1923, was drinking at a stream he was fired upon, whereat he hastily concealed himself. A skirmish ensued in which the same man was wounded in the arm. By this time he was some distance from the sea, and he tried to crawl back over the crest of a low ridge to regain the shore. Suddenly he felt a sharp pain in the back and thought he had been hit once more; he continued his flight till he found that his bark-cape had become ignited, and was the cause of the second discomfort. He threw it off and contrived to escape. Another Kimsquit man was wounded in the back but hid himself within a hollow tree.

After this trifling success, the marauders decided to return home. Early the next morning, when paddling down Burke Channel to the east

B K 641 726 of Kwatna, a woman called down to them from the upper slopes of the mountains on the south-east. She was one of a party of Kwatna people who were picking berries; their canoes were lying in a bay beneath, where the youths of the party were resting and sleeping, ready to climb up and carry down the boxes of berries as the women filled them. *Bilxwalaks*, the woman who had called out, had done so under the impression that those passing were Bella Coola, and though one of her companions recognized her error and bade her be silent, the intimation had been given. The raiders would have passed in mid-channel unaware that anyone was in the vicinity, but now they quickly entered the bay and slew the few lads who were with the canoes. Next they endeavoured to capture the women and started climbing up for the purpose, but as soon as they entered the woods, they lost sight of the fugitives who were on the open slopes above. One of the canoes was paddled back to mid-channel, whence there was a clear view so that the crew could call out and direct their comrades' pursuit. Two of the women had started climbing as soon as they saw the warriors turn inwards; they escaped over the mountains and reached Kwatna with word of the affray. With one exception, the others kept together and sought refuge in a narrow cave, the entrance of which they were able to defend; the attackers did not dare linger for a siege, so they too escaped. But *Bilxwalaks*, the cause of the whole disaster, was cut off from her companions and harried from place to place as she strove frantically to get away. When finally brought to bay, she struggled furiously and refused to be taken alive, so her throat was cut and the body decapitated. B K [727] [721] She was a member of a chief's family, a woman who had been confirmed on a good seat, so the murder was entirely contrary to all coastal customs. If she had been taken prisoner, she would have been ransomed and the matter would have ended, but her death demanded revenge.

When the two women who had fled overland reached Kwatna, a party of warriors set out immediately, but could do no more than bring back the women who had hidden in the cave. Meanwhile the Kwakiutl continued their voyage and encamped at Jacobsen's Bay where they watched a Bella Bella canoe pass up the channel towards Bella Coola. They concluded that the Kimsquit people, whose canoes they had destroyed, would hail this passing craft and thus reach Bella Coola with news of raiders in the vicinity. So it transpired, while almost simultaneously came news from Kwatna of the woman's murder, but by this time the Kwakiutl had reached home waters.

B 721 *Bilxwalaks*'s parents had been Kwatna people, her husband was a Bella Bella, and she had Bella Coola ancestry as well, so the members of these three tribes were all affronted by this killing of a chief. At Bella

Coola the important men of [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible] met at [illegible] and discussed the recent atrocity. *Pulte* was the leading Bella Coola chief at the time, but he alone did not attend the meeting at which all the others were present, though he sent a man to search a storehouse owned by the murdered woman on the south side of the mouth of Bella Coola River, near the former Hudson's Bay Company's post. *[illegible]* had a large amount of ammunition stored within, and this was brought to the house of *Pulte*. Next morning, the chief himself appeared, his face smeared with ashes and his hair tied in a top-knot with a [illegible]. This is done by anyone who has killed a man, and it was a clear intimation that *Pulte* had decided on war. He seated himself in the doorway of his house, a cocked musket in either hand, and announced that he would shoot anyone who passed on the sidewalk before him. For four days he sat there, neither speaking nor eating. He was *[illegible]*, so no one disregarded his wishes and the inmates even of his own house used the other holes for egress during that period. No other case is known of such an action, but *Pulte* could do as he liked, and he manifested his grief and determination in this spectacular manner. On the fifth day, he ordered drums to be beaten, and the inhabitants of the adjacent villages gathered; *Pulte* [illegible] to words: 721

"*[illegible]* has been murdered," he said. "She was a chief and my relation.* I am going to war. We shall see her own [illegible] and [illegible]."

The ammunition was distributed and the Bella Coola prepared for the expedition. 726

Owing to the prestige of *Pulte*, volunteers came streaming in, not only from Bella Coola itself, but from Kimsquit and *Tal'io* as well. No one was thoroughly acquainted with the geography of the Kwakiutl territory except a slave named, like the Kwakiutl warrior chief, *[illegible]*, though not, however, related to him. This man had lived among the Bella Coola for so long that he was thought reliable; he readily agreed to act as guide, only asking that his old mother be spared, a request which was granted.

After the usual delays, the expedition set out and spent the first night at Kwatna. Next morning, *[illegible]*, one of the leading warriors, tied his hair into a top-knot and smeared his face with ashes. He was a man whose bravery had been firmly established by the distribution of valuable presents. To show his valour, he stood up on the bench within [illegible] canoe and called out: 726 727

"Please fire at my top-knot. If you hit it and make it fall, so will we lay low our foes."

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*It is doubtful whether she was a kinswoman, but *Pulte* used the term figuratively in speaking of one who, like himself, was a person of importance.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Kwakiutl NE10

Bellabella NE5

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[illegible] different canoes until the foremost craft of the main canoes had arrived. This was continued until the whole flotilla, which had extended for nearly five miles, was massed in an irregular mass around the [illegible]. The captain of the last canoe was [illegible], a Fort Rupert chief and celebrated warrior who had risen to commanding position because he had Bella Coola blood in his veins and was unwilling to kill his kinsmen; he had been unable to dissuade his fellows from the expedition, but had determined to take little part in it himself. The reputation of this man was so great that it was decided by universal consent to leave the fate of the messengers in his hands. But when [illegible] arrived, the canoes were massed so closely that it could not come [illegible] the cause for the delay. He entered a small craft [illegible] to make his way to the centre of the throng, where he quickly sized up the situation and bitterly upbraided those who had failed to [illegible]. Then he donned his war accoutrements, killed a single Bella Bella silently and unemotionally, then withdrew to the edge of the flotilla. Thus encouraged, an attack was made on the unfortunate messengers. One of them unshipped the mast, stood in the bow and offered some resistance by swinging this around like a heavy club, killing one of his foes. Another plunged overboard and in the confusion managed to swim ashore. When the massacre was over, [illegible] called out in a loud voice:

"[illegible] will fall upon [illegible]. Take care. I am going home."

He turned and paddled homewards, followed by the other canoes from his own village. [illegible] to [illegible] his Bella Coola kinsmen, but none of his followers realized that. After some discussion, the whole expedition was abandoned.

The Bella Bella survivor eventually made his way home with the news which was received with great astonishment, [illegible] being virtually unknown. The ceremony itself was postponed and finally abandoned owing to the death of the [illegible]. No punishment was meted out to the offenders by a [illegible], either because [illegible] was committed against a foreign tribe [illegible], or because the offenders came from so many villages that it was impossible to isolate the guilty.

After this [illegible] himself made no more efforts to [illegible] the Bella Coola. [illegible] years later, when he was an old man, he made a [illegible] to establish friendly relations; he was welcomed and no more [illegible] were committed by his followers during their chief's lifetime. On his death, his son, who was also warlike in disposition, tried to stir up trouble but was restrained by the influence of the white men who had become dominant on the coast by that time.

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[728]

Carrier NE7

WAR WITH THE CARRIERS

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The only other people with whom the Bella Coola came into frequent conflict were the Carriers. Some of the latter used to spend the winter among the coastal tribes, and had even intermarried with them to a considerable extent, but their mode of life was so different that they were always viewed as foreign in thought and outlook. The Bella Coola despised them for their dirtiness, their fondness for unsavoury food, and, above all, for their ignorance of *kusiut* and *sisaok* matters. This distrust was mutual and not infrequently led to bloodshed. Owing to the location of the Carriers, they could not be reached by canoe, and the Bella Coola had no liking for long overland journeys. The mobility and relative lack of permanent villages made it difficult to bring the Carriers to bay, so that warfare between them and the Bella Coola usually took the form of a killing followed by a raid for revenge; continued hostility was virtually unknown. The people of the lower villages were scarcely affected, but in former times there seems to have been a considerable amount of intermittent fighting between the inhabitants of the upper valley and the Carriers living east of them.

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The following account, claimed to be historical, describes what was said to be a typical raid, followed by a counterattack.

> On one occasion all the young people of [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible] went on a picnic to a large, clear tract of ground up the valley, where they spent their time, playing and singing. Towards nightfall two young men, who had not come with the others, drew near cautiously until they could call a girl who was a friend of one of the two. She slipped off quietly from her companions and passed the night with her lover and his comrade in the woods. Towards dawn a party of marauding Carrier Indians swooped down on the sleeping picnickers who, unarmed and unprepared, could make no resistance. With the exception of two pretty girls carried off as slaves, all were slain. The three who had been in the woods hurried back to the villages with the news.
>
> The men of the four towns prepared for action. They went to the picnic ground and brought back the corpses for burial, then hurrying for

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Carrier NE7

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the first time that two girls were missing. Then they set forth on the track of the Carriers. The raiders, knowing that their assault could not have been heard in any village, and unaware of the three young people hidden in the woods, took no precautions. The first night the pursuers reached the camp where the Carriers had built a long, narrow fire of some kind of wood which emitted no sparks, on either side of which they had placed a long tree-trunk on which to rest their feet as they dried their moccasins at the flames. One of the Bella Coola girls was placed near one end of the fire, the other at the other end on the opposite side. Neither could sleep, but kept watching silently in the hope of being able to escape. Towards dawn one of them was overjoyed to see a Bella Coola scout peering around a tree-trunk. He motioned her to keep silent and she nodded to show that she understood his signal; then he went away. He told his waiting companions how the Carriers were resting with their feet over logs beside the fire, and suggested that they prepare heavy clubs. Having done this, the Bella Coola stole up behind the sleeping enemy. Each selected a victim and broke his leg, or legs, with a crash of the club. Not one of the raiders escaped, the cripples being killed without difficulty. In some manner this event was made the theme of a sacred song.

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The following unrelated incident is probably historically correct, in outline at least, since it is said to have taken place about 1880, and two of the participants were great-uncles of the man from whom the account was obtained.

One October a number of Carriers were staying at *Nusqalst*. Their chief was a certain [illegible] who was distantly related to the people of that village, though he had long since ceased to be regarded as anything but a Carrier. The river was running full and though there were many cohoe and dog salmon in it, they were difficult to catch on account of the rushing current. A *Nusqalst* man, [illegible], had laid in no abundant store of fish for the winter, but his [illegible] wife urged him to go for some fresh salmon and he ventured forth. A drifting log struck his canoe; he called out for help, but before it reached him, his craft capsized and he was drowned. [illegible] was a popular man and there was great grief at his untimely death.

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As was so often the case, jealousy was rife in *Nusqalst*, where a certain [illegible] had become wealthy. He was a good carpenter, and his father had been renowned as [illegible] for making *kusiut* masks, but of course such ornaments had been made in secret and many people wondered how he had acquired his fortune. This was enough to cause a certain amount of suspicion, and a rival determined to take advantage of it. This man approached [illegible] and said that he believed [illegible] was responsible

B C 648 72.1 B 55 6 75 6

for [illegible]'s death, that he was sure the [illegible] man was really a sorcerer, and had used some evil means to cause the fisherman's drowning. [illegible] was distantly related to the dead man and, thus incited, determined to kill [illegible] in revenge. That evening, as he was lying playing with his grandchild, the Carrier chief entered his house and thrust a musket against the unsuspecting man's chest. [illegible] quickly knocked down the muzzle so that the bullet, instead of killing him, merely passed through the fleshy part of his hips. [illegible] made no attempt to run away. In such cases it rests with the relatives of the injured man whether or not to take revenge, and they usually avoid beginning a vendetta unless actually driven to it. News of the assault spread down the valley, and two of [illegible]'s nephews, [illegible] and [illegible], went up to investigate. They were both men of considerable influence in the community, both celebrated warriors who had taken prominent parts in the unsuccessful attack on Kitlope a few years before. Realizing that their uncle was not seriously wounded, the two brothers carried him to their canoe, intending to take him home and to disregard the assault.

B C 648 72.6

During this time, the evil [illegible] man had been working on [illegible]'s fears by telling him that [illegible] was certain to kill him by magical means, until he decided that he could escape only by murdering the wounded man. His followers learnt of this and tried to dissuade him, fearing the presence of the two famous warriors. As their canoe was going downstream, it was caught in an eddy and tipped so that one musket and both cartridge boxes were lost. This seemed to [illegible] the chance for which he had been waiting; he fired from the bank and [illegible] fell dead, much to the consternation of his own followers as well as the [illegible] people.

If [illegible] and [illegible] had been ordinary men they would probably have fled downstream but, being duly celebrated men of valour, this course never occurred to them.[1] [illegible], who had one charge left in his musket, consulted his brother as to their course of action.

"[illegible]'s dead," his brother replied. "It is probably time for us to die as well. [illegible]"

Meanwhile, [illegible] had remained on the bank, laughing at the two [illegible]. [illegible] told him to be silent, then fired, instantly killing his uncle's murderer. The Carriers began to run to and fro on the shore, whence they could hear the two brothers talking to each other.

"Let us not think of escaping," said one. "We have displayed our character today. If we are to die, let us die."

B 703

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[1] The man from whom this account was obtained mentioned as a matter of course that celebrated warriors could never run away. When questioned further he emphasized that the public [illegible] of bravery made it utterly impossible for them to do that thing.

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NE4 Bellacoola NE8

Carrier NE7

The other [illegible], as they paddled in and landed at the bottom of the village, heedless of the fact that it was full of Carriers. The [illegible] people seem to have remained passive, but the angry Carriers came rushing forth and [illegible] spoke proudly to them:

"You would be dead [illegible] if we had not lost our weapons."

The two brothers walked slowly up the long sidewalk of the village, while the Carriers skulked around, uttering threats, casting stones and shooting arrows. Some of the latter stuck in their bodies, but long previously both [illegible] and [illegible] had eaten part of a [illegible] which had rendered their bodies impervious to such wounds. Arrived at the upper end of the village, they stopped and waited, making no attempt to defend themselves, until they were killed. At intervals throughout the day the Carriers treated the two bodies with ignominy, now thrusting spears into them, now [illegible] them, and all this time not a single Bella Coola dared even to protest, so much were they filled with fear of the Carriers who, when roused as they then were, fight like mad dogs. In the late afternoon one of the women thrust a [illegible] into the [illegible] of the fallen warriors. Even this insult did not rouse the [illegible] people themselves, but [illegible], one of their slaves, felt called upon to take action. Before being captured, he had been a person of importance in his own home and the Bella Coola had allowed him to become a leading member of the [illegible] society; in the course of time he had become entirely reconciled to his fate, and even thought as a Bella Coola which gave him the necessary assurance to address the Carriers.

[illegible]

This speech for the first time brought the enormity of their offence home to the Carriers. The actual taking of life did not affright them, but in their excitement they had overlooked what was to [illegible] the most obvious sin: they had passed and repassed on the sidewalk outside a house where a [illegible] dance was taking place. Thus reminded of the danger to which they had exposed themselves, the Carriers withdrew.

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[illegible]

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Carrier NE7
Kwakiutl NE10
Bellabella NE5

This account was obtained from a descendant of *Tsä-kmai* and [illegible] who emphatically vouched for its accuracy. Some of the incidents have doubtless been exaggerated, but there is probably a basis of truth, though the passivity of the *[illegible]* people is difficult to explain. The killing is said to have taken place about seventy years before 1923, so tolerably accurate conditions of it are not impossible. No punishment was meted out to the *[illegible]* Indians since the ritual error, the passing of uninitiated outside the house where a ceremony was taking place, was committed by strangers, not by inhabitants of the town itself.

A WAR BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF BELLA BELLA AND RIVERS INLET

The tribes of the central coast, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, and Rivers Inlet, were frequently engaged with enemies to north or south, but there was seldom serious bloodshed between one another. The following account, however, describes a conflict between the Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet people in which the Bella Coola were not embroiled.

[illegible] of the Rivers Inlet people are [illegible] whose [illegible] wild currants, eaten without grease. Their neighbours, the Bella Bella, consider both these articles [illegible] of one occasion which [illegible] briefly described, it was not [illegible] a custom for the hosts to [illegible] the Bella Bella did so [illegible] objectionable food of their guests. A [illegible] dancer, representing strangers, around the house [illegible]

"You are from [illegible]?" he asked.

"No."

"From Bella Bella?"

"No."

The dancer pointed to the south as to indicate the next question.

"You are from Rivers Inlet?"

"Yes."

"What do you eat there?"

Instead of answering verbally, the dancer drew from beneath his cape

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola

Kwakiutl NE10
Bellabella NE5

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a piece of dry and dirty salmon, and a few dried-up berries. The Bella Bella laughed uproariously at this exposure of their guests' diet.

The Rivers Inlet people, deeply insulted, said nothing at the time, but determined to repay the insult. When next they invited the Bella Bella to a potlatch, a similar performance was carried out with a masked dancer. When asked what he ate at Bella Bella, he drew forth some raw mussels and a lean crow, a bird which feeds largely on such shell-fish.

Insult was repaid with insult, and every year the abuse became more and more pointed, till the climax was reached at Rivers Inlet. A masked dancer appeared, disguised as a thin man who coughed persistently in a distressing, though amusing manner. After the usual questions, he said that he came from Bella Bella, and when asked his name, replied with that of a distinguished Bella Bella chief. The man was dying of consumption and had, therefore, been unable to attend the potlatch. This insult so angered the Bella Bella guests that they left immediately.

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On returning home, a council was held and immediate war-like action was determined upon. In their extreme anger, they even decided to disregard the safe-conduct granted to potlatch guests, and to take their enemies by surprise. Envoys were sent to invite the Rivers Inlet men to a ceremony of this kind and, hard on their heels, a war-party set out to ambush their guests. The Rivers Inlet people accepted the invitation although one man suspected treachery from the demeanour of the envoys; this was considered impossible, so he was laughed to scorn and the party set out. The Bella Bella had expected that their guests would camp for the night at [illegible] or Schooner Pass, and it was here that they had concealed themselves. Suspecting no danger, the Rivers Inlet people landed and were pitching camp when their treacherous hosts burst from cover and attacked. Taken unawares, they could offer no real resistance and only two or three escaped death. The spot has since been known as Slaughter Cove. The man who had suspected attack had refused to leave his canoe and so escaped the first onslaught, but he foolishly attracted attention by calling out:

"You are dogs to break a sacred law and attack those whom you have invited to a potlatch."

He was in his canoe at the time, and paddled away, thinking himself safe. Three craft were sent after him, he was overtaken and killed.

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[721]

The above account seems to include mythical elements, and it is probable that the cause stated for the attack is of that nature. It was emphasized, however, that the actual fight took place as late as [illegible], and was one of the last serious struggles on the coast.

CHAPTER IV

GAMES

517 19.1 [177] THE subject of games, lying on the border-line of social customs, was one which was not fully investigated. The Bella Coola, like all other peoples, have a number of sports and pastimes and although the old diversions are being forgotten by the younger people, many of the old men and women are familiar with those played in their youth. As isolated customs these may be of small value, but games of all kinds often preserve ancient practices and, as providing useful clues to the spread of peoples or of culture, are worthy of investigation. Unfortunately, lack of time made it impossible to give the subject the attention it deserved, and the few games here described must not be considered an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

526 [177] [226] Though less fond of competitive sports than the Indians of the Plains, the Bella Coola enjoy canoe-racing and wrestling. The former appears to have been an ancient diversion; picked crews from different villages competed amid the encouraging shouts of their fellows, and even now the younger men are anxious to display their skill in this respect. [177] Wrestling, which used to be common during all non-sacred gatherings, has almost entirely disappeared since the prohibition of the potlatch.

528 [517] The favourite sedentary pastime, enjoyed equally by young and old, is the telling of stories. Those of a sacred nature, especially ancestral myths, are reserved of course for ceremonial occasions, but the older men and women remember [13.5] many tales describing the exploits of birds and animals which are recounted again and again to the enjoyment of the listeners, although they may have heard the same recital fifty times. Children enjoy the companionship of some old story-teller and it is a common sight to see an old man or woman, surrounded by an eager group, explaining once more how Raven outwitted [767] his rivals or was himself led into difficulties. Many of these stories are somewhat indecent; others appear [illegible] foolish,

but the Bella Coola do not consider this aspect and the children grow up in an atmosphere entirely lacking in restraint of speech. Some stories teach a moral lesson, but they are recounted merely for entertainment. At the present time, no one knows who invented the stories; they have been handed down from dim antiquity and alterations or embellishments are considered improper, while the composition of new tales appears to be unknown. 581 [567] [178]

Another pastime is smoking. Among some Indian tribes the practice has a definite religious significance, but this appears to be lacking among the Bella Coola. Most of the men enjoy either a pipe or cigarettes, and some of the women also indulge, but few carry the habit to excess. All the older people affirmed that their ancestors had smoked for generations. Tobacco was not grown, but kinnikinnick, *[illegible]*, was used, and also a plant known as *[illegible]*. Another smoking mixture was bark of *[illegible]*, toasted before a fire until dried and brown, and then crumbled between the hands. These materials have given place entirely to imported tobacco, and the white man's pipe has replaced the native one. The latter consisted of a gooseberry cane from which the pith had been extracted; sometimes a small bowl of elderberry wood was added, but often the mixture to be smoked was simply placed within the end of the hollow cane. 276 [517] [246] [224] [177]

Adults, especially the men, are addicted to gambling. They are fond of placing stakes on a race or other trial of strength, and enjoy all kinds of games of chance. Some of the younger men have mastered a few of the simpler games of cards on which they spend a certain amount of time and money. The favourite gambling game, however, is one found in all parts of the coast, which is played with a pack of fifty-four [illegible] crabapple sticks. The rules are complicated and no effort was made to learn more than the general principles. The pieces are divided among the eight or ten contestants and concealed; then one player guesses in whose hand a certain marked stick is hidden. If he is successful, the others pay him a forfeit; if 525

525 he is wrong, he pays them. It is said that in former times each stick used to be painted with a special device, and that each had its own name; even now they are beautifully made and highly polished by much passing from hand to hand. The Carriers [171] play the same game but use beaver teeth instead of sticks. Formerly it was not uncommon for a man to bet his goods, his wives and children, and even himself at this game. If he lost, [567] the persons so wagered became slaves of the victor unless [575] redeemed by their friends. Women, too, gambled freely; in fact, neophytes recently admitted into the Kusiut society were the only ones to whom this pastime was forbidden.

526 Of actual games, the one most commonly played is [illegible]. As many as eight or ten contestants can take part, each providing himself with one, two, or three stones,[1] pecked down to the proper shape. Each is about six inches in length, three inches wide, flat on one side, and oval on the other, and rounded at either end. Before the coming of the white man, when the Bella Coola habitually used stone, it is said that one of these could be made in a few minutes. A mark is set up, and the first player throws his missile in the air, endeavouring to make it come to rest as close as possible to the target. The game is usually played on an open space near the village, but even on comparatively smooth ground there is great chance of bouncing and the thrower must gauge this possibility as well as have correct direction and distance. The second player likewise throws his stone, trying to land it nearer the target, or to knock away his rival's. In so doing, the latter, lying on the ground, is often broken, which puts its owner out of the game for the time being. When all have thrown, the one who has come nearest the mark is the winner. Sometimes each contestant throws two or more stones, and sometimes teams are chosen. Large numbers of broken gaming stones can be found [172] near every old village site, confirming the statements of the older men and women concerning the universality of the sport

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[1] Sometimes called [illegible], a name said either to be derived from that of a finger, or else the latter is derived from it.

in former times. *[illegible]* might almost be called the Bella Coola national game, although it is now (1923) seldom played. 524 [illegible]

A game with somewhat similar rules is [illegible], played with small wooden spears tipped with bone. When a number of men or boys decide to play, they choose two captains who in turn select their teams; any number can take part, provided that the sides are equal, but five each is usual. There is a special name for each player according to his position, and he bets against the corresponding member of the other team. A mark is set up, and one of the captains throws his spear, so that it will stick upright in the ground as near the target as possible. The rival leader endeavours to beat this, and if he fails, his second man throws, and each in succession until one comes closer to the goal than the rival captain. Then the latter's number two tries to beat the last thrower, followed by those on his own side until one succeeds or till all have thrown. The game thus ends when all of one side have thrown unsuccessfully. The winning side is, of course, the one to which belongs the player whose throw is nearest the target. Each member of the losing team pays his wager to his adversary and a second round is begun. 526 525

The sport is now rarely indulged in, but in former times games used to continue all day, and valuables were lost in the gambling which was considered to be a necessary part of it. Men used to observe ceremonial chastity to increase their chances of success and the expert was regarded with admiration by younger lads. The crack team of a village often used to visit other towns to compete against their representatives, and the games were attended amid frenzied excitement on the part of the supporters. This occasionally led to serious fighting. [illegible] [578]

Another sport of a similar type is archery; a mark is set up and each competitor tries to lodge his arrow as close to it as possible. This game has now entirely lost favour, the young men preferring a type of football played without strict attention to rules, but with great energy. 526

Bella Coola children, too, have their games and recreations, many of them of an imitative nature. Little boys enjoy nothing [857]

859 better than hunting birds and small animals with miniature bows and arrows, or snaring them in nooses of grass or string. Little girls make playhouses in which they cook wonderful meals of berries, with perhaps the addition of a wooden fish. On the whole, however, the children do not enter into play as boisterously as white boys and girls, nor do they seem to derive as much pleasure from it. In former times, when clothing was [152] scanty, small lads used to delight in picking nettles and beating [241] one another with the stinging branches; this must have caused considerable pain, but it was a point of honour not to cry out, and anyone, perhaps caught unaware, who showed discomfort, [524] was laughed at as a coward. Both boys and girls are fond of swinging, and even adult women sometimes find time to enjoy themselves by swaying to and fro at the end of a rope.

Young Bella Coola do not have as many toys as white children, and none of them is complex. Some girls have crude [576] wooden dolls, though elaborate figurines are reserved for use [531] in *kusiut* dances. Perhaps the most cherished plaything is a small puppy or, in recent years, a kitten, though the unfortunate animal is handled and mauled without consideration. A good carpenter may make for his son a wooden top or a bull-roarer, to the envy of his less fortunate friends. Both types of toys are said to be used in [576] *Nusmata* and at some *kusiut* dances the masked figures carry them to play with.

524 There is one game, *slili*, which the salmon are [825] said to delight to watch, and which is accordingly played by boys as soon as the first spring salmon have been disposed of with fitting rites. Each makes for himself, or is given by his father, a wooden spear with a projecting barb, fastened as shown in the accompanying sketch (see Fig. 5). A hoop of branches is made and thrown into a pool of stagnant, or slow-moving water, on each side of which stands a rival group of competitors. At a signal, all throw their spears simultaneously, with the intention of passing them through the ring, so that the barb of each will

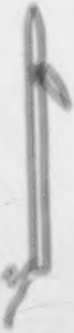

Fig. 5.
"The spear."

become entangled in the loop when drawn back by the cord 526 attached to the butt. A tug-of-war now takes place, those of each party who have caught the ring endeavouring to pull it to their side of the water. At last one or other is successful, and brings ashore the prize, with the dangling spears of their adversaries. Sometimes a lad with a fine weapon determines to retain possession of it at all costs and is dragged through the pool to the amusement of all.

TOURNAMENTS

It is doubtful whether the subject of tournaments should 526 be considered as belonging to mythology, warfare, or games, 628 since it has aspects pertaining to each. Several of the older 726 men affirmed that prior to the introduction of muskets, it was not uncommon for rival villages to stage fights according to definite rules, after full intimation of the attack had been given. This usually followed a period when angry comments had been made, but when the provocation was not sufficient for war. In such a case, the challenging town would notify its rival that on such a date an expedition consisting of, for example, twenty canoes would attack them with stones. Such an announcement could not be disregarded; the inhabitants of the two settlements prepared for action and wagered the [525] large number of valuables essential to all such competitions.

Many years ago, the Kimsquit people challenged the *[illegible]* to a tournament of this kind. It was first necessary to choose the contestants. Twenty of the strongest men were selected, each to stand in the bow of a canoe and hold a moose-skin to shield the paddlers behind. To test their endurance, each took his place and the canoes were paddled towards the shore while all the other inhabitants, lined up on the beach, showered stones on them. On this first test, six of the twenty fell beneath the avalanche of projectiles and were accordingly considered too feeble. Their places were taken by six others who were tested the same way the following day, and the same procedure was repeated until the twenty strongest men in all Kimsquit had been found. A certain *[illegible]* was chosen as

526 captain. Meanwhile the utlámq people had been carrying out similar tests, so that the picked men of both settlements were
628 ready on the appointed day.
726 A canoe was sent forward to give final notice of the approaching flotilla so that the twenty canoes from each settlement came together, fully manned and armed. First ten canoes on each side came to blows, the captain of each craft singling out a hostile one and dealing with it alone. The crews threw stones over and around their own bow-man, trying to beat down the moose-skin held up by their rival, or sometimes endeavouring to throw missiles high up into the air on to the heads of their foes. Whenever a bow-man was knocked down, his crew was defenceless and subject to serious injury if they continued the fight. If, however, they abandoned the conflict, the winners made no effort to punish them further, nor did they join in an attack on any other canoe; that each craft had one adversary only was the rule in all tournaments. In this instance, the Kimsquit people were victorious, no less than eighteen of their canoes defeating the craft opposed to them. *Sinaqait* returned home in triumph, singing his war-song, and was received with as much enthusiasm as if he had led a successful raid. Indeed the casualties, consisting chiefly of broken heads, were sometimes almost as serious as on a foray, but no revenge was ever claimed in case of death so caused. Instead of throwing stones by hand, it was sometimes agreed that they were to be cast by slings which made the tournament more dangerous. The warriors never left their canoes, so that hand-to-hand fighting was impossible.

It is probable that tournaments of this nature took place many years ago, although none of the men now living had ever participated in one, and many had never heard of this type of competition. Until relatively recent years, however, heavy moose-skins were held up as protections in the bows of canoes, and men were selected for the task of being pelted with stones in the manner just described.

779 One other type of game, string figures, was studied rather extensively. These are described in Appendix B.

CHAPTER V

STORIES

Raven Stories—Animal Stories—Snanaq Stories—Supernatural Stories—Catastrophic Stories — Historical Stories

IN addition to myths which have definite sociological importance, such as those which explain the procedure of dances 538 and other rituals, there are many legends which can best be 424 described as *stories*.[1] These do not belong either to individuals or to families, consequently they are more widely known than allegedly historical accounts which are the personal property of social groups. In the long winter evenings it is common to 538 see an old man or woman surrounded by young boys and girls listening attentively to some tale. An outburst of laughter always accompanies a humorous incident, no matter how many times it may have been heard. The narration is a mere pastime, an amusement which seems never to pall either on recounter or listener. Occasionally, a person of philosophical disposition will claim that a moral is taught by every story, and it is true that many of them point out some well-known experience of life, such as "The Biter Bit"; this must unconsciously strike the hearers, but any intentional didacticism is quite foreign to Bella Coola thought.

As will be seen, these stories contain a large number of fantastic episodes. The Bella Coola recognize this to be the case without doubting their truth. They describe events which took place long, long ago, when man and supernatural beings were in closer contact than at present; when man was able to understand the speech and actions of the birds, the mammals, and the fish. The people of today do not expect to have similar experiences now but, according to their point of view, there is no reason why the incidents of the stories could not have happened in the distant past. Frequently, different versions of the same legend are told by different men; each is

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[1] [illegible], a story or, more accurately, a piece of ancient lore.

531 certain that his account is the only accurate one, and ridicules his rival, but as no social importance is attached to the tales, an error in narration is a matter of small moment. Probably there have been instances in which an individual possessing [556] much wealth has transformed a story into a family myth, but it was impossible to obtain a concrete illustration of this; it is thought that this may have been done in former years, though of course such would be absolutely contrary to custom.

Stories can be conveniently divided into two types:

[825] I. Those in which the principal character is a mammal or bird endowed with human intelligence.

II. Those in which the principal character is a human being.

[825] [776] Many of the first type describe the adventures and misadventures of Raven. It must be remembered that the Bella Coola regard these stories as accurate statements of fact, and base their characterizations of many supernatural beings on their actions as recorded therein.

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RAVEN STORIES

HOW RAVEN BECAME BLACK

When Raven was being prepared for his descent to earth, *Älquntäm* told *[illegible]* to make him the prettiest of all the birds. When finished, he was adorned with many colours and was very handsome. But the vain Raven looked at himself and was not satisfied. First he asked that one arm might be changed, and when this was done as he desired, he asked for an alteration in one of his legs; and so on with nearly every part of his body. Finally, *Älquntäm* became angry, and told some of his assistants to throw ashes all over him. This made Raven a uniform black, in which guise he was sent down to earth.

RAVEN AND WATER OUZEL[1]

As he was able to assume any *form*, Raven, once upon a time, took that of a herald and went to the home of Water Ouzel, who, having spread a fine cedar-mat for his guest, proceeded to prepare a meal. He brought in a box, filled it with water in which he washed one of his own legs very carefully; then threw away the water, refilled the box and put in it the leg he had just cleaned. With his beak he pecked a hole in his ankle from which there spurted out a small number of salmon eggs. The host tasted these and apparently found them satisfactory, for he pecked again at his ankle and there came forth a large quantity of roe. Water Ouzel boiled these with hot stones and gave them to Raven. After eating, the guest left for his home, taking with him, as is customary, the unconsumed portion of the food in his host's box, inviting Water Ouzel to call for it on the following day.

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[1] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 93.

When Water Ouzel arrived at his house the next day, Raven spread for him a fine cedar-mat and began to make preparations for a meal. Taking the box in which yesterday's food had been served, he washed one of his legs in it. After changing the water, he pecked at his ankle and a few salmon eggs came out. He tasted these, then pecked once more, but only grease came from it. Raven, both angry and humiliated, took a stick and beat not only his ankle but his whole leg, until it was bruised, skinned, and very painful; still no roe came. In a quandary, he asked his guest to wait for a moment while he went outside, but instead of returning in a short time, as he had promised, he flew away and never came back.

Water Ouzel waited for a long time, then, losing patience, took his box and went home in disgust.

RAVEN AND WATER OUZEL

(*Second Version*)

Once upon a time Raven went to the home of Water Ouzel.

"I have come to pay a call," he said.

Water Ouzel politely asked him to sit down for a meal, which he at once proceeded to prepare. First he brought a small dish and placed it beside his ankle, which he struck with his hands four times. Out flowed enough salmon roe to fill the receptacle. Raven was intensely interested at this novel method of obtaining food, but at the same time was angry.

"That is not enough for me," he thought, but he said nothing.

When the food was cooked Water Ouzel gave it to his guest, but though Raven ate and ate, he could not finish the small dishful. The same quantity mysteriously remained. When he had eaten as much as he could he went home, taking the dish with him, and asking Water Ouzel to come to fetch it the following day.

On the next day, when Water Ouzel arrived, Raven politely invited him to sit down for a meal. He took the same dish and repeated

594 all that his guest had done on the preceding day, but though he pounded his ankle until it was battered and bruised, no roe came. At length Water-Ouzel went home in disgrace.

RAVEN AND SEAL[7]

Raven once assumed the shape of a herald and went to the home of Tending Seal, the fattest of all seals, who received him politely and prepared a meal. First he reached out a box to place near the fire and held his flippers above it so that the grease that exuded from them should drip into the receptacle. When a little had collected he tasted it and found it satisfactory, so he continued to hold his flippers to the heat until the box was filled with grease. Raven ate his fill and went home, carrying with him the vessel, and inviting Tending Seal to call for it the next day.

On the morrow when his expected guest arrived, Raven politely invited him to a meal. The host reached out the same box and held his hands exposed to the fire, so that the grease from them dripped into the container. When a few drops had fallen, Raven tasted them as Tending Seal had done, found them satisfactory, and again held out his palms. The heat began to grow uncomfortable. Raven turned and twisted his hands, putting them so close to the flames as to be burned, then drawing them back until they were blistered on both sides, but no more grease came. At length he desisted, and ran round the house as if he were looking for something he had lost. Tending Seal waited for a long time, but at length, becoming disgusted, picked up his box and went home.

RAVEN AND SEAL
(Second Version)

Once upon a time Raven went to the home of a young female seal, who politely asked him to take a seat while she made ready a meal for him. Raven agreed and watched intently while she obtained and prepared the food. Holding one of her flippers before the fire, Seal allowed the grease that ran from it to collect in a pan. This she first tasted, then gave to her guest. Raven was delighted, not only with a good meal, but with learning a new method of procuring food. As is customary, he carried away the dish in which his meal had been given him.

In a few days, when Seal came to his house to collect the pan, Raven invited her to stay for a meal and she consented to do so. Imitating her procedure, Raven held one of his legs up to the fire; a little grease dripped from it into the dish. He tasted this and found it pleasant so he held up his legs to the heat again, but though he kept them there until they were badly burnt, no more grease came. Seal waited and waited, until, becoming angry, she picked up her pan and went home in disgust. 594*

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[7] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 93.

RAVEN AND VARIED THRUSH[1]

Once upon a time Raven went to the home of Varied Thrush.

"I have come to call," he said.

Thrush, a woman, politely invited him to sit down for a meal. Then she took the box which she used for berry-picking, hung it on a projecting rafter outside the house, and began to sing. Instantly a few berries appeared in the box. She sang four times, and when she had finished, the receptacle was full.[2] Thrush placed the food before her guest, and Raven ate heartily. When it was time to leave, he picked up the box with what he had not consumed, and invited his hostess to come and collect it the following day.

On the morrow Thrush went to Raven's house, where he invited her to sit down for a meal. Then he made a hole in a corner of the house, placed the same food-box beneath it, and began to sing, imitating his guest's song. A few salmon berries were deposited and covered the receptacle. Again Raven sang, but this time the berries [illegible] the [illegible] and the box was filled, not with fruit, but [illegible]. Thrush was very angry.

"You tried to steal my method of gathering berries," she burst out. Then she picked up her box and went home, leaving Raven discomfited.

RAVEN AND BEAR[3]

Once upon a time, Raven went to the home of an old, large-[illegible] Bear and asked:

"In what month do you get fat?"

"I grow fat when they put up the sticks to dry the salmon," replied Bear.

"That is peculiar," said Raven. "I get fat that way, our families must be related."

He said no more, but waited patiently for autumn.

When the sticks were set up for salmon drying, Raven went again to Bear's house and said:

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[1] For another version of this story see Boas, p. [illegible].

[2] The Bella Coola say that when this bird sings, Raven, berries, animals, and fish gather in [illegible] to the [illegible]. [882]

[3] For another version of this story see Boas, p. [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

RAVEN AND WOLVERINE
(Second Version)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

he cooked and gave to his guest. Raven was delighted at this simple method of obtaining food, and when he returned home planned how to commence the halibut fishery. 534

A few days later Raven returned to Worm's house.

"Do you know your mother?" he asked.

"No," replied Worm, "my mother is dead."

"Do you know your father?" next asked Raven.

"No," answered Worm, "I have no father."

"Oh, you are mistaken," said Raven. "I have just been talking to your father and mother, they are over yonder."

"No," again replied Worm, "I do not believe you, I have no parents. I just appear without being born."

"No indeed," continued Raven. "It is you who are mistaken, please give me the pleasure of introducing you to your parents. Let me carry you to them, they will be delighted to see you."

Worm was most unwilling.

"No, you must be mistaken," he said. [illegible]"

But when Raven insisted, Worm at last consented to the wily fellow taking him on his back to visit his parents. Croaking happily, Raven with his passenger flew away towards the other side of the fiord. When they were in mid-channel, he began to turn sideways in his flight.

"Oh! Oh! Oh!" cried Worm in fear. "I will fall and be killed, I cannot swim. Oh! Oh! Oh! Please don't do that. I know I should fall like a stone."

Raven paid no attention to his appeals and Worm presently slipped from his back and fell into the water.

Raven flew back at once to Worm's house where he found the halibut line, baited it, and let it down through a hole in the floor as he had seen the fisherman do. Soon he hauled up a small fish which gave him little satisfaction, then he felt what seemed to be a strong bite, but when he drew up his line it was only a snag. He swore fiercely and threw it into a corner of the house. He did not know that this "snag" was really Worm who had adopted that form for the occasion. The little fellow got up quietly and, without attracting Raven's attention, shut the door and closed all apertures in the house, then caused the tide to rise through the floor. As the water became deeper, Raven floundered about frantically trying to get out, but in vain, until as it continued to surge upwards, he was carried to the roof of the house where he could do nothing but croak pitifully. Then Worm appeared.

"I nearly drowned you," he said, "because you tried to hurt me. If you try any more of your malicious tricks I shall kill you."

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Raven, who was terribly frightened, promised faithfully that he would be good henceforth. Wasm caused the tide to fall and Raven fled away home bedraggled and discomfited.

RAVEN AND BLUE GROUSE[illegible]

Once upon a time Blue Grouse gave a feast to which he invited all other chiefs, including Raven, who left early to show his disappointment at the food provided, the tender buds of evergreen trees. Soon after, Blue Grouse went hunting and killed many mountain goats, from which he obtained a large quantity of smoked meat and tasty grease. Again he sent a herald to invite all the chiefs to a feast, but when the message was delivered to Raven he answered rudely:

"No, I don't want to go. There will be nothing but evergreen buds."

"You are mistaken," replied the herald. "Blue Grouse has a large supply of goat meat and grease."

Raven did not believe this and still refused to go. On the appointed day, when he saw the people gathering at Blue Grouse's house, he began to worry, wondering whether or not he was missing a real feast. At length he sent a lad to see what was going on, and thus gained the news that a large supply of meat was about to be distributed. Greatly chagrined, Raven at once began to make plans to obtain a share of the delicacies. Without being seen, he went to the back of the house wherein the feast was taking place, lay down and cried out some words in a strange language.[illegible] The startled guests fled precipitately, and Raven likewise hurried home, where he lay down, telling one of his sisters to blow over him and his blankets a cloud of ashes from the fire, so that people would think he had not moved for a long time. Several of Blue Grouse's guests said:

"Let us go and ask Raven about the strange words which we heard. He is a smart man. Perhaps he can explain their significance."

When these people reached his house, Raven sat up and shook the ashes from himself, asking what they wanted. They explained their mission and Raven then wanted to know what the voice had said. They repeated what they had heard.

"Oh! Oh! Good gracious!" cried Raven. "That means that raiders are almost upon us. Take your children and run away into the mountains."

Not suspecting his duplicity, they all obeyed. As soon as he was alone, Raven rose and went across to Blue Grouse's house, where he sat and ate and ate, cackling happily. Hearing the sound, two of the fugi-

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[illegible] For another version of this story see Boas, p. [illegible].

[illegible] This account of the incident was garbled by a sophisticated informant.

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some began to wonder if Raven had not deceived them for his own ends. They returned stealthily and saw him gorging himself with the food. Without disclosing their presence, they stole away and informed their comrades. All came back and surprised Raven, who fled to his home, shamefacedly.

RAVEN AND BLUE GROUSE

(Second Version)

Once upon a time Blue Grouse sent out messengers inviting all and sundry to a feast, but Raven, thinking the food would only be buds, not fit for a man, declined the invitation. As the people were gathering, however, he began to wonder whether or not he was missing a fine free meal, so he sent one of his children to walk up and down outside the house of Blue Grouse and see the preparations. The child reported that there was an ample supply of grease, roots, and other delicacies. Raven, deeply chagrined, determined to steal the food, and presently evolved a plan. He went secretly to the rear of Blue Grouse's house and defecated, instructing his excrement to sound the warning for a war-party as soon as the guests had assembled. Then he went home and told one of his children to blow ashes from the fire over himself and his blankets to make it appear that he had been lying down for a long time. When he was in this condition someone entered and saw him. No sooner had the guests assembled in the other house than the excrement cried out:

"Raiders! Raiders! Raiders! They will be here any moment to make us slaves. Let us escape quickly!"

The terrified guests rushed down to their canoes and paddled across the river. Then Raven went to the empty house, gathered up all the food and took it home, croaking derisively. The people on the other bank, hearing his voice, said to one another:

"I wonder if Raven has deceived us; he is a smart fellow."

They sent a boy across to investigate, who found no food and no Raven. By the time the people had recrossed the river, Raven had fled.

RAVEN AND ECHO[illegible]

Once upon a time, soon after the first people came to this earth, Raven went to the home of Echo, a supernatural being, who lived in a fine large cave with a door. No one had ever been there before. Raven knocked, saying politely:

"Hello! Please let me in."

[illegible] For another version of this story see Boas, p. [illegible].

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Echo answered in the same words, which Raven took as an invitation to enter. Though he could see no one, the house was well stocked with meat, while to his amazement he saw blankets being woven, and cedar-bark being intertwined without visible human agency. He sat down. Presently some firewood rose and moved to the hearth of its own accord. The fire lit itself, stones jumped into it and a cook-box moved to a convenient place near at hand. Water emptied itself into the vessel, and when the stones were hot, the tongs picked them up and dropped them into the box. When the water was boiling, smoked goat meat came down from the ceiling, cut itself up, and went into the box. Berries and goat grease placed themselves before Raven, and when all was ready a spoon moved to him, the handle pointed towards his hand. The cooked meat dried itself and came to him. Raven ate heartily but was much puzzled, for he had never seen anything like this in his life. When he had finished the meal, he took away with him, according to custom, the box containing what was left. On reaching home he said to his four sisters:

"I have been to a house where there is a great abundance of everything, food, blankets, and so on, but no people. Tomorrow we shall go and carry off everything."

The sisters were agreeable. That night Raven was so excited he could hardly sleep, and at the first streak of dawn he roused his sisters and they set off in his canoe, Tahotl, which moved without apparent means of propulsion. On arriving at Echo's house they found the same state of affairs as on the previous day, all household occupations being carried on without visible agent. Raven seized meat and grease; his sisters took goat-hair blankets and cedar-bark articles which they at once began to carry out to Tahotl. When they had almost stripped the house, Raven suddenly felt the grasp of invisible hands which, in spite of his struggles, stretched him out on his back with legs apart. His sisters, who were then at the canoe, were also seized, one after another, and dragged into the house on their backs. Invisible fingers held apart their pudenda, which were thrust over Raven's nose until he was almost suffocated.

"Please stop!" Raven cried out. "I didn't know there was anyone here. I am almost killed."

"Why did you steal my food?" asked Echo. "Yesterday, I provided you willingly with a meal, and this is how you repay me. If you try any more of your malicious tricks I will kill you."

The four sisters, who had almost been pulled to pieces in the fray, cried out to their brother, sobbing:

"Why do you always lead us into trouble? We have been almost murdered and it is all your fault."

Meanwhile the hat was returning of its own accord to the house. When it was again in position, Echo released his captives, who fled discomfited.

His sisters upbraided Raven:

"Why don't you settle down at home instead of roaming around the country, getting into trouble?" they asked.

Raven, bruised and sick from the rough treatment which he had received, could not defend himself.

RAVEN AND ECHO

(*Second Version*)

Once upon a time, when Raven was travelling in the mountains, he stopped at the home of Echo. No one appeared to be in the house, yet various processes were going on without visible agency; blankets were being woven, with no one at the loom, and various articles travelled from one part of the house to another without apparent cause.

"I should like a meal," said Raven.

As the words re-echoed, he felt something touch his arm and guide him to a seat.

The firewood seemed to split of its own volition, piled itself in place, and flames appeared; meat came down from the rafters and cut itself up; the bucket travelled out through the door and returned filled with water which emptied itself into a box into which heated stones from the fire plunged mysteriously, as did the meat, all without apparent motive power. When the meat had boiled sufficiently it came into Raven's box and a spoon moved into his hand. As he ate his meal in silence he thought:

"This is too good a chance to miss. I must come with my sisters to carry off the riches of this house."

When Raven returned home he told his four sisters to prepare for a trip into the mountains, and the following day they set off. They reached Echo's house without difficulty and were delighted at the quantity of goods inside, apparently awaiting their pleasure. The five busied themselves tying blankets into bundles, filling boxes with meat and grease, and collecting other articles.

When almost ready to leave, the eldest sister suddenly shrieked aloud. Something had grasped her and forced her on to her back, but nothing could be seen. In succession the second, third, and fourth sister was similarly treated, and finally Raven himself. The eldest sister was lying on her back, with legs apart and genitals exposed, when her brother was

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dragged so that his head was thrust against her organs and his beak stuck up her anus. She asked him what he was doing, and he replied:

"I cannot help it."

In the same way he was carried to each of his other sisters and in each case his beak was thrust far up her anus. Then the five were lifted and bundled unceremoniously out of the house. As they hurried away, Raven, looking back, saw that the goods which they had packed up had returned to their original places.

RAVEN AND HIS SISTERS

Once upon a time Raven saw a large number of berries growing near his house and determined to get a good supply.

"Get ready and we shall go berry-picking," he said to his four Crow sisters,"[illegible] *Ḳākāmitl, Tcma·st, Wāls,* and *Āspinkt.*

The next morning they started off in Raven's self-moving canoe, *Tahnkl.* Berries were plentiful, the Crow sisters were industrious, and before long the craft was almost filled. There was ample for all, but Raven, greedy as ever, began to scheme how he could defraud his sisters of their share. The canoe was lying in a small inlet of the ocean, whence they would have to pass close to one of the points on their way home. Raven went to the end of this point and defecated. He had the power of giving speech to anything, so told his excrement to call out as they went by:

"*Wina, wina djutsmā·nk.*" "Raiders, raiders are coming."

Raven returned before his sisters even noticed that he had been absent. All day the pickers toiled, and when they set out for home at dusk, the canoe was heavily loaded. As they were rounding the point, they were startled by the warning cry, at which Raven pretended to be terrified.

"There is great danger," he called out. "You had better flee while I will remain to guard the canoe."

The four women fled up the mountain slope, leaving Raven alone in the canoe. This was what he had wanted; he sat down comfortably, gorging himself with the berries, and croaking happily. One of his sisters heard this and wondered whether her brother might be deceiving them, but she was afraid to return immediately to find out. When he had eaten all that he could stuff into his stomach, Raven smeared himself with crushed juice to resemble blood, and lay down motionless in the bottom

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[illegible] They were non-marriageable female relatives, not his own sisters.

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After some time, his sisters plucked up courage to return and saw him lying there. One of them became suspicious and began to sing:[49]

[illegible][50]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Peculiar is	it is as if	the blood	of our cousin.

A free translation of this is: "How strange is the blood with which our relative is covered!"

Raven raised himself slightly, as if in great pain, and answered:

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
You are wickedly stupid!	You are wickedly stupid!	It must be

[illegible]	[illegible]
like blood,	a war-party did it.

Then he groaned[51] feebly and became silent.

At first his sisters did not believe his protestations and repeated their doubting song, but he assured them that he was speaking the truth so they were finally convinced. Raven instructed them to carry him home very carefully. On reaching the beach, all their fellow-villagers came crowding around, and when they learnt of their chief's injury, they loudly expressed their sympathy. Raven continued his groanings, and when he had been taken to his house, one of the neighbours began to sponge away the blood. Much to his surprise, he could find no wound; then, looking more carefully, he recognized that the "blood" was only berry-juice. He proclaimed his discovery in a loud voice, and everyone laughed at Raven, thus caught deceiving his sisters.

RAVEN AND HIS SISTERS
(*Second Version*)

Once upon a time, Raven set out with his four sisters to gather berries. They travelled in his self-moving canoe, *[illegible]*, which soon brought them to a place where fruit was plentiful. Raven, greedy as usual, wanted to eat at once the berries which his sisters brought to the craft, whereas they wished to keep them for winter use. When they insisted, Raven determined to outwit them by fair means or foul. When next the women were out of sight, Raven went ashore and arranged for a voice to cry:

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[49] Recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The same method of recording has been used as for dance songs, although the vertical lines indicate only word groups, not phrases called out by an announcer.

[50] The singer entered into the spirit of the song, and prefaced his rendition by calling out: *Wine wine djatomé* ai: "Raiders, raiders are coming."

[51] This is indicated on the record by grunts, groans, and calls of *[illegible]*, an ejaculation of pain.

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"Brother, Brother, Brother," when he and his sisters were in the canoe. A little later, Raven suggested that they move to another spot. As they were passing the place where he had landed earlier, the sisters were startled by a cry of:

"Brother, Brother, Brother."

Raven pretended to be greatly alarmed for his sisters' safety and told them to go ashore quickly and hide.

"I will remain to defend the canoe," he said.

As soon as the women had followed his advice, Raven began to gorge himself with berries. He ate and ate, chuckling his delight, until only a few were left. Then he smeared himself with red berry-juice, which resembled blood, and lay down in the bottom of the canoe as if dead or dying. After some time the sisters plucked up courage to see whether or not their brother had been killed; they stole forward to a point of vantage from which they could see him lying stretched. The [illegible] was [illegible] sight, as they hurried down and began to weep over their brother. Presently one of them noticed that the blood seemed peculiar and commented on the fact, whereupon the seemingly dead Raven replied:

"That is the blood of a warrior."

Then they wept again. Soon, however, one of the sisters noticed that the berries had disappeared, and she cried out that their brother had deceived them. When they examined him more closely, they found that he was stained, not with blood, but with berry-juice. Raven flew away discomfited.

RAVEN AND HIS STEP-DAUGHTER*

Once upon a time, Raven's wife died. Instead of being grieved, he was so delighted that he sang:

"How lucky it is that she died, otherwise I would have divorced her and remarried."

Soon he took another wife, a widow with a young daughter. Raven tried repeatedly to sleep with his step-child, but she was unwilling and he could not seduce her. Determined to succeed at any cost, he went into the forest to gather firewood.

"How do you burn?" he asked dead and dry Alder.

"I give great heat but no sparks," replied Alder.

Next he went to Cottonwood with the same query, and received a similar answer.

"I throw off many sparks which do not fly far," said Spruce.

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*For another version of this story see Boas, p. 93.

[illegible]

[illegible]

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Raven was not interested in any of these replies and put the same question to Cedar.

"I jump out at woman's bodies," answered the tree.

Raven put his head on one side and pondered for some time, finally deciding that if nothing better were available he would return to Cedar. Then he asked Fir Bark, who replied:

"I give off great heat. If I am piled in pyramidal form, which is the best way of using me, I make a practice of jumping on the private parts of step-children."

"You are the very wood I have been seeking," said Raven.

Highly delighted, he filled his canoe with fir-bark and went home.

Raven built a blazing fire in his house and called his wife and her daughter to come and enjoy it. As they were sitting naked, with legs apart, a great chunk of bark leapt out from the fire, struck the girl, and burnt her pudenda severely. The mother, alarmed at her daughter's injury, asked all her neighbours whether they knew a cure for such a burn, but none was able to assist her. Finally she asked her husband.

"Why, yes," Raven replied. "A cure for this has been handed down in my family. There is a small plant growing in the woods which, when inserted in the passage, heals a burn there. But to be effective, the sufferer must go there to the forest. You can tell the right plant because it moves back and forth as if pivoted in the ground."

After giving this advice, Raven went into the woods where he lay on his back and covered himself with leaves, his penis alone being exposed. Then he called his step-daughter to come in that direction. As the girl limped painfully along she saw what she took to be the plant in question because it was bending back and forth. She was preparing to squat down on it when she saw her step-father's two beady eyes blinking at her from their leafy covering. She ran away home and told her mother.

Raven, fearing his wife's anger, prepared an alibi by smoothing a bone spoon, and, as a double precaution, by pretending to be very sick. He lay on his bed, groaning and panting, and told everyone that he would be dead within a day. Towards morning he seemed much worse, and gave final instructions to his wife.

"Do not marry your daughter to anyone of this town," he said. "Choose for her a Kimsquit husband because food is more plentiful there, and the men are all wealthy. As for myself, I am almost at my last gasp. When I die, do not bury me in the ground, place me in a tree at some distance from the village and do not fasten the cover of my coffin too tightly."

When the sun rose, Raven appeared to be dying, and soon all signs of life ceased. After waiting a short interval, his fellow-villagers disposed

334 of his body as he had requested. As soon as the [illegible], Raven, who had only pretended to be ill, climbed forth from his coffin and fled [illegible]. Then he went to another town. The folk soon noticed, as the people passing his place used to hold their noses and say:

"How soon has died the pretender!"

Meanwhile, though living in another village, Raven had not forgotten his step-daughter. He planned to return as soon as possible, and, in order to be taken for a Kitimaat chief, taught a number of his friends the following marriage song:

[illegible]

When they had mastered these words, the party set out and one evening reached the village where the girl was living. As soon as the inhabitants heard the song, they knew that a Kitimaat chief had come for the purpose of marrying Raven's step-daughter. They did not recognize the prospective bridegroom because of the large hat which entirely covered his face, and a blanket which hid his body and feet. A feast was given at which Raven, as chief of the visitors, sat in the most honoured position. He still wore his disguise, but sometimes a gust of wind lifted a corner of his mantle so that those sitting on the floor caught a glimpse of his ankles.

"How peculiar," they said. "His feet are just like Raven's."

No one was suspicious and the girl was married to her step-father. That night she went to bed before her husband, but, as Raven began to crawl in beside her, she caught a whiff of his foul breath. Realizing who it was, she jumped out, and called to her mother:

"This is your husband."

Raven was so frightened that he fled to another country.

RAVEN AND [illegible] FIRE

Once upon a time, Raven invited a woman to his home and built for her a fire of some kind of wood, probably fir, that emits numerous sparks. It was so cold that he told his guest to warm herself by sitting naked over the blaze; as she did so, a flaming brand jumped out and burnt her severely between the legs. Raven, pretending to be much distressed, said

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Recorded on song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim [illegible].

The meaning of this word is obscure. It is possible that it was Raven's step-daughter's name, though this is not remembered in any other connection. In any case, it is clear that it conveyed to the hearers that it was this girl who was meant.

That is: The one who is about to be married to a Kitimaat man.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible], namely, a small plant growing in the woods which could be recognized by its pendulum-like movements. 339*

"If you place yourself so that it enters your vagina, you will be cured," said Raven.

As soon as he had given this advice, he went into the forest and lay down on his back, covering with leaves all but his eyes and penis. So the woman, [illegible], followed the signs to and fro so that she thought it was the plant she was seeking; she was about to squat upon it when she saw his beady black eyes. She swore at him for his deception and Raven flew away, croaking loudly.

He was, however, more than ever determined to seduce the woman, and soon made a medicine of ashes which he swallowed; then he returned, saying:

"I have just taken a very strong medicine. If you sleep with me, you will be cured."

"Be that so," she replied, "but your penis is much too long. I will let you hold intercourse with me if you insert it only a little way into my vagina."

To show the small size of her vagina in relation to his penis, the woman exposed herself. But he strongly urged her, on the pretext of curing her, that he must insert the organ just a little further, and then he asked that she help him by moving her body in unison with his. Having agreed to this procedure, they held intercourse, the woman giving as much help as possible.

"I am most grateful to you," she said when they had finished. "My [illegible] is entirely cured."

The woman became pregnant, and with greater rapidity than usual, a young raven grew up within her. On Raven's suggestion, she agreed that he should pull out the young one through her vagina. First he thrust his arm down her throat and pushed the young raven into her stomach(?), then he inserted his beak into her vagina until he could reach the beak of the fledgling bird which he drew forth, croaking, from between her legs.

Raven soon took his child away to his own house, where presently a large number of ravens came to visit him, for he was their chief.

"What is that peculiar smell that comes from your child?" they asked. "Where did you get him?"

"I stole him from a woman," replied Raven.

He refused to allow the other ravens to live in his house but told them to stay in the mountains, and there to mark places where dead deer or mountain goats were to be found, so that he, their chief, might go there to eat.

P: McIlwraith T.F (1922-1924) 1948
[illegible] Bella Coola [illegible]

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One day Wolf crippled a mountain goat by biting its legs, but in the pursuit both hunter and hunted fell over a cliff and were killed. When some of this double supply of food was brought to Raven by one of his slaves, he and his son went to secure it. The young one took some of the meat and flew away with it to his mother, who, recognizing the food as her child's, realized what he had brought. The two sat down to a meal, and the young raven never returned to his father.

RAVEN AND THE ONE-LEGGED MAN

Long, long ago, a man named *Kitsime*, of mixed Bella Coola and Bella Bella lineage, lived on a small island near the head of Cascade Inlet, where he had a fish-trap. He had only one leg, but in spite of this handicap was wealthy and prosperous. Raven noticed this, and thought that with his two legs it would be an easy matter to despoil *Kitsime*. Accordingly, he went to the latter's house and began by humbly assisting him. Once he had gained a footing in the establishment, however, Raven began to act as director, ordering *Kitsime* about as if he were a servant. One day as they were taking salmon from the fish-trap, *Kitsime* became angry at Raven's continued orders and pushed him into the water.

Raven pretended to be insulted, and suggested a fight. The type of combat used to settle disputes of this sort resembles wrestling, since the contestants grapple, and the loser is he whose feet are first shifted from their position. Raven suggested this kind of contest, thinking that, with his two legs, he would have an easy victory. *Kitsime* agreed, and the two clinched. At first they swayed back and forth, to and fro, without either being able to shift the other, but gradually *Kitsime* began to swing Raven until he could hardly keep his foothold. When in imminent danger of losing it, he cried out that *Kitsime* had moved his foot; it was a false accusation, for the other had swayed on his one leg but had not shifted it. *Kitsime* denied having made any movement of his foot but claimed that Raven had shifted his, and finally succeeded in flinging his antagonist into the water. Raven swam ashore, wet and bedraggled; he flew away and never came back.

RAVEN AND THE DANCER

There was once a woman, *Ma'olsa*, who was a remarkable dancer, the most expert ever seen, so wonderful that people used to come from far and near to see her. On one occasion she prepared to give a dance at a time when Raven was completing a river canoe. He was very busy, carefully reducing the sides to the requisite thickness by burning them, and check-

[illegible]

ing the fire when necessary with our knives. At this juncture several people invited him to go to see Ską'clha, but he was so intent on his work that he refused, adding rather brusquely that he had seen her before. The people, indignant at Raven for his discourtesy, decided to punish him. While the dance was taking place they sent the boys to him saying:

"This is the most wonderful dance, a new type, we have never seen anything like it."

Raven decided that he must go, leaving his canoe as it was. When he came in, the conspirators asked Ską'clha to dance harder than ever, while they beat time violently on the floor. She entered into the spirit of the plot, and danced as she had never danced before. Raven, who had never seen anything to equal it, was enthralled. Presently the two boys whispered to him that his canoe was on fire, and that he must attend to it at once or it would be ruined.

He answered, "Shut up! I am enjoying this wonderful dance."

When the dance was over and he had returned to his canoe he found that they had spoiled it; it was past repair.

The dialogue between Raven and the conspirators has become a kind of song,[illegible] used jocularly on many occasions.

Raven answers their invitation by saying:

[illegible] | Ską'clha
It stings and increases in her movements | Ską'clha

That is: Ską'clha is both stingy and a poor dancer.

When Raven has accepted the invitation and gone to the dance, the two lads whisper to him:

[illegible] | [illegible][illegible] | [illegible]
Come, | Raven, | the fire has spread too far in your canoe.

Enthralled by the dance, he replies curtly:

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Never mind! | It is too good | that [illegible]

That is: The [illegible] is too wonderful.

RAVEN AND HIS SON

Once upon a time, Raven made a boy of gum to whom he gave life and whom he called [illegible], "Gum." In cold weather Gum was lively and ready to get up in the morning, but in summer he was always listless

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[illegible] This was recorded as song VII D 14b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

[illegible] The vocative of [illegible].

#33[illegible] because she was unable to [illegible]. Accordingly, Raven was constantly on his guard to [illegible] she did when it was [illegible]. One day, when clouds and brilliant sunshine alternated, the two went to the woods to gather firewood. Raven left Cloth in the canoe while he went into the forest, at intervals calling out to ask if she was still all right, and each time receiving a satisfactory answer. When he returned to the canoe with the first load of wood he found Cloth unharmed, so went back for more without trepidation. Four times he brought back loads of wood, and each time kept calling during his absence, and each time she was all right. During the next trip, however, he received no answer, and, hurrying back, found nothing left of Cloth but a puddle in the bottom of the canoe. In great grief he returned home. His friends asked him where Cloth had gone, and Raven told them of his loss.

RAVEN AND SOCKEYE SALMON*

Once upon a time Raven went to the home of Sockeye Salmon, a very beautiful woman, and sat down while she proceeded to prepare a meal for him. First she built up the fire, then brought a basin, poured some water into it, and washed her hands. Forthwith, a large number of salmon appeared in the dish. She cooked these fish, taking care not to remove the heads, and gave them to Raven for his meal. It was the first time he had seen salmon caught in this way, and he had watched the proceedings intently. He secreted in the roof of his mouth a bone from the back of the salmon's neck, and at once his hostess began to feel ill.

"I think you have stolen something from the fish," she said to him, but he denied the charge indignantly:

"No, indeed! Not only am I innocent, I do not even understand how to act dishonourably; it is contrary to my nature."

Sockeye Salmon did not believe him, and insisted on searching his mouth, but she did not take sufficient care to find the small bone hidden against his palate. Then she became distressed, for the abstraction of the bone caused the loss of her [illegible]. The various people in the house said to their guest:

"If she does not get that bone back she will soon die."

They too searched Raven but without success. When there seemed to be no hope for the [illegible] woman he drew forth the bone from its hiding-place and restored it to her. Sockeye Salmon at once recovered, and soon afterwards Raven went home.

For some time Raven dreamt every night of the beautiful Sockeye Salmon and, concluding that he could not be happy unless he married her, he went to her house and broached his subject. Sockeye Salmon replied in the affirmative:

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*Boas, p. 94, has recorded a somewhat similar story.

"Yes, I will marry you, if you are really a good man. I should be afraid of any who might hurt me, especially as I am not quite like you."

Raven assured her that he would be careful in his treatment of her. They were married and went to live in Raven's house. Visitors soon [illegible] over the question of food. Raven, greedy and lazy, had expected his wife to see that the house was kept plentifully supplied with Sockeye Salmon, but this she declined to do, so that he was driven to spearing small fish, which he refused to share with her, or anyone else. Then he [illegible] to give food to friends who [illegible] in the house. The first time this happened his wife, [illegible] with her stingy husband [illegible] sympathized profoundly. Sockeye Salmon asked her friend to bring a dish into which she poured water and washed her hands, causing many Sockeye Salmon to appear. These she took and cooked, being careful not to cut any salmon bone. On two occasions Raven's wife did this, each time inviting the people and giving them a meal during her husband's absence, but saying nothing to him about it.

One day Raven returned unexpectedly and found dried sockeye salmon hanging in his house. He asked the other occupants where it came from, as his wife never went fishing, but the answer he received was:

"You are the only one of us who has been catching salmon, and you have been spearing just small fish, one at a time. Even those you will neither sell nor share."

Raven was not satisfied and determined to spy upon what was happening in his house during his absence. One day he announced that he was going to examine his nets and went off in the proper direction, but soon returned to watch through a crack in the wall what was going on within. When he saw his wife produce and cook salmon for all the people, he burst angrily into the room.

"You have wronged me greatly," he exclaimed. "Why have you not helped your own husband in getting food?"

His wife did not reply but one guest answered on her behalf:

"You never shared your catch with her nor with us, why should she share with you?"

Another continued:

"Give up your evil and selfish ways. Your wife has always kindly shared her salmon with us."

Raven was silent. That night as he lay in bed his wife told him to make a fish-weir at a certain point. He began the following night and worked steadily for several days until it was ready. Then Sockeye Salmon went to the beach and wiggled her toes in the water. From her feet there these were innumerable sockeye, of which Raven caught a great abundance in his trap. He gave away many of them, generously, but still had enough to fill his house with drying salmon. Following his wife's instructions, he did not remove the heads from the bodies.

These were so closely adjacent to the roof that they had to be hung in three tiers over the fire, and in the crowded places Raven was often troubled by his long hair becoming entangled in their teeth. At this he swore secretly, afraid lest either the salmon or his wife should hear him. One day his hair became so badly snarled in the teeth of one of the salmon that he tore off the head of the fish which had caused him such annoyance, thinking that his wife would know nothing about it. But when she came into the house she cried out:

"I am sick. Someone has been injuring the salmon."

She asked her husband if he had done so, but he indignantly denied the charge. At last she discovered that he had been the offender, but said nothing to him about it. Waiting until Raven was out of the house, Sockeye Salmon asked the people to help her purify the fish by making a fire on which she placed her own [illegible] feathers. Then she left the house and began to whistle. At once her drying salmon left their places on the frames and followed her from the house to the beach.

Raven, who came up at this moment, pursued his wife to the shore of the ocean, where she lifted up the water as if it had been a mat and dived beneath, followed by her salmon. She became a fish once more and swam away. The heart-broken Raven tried to follow, but could only splash into the water, not penetrate beneath it as the woman had done. Thus he lost both wife and fish.

RAVEN AND SOCKEYE SALMON
(*Second Version*)

Raven and his four Crow sisters, whose names were *Ḳakamil*, *Trwa st*, *Ẹqünda*, and *Wix*, lived on the banks of the Dean River, to which they had been attracted by the abundance of trout. One day, when Raven was spearing fish, he saw in the water a beautiful Sockeye Salmon woman, with whom he immediately fell in love. When he told her of his affection she came ashore, assumed human form, and they were married.

Raven strewed fresh sand on the floor of his house and did his utmost to make his supernatural bride comfortable. Knowing the wishes of the salmon, she told her husband never to pull or cut the heads from any that he caught. Raven promised to obey, and then he asked a favour of his wife. She had beautiful hair, hanging luxuriantly to her hips, of which he had long been envious. He asked his wife to make his hair grow like [illegible], which, with her supernatural power, she was able to do. She reluctantly granted his request, and Raven became very proud of his splendid locks. 594*

Next year, when Raven caught sockeye salmon he obeyed his wife's instructions by carefully hanging the fish up to dry without removing the heads. One day, however, his long hair became entangled with the teeth of a drying salmon, and in a fit of anger he wrenched off its head, throwing it outside the door. His wife was so vexed and grieved that she cried and cried until her face was swollen and Raven became frightened at her continued lamentation. After he had left the house, Sockeye Salmon told her sisters-in-law to make a fire and put on it all her personal possessions. She said that she intended to leave that night, and that the smoke would animate her husband's salmon, but not those caught by his sisters. When it was dark she carried out her threat. She whistled, and Raven's fish came to life; then she ran to the river, raised the edge of the water as if it had been a blanket and plunged beneath, followed by them.

Raven tried in vain to pursue, but lost both his wife and his salmon.

ANIMAL STORIES

Raven is more frequently endowed with human characteristics to serve as the central figure in stories than any other bird or mammal, but the following are examples of similar tales centring around other figures.‡ 598 825

MINK AND CAT-FISH

594*

Once upon a time, long, long ago, before men and animals had grown so unlike one another, Mink went to the home of a Cat-Fish woman, who politely invited him to stay for a meal. When he had finished eating he said to his hostess:

"Are you afraid of anything?"

"No," she replied.

"Are you not afraid of Grizzly Bear?"

"No," answered the woman again.

Mink repeated his question with regard to Wolf, Black Bear, Wolverine, Cougar, and all the other fierce animals, but Cat-Fish assured him that she feared none of them. At length he asked:

"Are you afraid of Owl?"

There are no true cat-fish in Bella Coola; the species so designated is probably one of the sculpins. [136]

He meant the western horned owl.

‡[See pp. 414-493. — ANALYST]

#534 "Mink! Don't speak of him," she replied.

The answer increased her fear and Mink resolved to take advantage of what he had heard. With that aim in view he went to Owl's house and said to him:

"Please lend me your blanket."

By this he meant the appearance and attributes of Owl himself. Owl was unwilling to let him have it.

"Oh no," he said. "My blanket is not strong. It may get torn if you borrow it. Besides I have only one, which it would be most inconvenient for me to lend."

"Oh, please," Mink urged. "I should take the greatest care of it."

At length the good-natured Owl yielded sufficiently to his guest's constant appeals to allow him to put on the blanket and go outside, so that its owner could judge whether or not Mink could "hoot" well enough not to disgrace Owl.

Mink, who was very clever, performed so satisfactorily that at last the owner Owl lent him his blanket, with some misgivings. As soon as he had assumed the borrowed plumage, Mink flew swiftly towards the home of Cat-Fish, hooting as he went. While he was still at some little distance, she heard the dreaded sound and threw on the fire dried salmon, which is a deterrent to Owl, but powerless against Mink. As the hooting came nearer and nearer, Cat-Fish grew more and more terrified, until when it was close to her house she fastened the door securely. Mink broke it to pieces and rushed through to seize her. Cat-Fish thought herself fortunate in being able to escape through the wreck of her door into the water. When she passed Mink in the narrow doorway, Owl's blanket which he was wearing was torn, and the borrower was afraid, remembering how the owner had begged him to be careful of it.

The dishonest Mink concealed the rent as well as he could; then took the blanket back to Owl's house and hung it up, without mentioning the accident, so that the owner did not discover the tear until after Mink's departure, when it was too late to complain. Mink returned and took possession of the house of Cat-Fish, with its rich contents of food. The thief was undisturbed, as Cat-Fish has continued to live in the water until the present day.

THE ADVENTURES OF MINK

Once upon a time, Mink was sitting at the end of a point which projected far into the ocean. From his seat he saw a salmon jump at some little distance.

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"Oh, dear!" he called out. "If I were a salmon I shouldn't be so foolish as to jump away out there. I should always keep near the shore."

The foolish salmon listened to this advice, and when next he jumped, it was a little closer to the shore. Mink, pleased at the success of his ruse, continued to urge the salmon to come over a little nearer until the stupid fish became stranded among the projecting rocks, where Mink clubbed it to death, gratified at the success of his hunting.

Mink carried away the salmon to a suitable spot for cooking, where he built a fire and roasted every morsel of it, head, tail, roe, and all. He was very greedy. As the fish cooked, it emitted an appetizing odour, and Mink took a stick and pointed to one piece after another, singing as he did so:

"I wonder who will eat that fat?" and answering himself, "Mink will eat it."

He smacked his lips in anticipation. But presently he became sleepy and decided to lie down for a few minutes, while the salmon was cooking. He slept soundly, with mouth open. Attracted by his snores, some mischievous boys came along, who carried off all Mink's nicely cooking salmon, and smeared some of the roe over the points of his teeth. Then before they went away, they cut off his castor, which protruded from his body, near his rump.

When Mink awoke, his first thought was of the fine meal which should now be ready. He looked at the fire, but to his intense annoyance and grief, he did not see the salmon. Then, happening to run his tongue over his lip, he felt the morsels of roe.

"Perhaps I ate the salmon," he said to himself, puzzled.

"No," he went on," I couldn't have eaten it," for he realized how hungry he was.

"Yes, I must have eaten it," he said, as he again felt the morsels of roe on his lips, and between his teeth.

"No, I couldn't have," as he felt the emptiness of his stomach.

Puzzled, uncertain, and most unhappy, Mink finally ran away.

He had not gone far when he saw a number of boys playing on a smooth piece of ground. They were rolling something to and fro, and as Mink watched from a hiding place, he saw that their toy was his scent gland. He determined to regain it. When he came into view, the boys, who did not recognize him, invited him to join their game and Mink gladly agreed. He waited until his castor was thrown to him, then he pushed it back into place and ran away as fast as he could. The boys tried to overtake him, but failed.

MINK AND CLOUD

#538

Once upon a time, Mink said to Cloud:

"Won't you marry me? I should like it immensely."

"Yes," answered Cloud, "I am quite agreeable if you are brave enough. But I think you will be sorry, because I am not like you."

"I will risk that," replied Mink, "because I desire you very much."

Mink jumped up to Cloud. It chanced to be a windless day and the clouds were lying in a thick belt around the mountains, so he was quite comfortable, and spent the night with his bride. But next day, when a wind blew up, his wife began to disintegrate. Mink jumped from one patch of cloud to another, but as the wind increased they became more and more scattered and smaller, until, finding none to support him, he fell with a crash into the ocean. The fall did not kill him, but he was so badly shaken up that he swam slowly back to land and never again sought his wife.

THE CUNNING OF MINK

Once upon a time, long, long ago, a number of women left Kimsquit to go into the mountains to gather a fern, [illegible], highly prized for food. An expedition of this kind was always regarded as a picnic, so that a number of young men asked to be allowed to accompany them. They consented, but stipulated that Mink was to be excluded, because of his offensive smell and objectionable habit of emitting wind. Mink, deeply insulted, resolved to work mischief. When the others had set off he followed secretly. Several times different members of the party smelt an offensive odour, resembling Mink's, and mentioned it to their companions.

"No, it cannot be," the others answered. "Mink has neither the strength nor the courage to follow where he knows he is not wanted."

At dusk the young men dug a large hole near a river bank to cook the fern, which is prepared in the following manner:—A large fire is built in the pit and stones are thrown on, which gradually fall, red-hot, to the bottom. Then the remains of the fire are raked out, a layer of grass is placed over the stones, and on it is deposited the fern; this is then covered by a layer of sand and on top of that is built a huge fire, which must be kept going all night. By evening the arrangements were complete and the fire was blazing. The women and men had a pleasant time playing together and at length went to sleep.

This gave Mink the opportunity for which he had been waiting. As is well known, he has power over rain which is included in his ancestral myth. Not only does he do all his hunting and travelling when it is raining, but he has the ability to cause a downpour. He began to sing:

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"[illegible]," "Please come too."

Then it began to sprinkle, then to rain more heavily, and steadily increased until there was a torrent; the streams overflowed their banks, put out the fire and drained them into the beds, ruining the fern. The women who had been sleeping protected only by their cedar-bark cloaks, suffered considerable inconvenience and discomfort. All night it rained, and the next day also, making further fern-gathering out of the question. After a wet, uncomfortable period, the young people were forced to return to Kimsquit without obtaining the food for which they had set out. Mink grinned to himself. The women, who suspected he had caused their discomfiture, asked all the people who had remained at Kimsquit whether or not Mink had been seen during their absence. As nobody had seen him, their suspicions grew almost to certainty, but there was no evidence of his having followed the party, so he escaped the punishment that would have been gladly meted out to him.

Not long afterwards a war party bound for Kimsquit passed the home of Crab, a woman, who called out to them:

"Please kill that villain, Mink."

Mink, who was hiding within ear-shot at the time, came out as soon as the party had passed, and said fiercely to Crab:

"What do you mean by trying to have me killed?"

"I said, please take care of my dear Mink, and make him bright and shining like the sun," she replied falsely.

"That is a lie," said he, fiercely.

He seized Crab by her arms and legs, pulled them from her body and tore all into small fragments which he threw into the ocean.

"Stay there and serve as food for men," said Mink.

Since then, crabs have lived in the ocean near Kimsquit and have served as food for man.

HOW MINK TOOK HIS REVENGE

An old woman who used constantly to gather clams on the seashore was much troubled by Mink. One day when a raiding party was passing she asked their destination.

"We are going to fight Mink," they replied.

"That is excellent," she responded.

A few days later when they repassed her house on the return journey the old woman asked them if they had been successful.

"Yes," they replied. "We have destroyed Mink's town and made him a slave."

$534 "Cut him to pieces," she said, "as you would with salmon preparatory to smoking."

Mink was in the canoe and heard her injunction. He willed that the captain should steer a course near the shore, and when the canoe was rounding a point he jumped overboard and succeeded in reaching the land, where he sought refuge. The raiders chased him on shore so hotly that Mink was finally forced to hide in a small hole under the rocks, but on entering it he took with him some shell-fish. One of the pursuers, seeing the hole, thrust his spear down into it, but Mink smeared on this the entrails of the shell-fish. When the raiders saw the gore on the spear they concluded they had killed him and went off.

As soon as his enemies had gone away, Mink sneaked out and grabbed the old woman by the back of the neck, yelling in her ear:

"What did you call out to the raiders?"

"I told them to take good care of you," she replied, "that you were like a son to me."

"Did you indeed?" said Mink, who had heard perfectly what she said. First he bit off her legs, then chewed to pieces the rest of her body, shredding it into scraps which he threw into the water, telling them to become crabs.

This is the origin of crabs.

THE FIRE

[821] About three generations after the first people had come to this earth, Mink went up to *Nusmät·a* and asked *Älquntäm* to lend him his robe, so that he might take his place as sun. The request was granted, but, once given control of the sun, Mink guided the canoe-like luminary so close to earth that the rivers and oceans boiled, and it was only in the glaciers that the people were able to exist. At Kimsquit a man and his dog were turned to stone; it is said that they can still be seen in this *form.*[illegible]

Animals as well as men suffered from Mink's wickedness. Grizzly Bear's coat was singed to its present rusty colour; Weasel tried to hide himself but failed to draw in the end of his tail which was burnt black, a mark still carried by all his descendants; Clam closed his shell for protection and so was blackened only at its orifice; all the other creatures suffered in various ways.

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[171] [illegible] A similar belief is said to be shared by the Cowichan people of Vancouver Island. About 1900, a considerable amount of charred wood was found four feet beneath the surface of the ground, on the mountain west of the Necleetsconnay River. The Bella Coola consider this to be proof of the disaster.

THE FOLLY OF DEER

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Once, long, long ago, Deer was standing beneath a thick, spreading cedar which gave him complete protection from the weather. Snow began to fall in slow, large flakes which came drifting down one or two at a time. Idly he began to count them. At first it was easy, but the snow began to fall faster until he could no longer carry out his self-appointed task. Bitterly disappointed he cried for a long time.

DEER AND WOLVES

Once upon a time, Deer took his son with him in his canoe to gather firewood. At their destination he went into the forest to get sticks, leaving Fawn behind. On his return with a load after a rather long absence he asked the boy whether or not anyone had passed.

"Yes," answered Fawn. "A canoe filled with people passed not long ago."

"What did they say?" asked Deer.

"They *felt* me all over and said what a fine meal I would make," replied the son.

"Oh, they are stupid and harmless," said Deer. "They talk only through their anuses."

Now these people were Wolves, who, as everybody knows, have wonderfully acute ears. One of them caught Deer's remark and said to his companions:

"Deer is swearing at us. Let us go back and punish him."

They all turned back. Meanwhile Deer had again gone into the forest for wood, so that when the Wolves reached the canoe, Fawn was alone in it. The Wolf who was paddling in the bow took a mouthful of Fawn, the second took another bite, and by the time the captain in the stern had had his share, nothing was left but blood. Then the Wolves went away.

When Deer came back to find only blood he began to cry.

"Do you know who killed my son?" he asked the canoe.

"No," it replied.

Deer put the same question to the paddle, the baler, and the mooring-rope, but each responded: "No."

Deer had been weeping so much that a long drop of mucus hung from his nose, which he flipped off with his fingers and threw into the canoe. The mucus suddenly spoke up:

For another version of this story see Boas, p. 97.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

‡539 "Your son was eaten, bite by bite, by the Wolves, the people whom you scorned."

Deer hurried on the trail of the Wolves, alternately weeping and singing:

"When the mist was half-way down the mountain and there was no wind, at that time my son was slain."

Presently he reached the Wolf village, where a dance and feast were in progress in the chief's house. Deer was invited inside, and the chief asked him if he could dance.

"Yes," said Deer. "I will show you my celebrated dance, but I must have mussel-shells tied to my legs."

When this was done, Deer began to dance, violently, and, as he went on, his hosts fell asleep, one by one, until only an old woman remained awake. Deer danced immediately in front of her until she too slumbered. Then he took off the mussel-shells and began to cut the throats of the Wolves with them. When about half-finished the old woman showed signs of waking, so Deer hastily discontinued his slaughter to dance before her, and again she slept. All except a few had been killed when the old woman woke up and saw what was happening. She roused the others with a cry:

"Wake up! Wake up! Our visitor is murdering us."

Deer fled into the woods with Wolves in pursuit. They pressed him so closely that he climbed a tree, a feat which Deer could do in those days, but Wolves could not. The pursuers returned to their house and asked the old woman what they ought to do. She told them they must learn a song, which, when sung at the foot of the tree in which Deer had taken refuge, would cause him to fall down. So they sat down and she taught them the following words:

[illegible] | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*

This is said to mean: "Please sleep, over yonder, you big mountain goat."

[illegible]	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
Yawning,	yawning,	yawning,	yawning.

Recorded as song VII D 34, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

[533] This song is said to have been handed down for many years. The words are practically unintelligible and the Bella Coola do not profess to understand them. They assume that the melody was made by a supernatural being and that this fact accounts for the peculiar form.

It is clear that the singers were not to address the deer by name.

This sound is supposed to represent a loud yawn. The singer gasps it out as if on the point of falling into a heavy sleep.

539*

Kaalmuwai	*ditpitas*	*ixpimu*
Fall down,	one leg,	fawn.*

That is: May one leg fall down from the fawn.

The Wolves learnt this song very carefully, and hurried back towards the tree into which their quarry had climbed, repeating it at intervals to fix it in their memories; at one point a fallen tree spanned their path and as they jumped it they forgot what had been taught them. *Snutpmalmkaista* had stolen away their thoughts. Once more they went back to the woman, who again gave them the necessary song. This time they redoubled their efforts to remember it, but as before they forgot it when they leaped over the fallen tree. A third time the woman instructed them, and a third time they lost it, as they jumped the tree. On the fourth time of asking, the old woman inquired:

"Is there a fallen tree crossing your path on the way to the murderer?"

"Yes," they replied.

"Then," said she, "do not jump it. Go round the end."

On this, the fourth time they had set out, they went round the end, and did not forget what they had learnt. Deer was still in the tree under which they sang the song. The first time they sang it, one of his hind legs fell down; the second time the other hind leg dropped; on the third singing, one of the fore legs, and on the fourth, the body with remaining foreleg tumbled into their clutches. As each part fell they ate it up.

DEER AND WOLVES
(*Second Version*)

Not long after the first people had reached this earth and while they were still half men, half animal, Deer with his son went in a canoe to gather firewood at Elcho Harbour. The father went into the forest, leaving Fawn alone in the canoe. Presently four men and a woman came along. They were Wolves.

"You would make a fine meal," they said to Fawn.

When Deer returned, he asked his son, "Did you see anyone when I was away?"

"Yes," replied Fawn, "four men and one woman."

"Oh," said his father. "Did they say anything to you?"

"Yes. They wanted to eat me," replied the boy.

"They are bad people," said Deer. "They whistle through their nostrils which are like arrows."

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*It is clear that the singers were not to address the deer by name.

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Though the Wolves were about two hundred yards distant by this time, the woman, whose hearing was very acute, heard what Deer said to his son, and told her companions he had been saying nasty things about them. So they took their canoe and returned to the place where Fawn was waiting for his father, who had gone off into the forest for another load of firewood. The Wolves killed and ate Fawn, leaving only a little of his fur in the canoe. When Deer came back and found that his son had been devoured, he was filled with grief and wanted to know who had committed the murder. So he blew his nose, ejecting some mucus into the canoe, and asked it who were the criminals. The mucus told him; whereupon he went home.

A short time afterwards, the Wolves came to visit Deer in his house. He was very angry when he saw them, but people were always stopping and he could not refuse hospitality, since they pretended to be casual passersby. After Wolves had partaken of Deer's food they asked him to dance for them, as they had heard of his skill in that line. Deer was raging at this cool behaviour on the part of his son's murderers, so plotted revenge and sat down near the fire to think out the details. Finally he agreed to dance, but asked one of the spectators to bind mussel-shells on his wrists. The Wolves beat time and applauded as Deer performed beautifully before them. Soon he changed his dance to one that sent them all to sleep, and he at once began to cut the throats of all his guests with the shells. He had killed three of them when the woman with the sensitive ears awoke, and cried out at what he was doing.

Deer fled and climbed a tree, which all deer were able to do at that distant time. In the house there chanced to be an old woman who taught songs to the novices at ceremonials; she repeated for the remaining Wolf one, which, she said, would cause Deer to fall down from his refuge. She added that he must not climb over a log or he would forget it. Wolf learnt the song and hurried off after Deer, but, disregarding the instructions in his eagerness, he climbed over a fallen trunk and at once forgot the song. Back he rushed to the house, re-learnt it, and returned, taking care to go round the end of the prostrate tree. This time he remembered and, as he sang, first one of Deer's legs fell down, followed in a short time by his whole body.

HOW PORCUPINE PROSPERED

Once upon a time, Porcupine was sitting on the bank of a river, singing to himself. He wished to cross, but was afraid to swim. Presently, Caribou came up the river bank, swinging along at a tremendous rate of speed with his long legs.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

539*

"Why are you sitting there, singing to yourself?" Caribou asked Porcupine.

"I want to cross the river but I am afraid to swim," replied Porcupine.

"Would you like me to carry you over?" asked Caribou.

"Yes indeed! Thank you very much," said Porcupine.

Caribou seized him by the forelegs, swung him up on to his back and started to swim the river. But Porcupine was conspiring to murder his helper. In the middle of the stream he began to jump about, uneasily.

"Why are you doing that?" asked Caribou.

"Oh! Oh! Nobody has ever carried me by the forelegs before. I have always been carried by the hind legs."

"All right!" said Caribou, genially. "We will go back and start again."

They returned to the bank from which they had started, where the obliging Caribou lifted Porcupine down, and then swung him up on his back again by the hind legs.

"Oh, thank you so much," Porcupine said. "I will not be afraid any more."

This position was what Porcupine wanted, as it left his hands free. In mid-stream he began to pull out his quills and stick them into the anus of Caribou, who jumped at the sudden pain.

"What are you doing up there?" he asked.

"Nothing," replied Porcupine. "It is only my whiskers you feel."

Before they reached the farther shore, Porcupine had plucked out most of his quills and stuffed them into his anus. The unfortunate Caribou barely reached land before falling dead.

Porcupine, who had no knife to cut up such large game, sat down and began to sing:*

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
I have no knife | to cut up my booty | [illegible]**

Presently Wolverine came up the bank.

"Why are you sitting there singing?" he asked.

"It is the first time I have ever killed such a big animal," Porcupine replied, "and I have no knife fit to deal with it."

"I have a suitable knife," Wolverine eagerly made offer. "Let us share the game."

"Thank you so much," said Porcupine. "That will be fine. We can go to my house to eat it."

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*Recorded on disc VII D 47[illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
**This is said to be an ejaculation in the porcupine language.

They butchered the caribou and carried the meat up to Porcupine's house in a tree not far away.

"What a fine home you have," said Wolverine.

"Yes," Porcupine replied. "It took me a long time to build it."

Porcupine suggested that they cook the grease, and while this was being done he sent his guest to gather branches to lay over the meat. In his absence the treacherous host made a cut almost through a forked branch, from the under side, where it would not be noticed. After covering up the meat, the two began their meal. Porcupine kept pressing food on his guest who politely accepted it until he was bulging out with grease and could hold no more.

"Where is your toilet?" said Wolverine.

This was what Porcupine had been hoping for. He pointed out the forked branch as the convenience, adding:

"There is a rule here that after using it anyone must shake himself up and down."

When Wolverine had finished he shook himself as he had been told to do; the branch broke so that he fell down and was killed.

WINTER WREN AND GRIZZLY BEAR

Once upon a time, Winter Wren, who lived with his grandmother, asked her to give him some dry salmon, which he left soaking in the river over night. When he went to collect it next morning, it had vanished. The following night Winter Wren put out some more salmon, but it too disappeared before morning. This happened on several nights and he became so angry that he determined to watch. Presently, Grizzly Bear came along and gulped down the fish at a mouthful.

"You're a thief!" Winter Wren burst out angrily. "It is you who have been stealing my salmon."

Grizzly Bear, more amused than angry, replied:

"You impertinent little rascal! If I so much as sniffed you would be sucked into my stomach."

Winter Wren continued to scold Grizzly Bear in such an irritating way that he sucked him up through his nostrils, but the little bird, by no means discommoded, flew out through Grizzly Bear's anus, chattering impudently:

"Where did I get out?"

Grizzly Bear plugged up his anus and again sucked in Winter Wren. This time the little fellow took two sticks which he twirled until he had made a fire within Grizzly Bear's stomach. Then he removed the plug from the anus and flew away. Grizzly Bear rolled around in agony till he died.

HOW MALLARD DUCK GOT HIS NAME

Mallard Duck married Merganser,[49] but soon tired of her and discarded her in favour of Red-Breasted Merganser. The incensed one began to swear at her successor, but at once Mallard Duck joined in the defence of Red-Breasted Merganser and insulted his former wife.

"*Nāx! Nāx! Nāx!*" he said as if he were vomiting, imitating what he claimed had been a common practice of Merganser. But the jibe was so often repeated that Mallard Duck received from it his own name, *Nāxnx*.

THE MISFORTUNES OF JAY

Rocky Mountain Jay was a Carrier, who lived long ago, far away in the interior mountains. One summer the snow did not melt from above his house so that his only connection with the open air continued to be a small passage for smoke and breath. Summer passed and autumn came, with the ripening of the berries, but still the snow remained and Jay kept indoors, thinking it still was winter. One day a little bird brought him a sprig of ripe berries, chiding him for his lassitude and folly in staying where winter reigned, when he could come out into autumn.

"All you have to do," said the visitor, "is to get ready and force yourself through the snow."

Jay took the advice and plunged out through the drift into autumn, carrying his bow and arrows. As he looked back at his house under the snow he thought to himself how much better it was to be out in the open.

He wandered through the woods till presently he saw Black Fox asleep. He sneaked up to him, arrow poised on string ready to shoot, when he heard a voice:

"Do not shoot, Jay," it said. "Blood will spoil the fur. Build a fence round Fox with only a narrow opening in it, where you can put a snare."

The voice came from his anus. It was as if he had two minds, one located in that part of his body. Jay followed the advice and built a fence of dry branches around sleeping Fox with only a narrow opening in which he set a snare. When this was ready he built a fire to awaken Fox and frighten him into the noose; but the fence flared up so that the startled Fox was able to jump to safety over the shattered barricade. Jay was so angry that he beat his anus.

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[49] The species could not be identified. The Bella Coola term is *sk̓eliats*.

"But for your stupid advice," he said, "I should never have bothered with a fence. It is all your fault that I lost Fox."

Jay wandered on until he reached a lake on the surface of which were numerous water-fowl. Seeing them before he himself was observed, he sneaked back into the woods to formulate a plan of attack. He made a large bundle of moss with which he staggered into sight of the birds.

"Hi, Jay!" they called out. "What is the big bundle you are carrying?"

"It is something supernatural," he replied.

"Won't you let us see it?"

"All right!" Jay answered cunningly. "Let us make a house and then you can see it."

He marked out on the ground the plan of a house, complete even to the back-room, and as soon as he had finished, a building appeared on the place he had marked. Putting the bundle out of sight, within, he came to the doorway and called to the water-fowl who came trooping in. When Jay had built a blazing fire in the middle of the house to make it oppressively hot, he began to dance. He danced and he danced until one after another of his guests fell asleep; at last the only one awake was Grebe, an old woman sitting near the door, and even she dozed at intervals. Jay danced immediately in front of her till she slept soundly. Then he began to wring the necks of his guests, but when he had only half completed the circuit, Grebe awoke.

"Wake up! Wake up!" she cried out. "Jay is killing us!"

The survivors fled in haste. Jay's anus spoke again:

"Boil the birds with hot stones, but leave their legs projecting from the receptacle. Put a cover on and at intervals pull the feet. When they are cooked the flesh will fall away, and you will be able to draw out the bones alone."

Jay followed this advice and carefully covered the pot, leaving the legs sticking out. Then, weary with dancing, he went to sleep after telling his anus to wake him up should anyone enter the house. No sooner was Jay comfortably asleep than he was aroused by the voice:

"Jay! Jay! Get up," it said. "Someone is coming."

Jay jumped up hastily, but there was no one near. His mischievous anus had merely played a trick on him. He went to sleep again, but no sooner was he snoring peacefully than the warning was repeated. Again Jay got up, to no purpose, and again he returned to his slumber, muttering anathemas on his tormentor. When his anus woke him a third time he was so angry that he beat it for its pranks and once more went to sleep. Soon afterwards the water-fowl re-entered the house, but Jay's spiteful anus allowed him to sleep. The intruders took off the pot-cover, broke off the legs of the cooking birds, removed all the meat from the dish, and replaced it with stones. Finally they put the feet back into their original 539* position and fastened down the lid. Before leaving, they put some morsels of meat on the teeth of Jay, who was lying with his mouth open.

When the fire had died down, Jay awoke and said to his anus:

"Jay, I think the food must be ready. The fire has burnt low."

He went to the pot and grasped one leg, which came away easily; then did the same with several birds.

"Yes," he said, "the legs come away easily; the food must be ready."

But when he lifted the cover he found nothing but stones. Great was his surprise, especially since there was a taste of food in his mouth. Thoughtfully he picked his teeth.

"I must have had a meal after all," he said.

Then he felt his stomach.

"No, I can't have eaten."

Again as he picked his teeth his perplexity increased.

"I must have eaten," he muttered.

But his empty stomach drove him to the conclusion that he had not.

Deciding that his anus must have played a practical joke on him, he determined to punish it severely. He built a blazing fire, then turned his back to it and began to toast his rump. Alas! As the culprit suffered, so did Jay himself.

When he could bear the pain no longer he fled.

HERRING AND OLACHEN

Long ago, Herring had a small dorsal fin near his tail, as do olachen, trout, and salmon at the present time. At that period Olachen had no fin, but on his head a large mass of unruly hair which defied his efforts to brush it. The two agreed to trade, Olachen giving some of his grease for Herring's fin. That is why, today, Herring has no fin on his back, as Olachen has, and why the head alone of the former is greasy.

THE DEFEAT OF COLD WIND

Soon after the first people had come down to this earth, while they 539* were still semi-human, many were killed by Cold Wind, who destroyed 821 all the berries and green things, so that both men and animals were in dire straits for food. A meeting was held at which it was unanimously decided to attack Cold Wind, an enormous black-skinned man, living far to the north. A war-party set out but though some members of it penetrated nearly to his house, they were driven back by the severe cold.

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On their return they asked Halibut for his help, and he agreed to join a second expedition. This set off, many thousands strong, all the men and all the animals. Warned by previous experience, they wore heavy clothing, but in spite of it, many of them froze to death as they drew near Cold Wind's house. Those that finally reached it saw their enemy lying on his back and blowing a cold current from his anus. The young and brave men rushed in and pinioned their enemy on his back before he was aware of their approach. Halibut took up his position outside the door.

"What do you mean by killing mortals?" he said. "I am going to kill you for your evil deeds."

Cold Wind suddenly exerted his strength, threw off the puny men who were trying to hold him down, and rushed out of his house. But he did not notice Halibut, who was lying down just outside, and stepped on him, so that, slipping, he fell with a crash. This time everyone seized him so securely that he could not escape.

A general cry was raised, "Kill him quickly!"

"Please don't do that," said Cold Wind. "I will promise to blow for only one month in the year."

"No! No! Let us kill him immediately," cried his captors.

"I'll blow only for twenty days," offered Cold Wind.

"No! He must be killed," said the warriors. "We don't want to talk."

Cold Wind, terrified, offered in succession to blow for only ten days, four days, two days, and one day, but each proposal was greeted with howls for his instant death. At last when Cold Wind offered to blow gently in the mornings of one month, his captors agreed to release him.

That is why *tsinindawl*, the cold wind of the early morning, blows in March.

THE DEFEAT OF COLD WIND
(*Second Version*)

Long, long ago there was no summer and nothing grew in the land. All living creatures suffered from the perpetual ice, so they decided to attack Cold Wind who was responsible for this state of affairs. A raiding party set out, comprising all the plants, all the mammals, all the fish, all the birds, and all the men. They travelled to the north, where the cold grew so intense that the party suffered severely from it. Near Cold Wind's house, Halibut spoke to his comrades:

"I can deal with him more easily than anyone else. When he comes out of his house, make a noise to distract his attention, while I wriggle on my back towards him, to trip him up."

This plan was agreed upon. When they reached their destination, Cold Wind came running down a ladder from his house to send more frost and cold to destroy the reckless creatures who had dared to oppose him. 539* 821 While he was climbing down, the attackers called out, attracting his attention, so that Halibut was able to wriggle, unobserved, to a place at the bottom of the ladder. As Cold Wind trod upon him, Halibut moved, and his antagonist fell to the ground. He was seized by his enemies before he could rise to release more cold.

"What have you against me?" he asked them. "I visit you only twelve months in the year."

"That is too often," his captors replied, as they stretched him out on the ground to kill him.

"If you spare me I will visit you for nine months only," Cold Wind made offer.

Again he was told that was too much, and he must be killed. Cold Wind, terrified, proposed coming for shorter and shorter periods, six months, four months, two months, and finally for a single month, but each offer was refused, and followed by threats of instant death. At length the captors accepted his agreement to come only in the early morning.

That is why, to this day, the cold wind comes only in the early morning.

Snunq STORIES

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Of the supernatural animals which the Bella Coola believe inhabit the wild glens and mountains of British Columbia, that which figures most prominently in their mythology is the *snunq*. There are four slightly different varieties of this monster. The most common is regarded as being about the size of a large grizzly bear, but with long front legs and short hind ones, on which it can run in upright position when it so desires. Its legs terminate in large talons resembling those of an eagle, with the thumb set opposite to the fingers; its pelt, long and fleecy, is of a grayish-blue colour. The monster is able to roll its eye-balls completely over, and, when the reverse side is exposed, there shoot forth dazzling beams of light which strike senseless anyone on whom they fall. It uses its eyes for hunting. The most peculiar feature of the *snunq*, however, is that it carries on its back a basket provided with spikes inclined inwards and downwards at such an angle that any living creature thrust within is unable to escape. The basket

538 776 can be removed at will, and the Bella Coola relate how, long ago, the inhabitants of a village captured one of these. Cruelly, they placed it at the top of a lofty tree, then carefully smoothed off the bark to make climbing virtually impossible. The unfortunate *sninq* tried repeatedly to scale the tree, amid the mockings of its human tormentors; at last it succeeded in doing so, whereupon it dashed off, happily, with its basket.

Less dangerous than the *sninq* is the creature known as *po·qwais*, differing only from the true *sninq* in having a band of white through its eyes. A third variety, *sninqos wa sındäs*, the mountain *sninq*, remains perpetually above the line of vegetation. Little is known of it.

The most dangerous is a true *sninq* with the genital organs of a woman on its forehead. This creature is able to reverse the course of streams, to cause light snow to fall, and even to raise up mountains when pursued. A hunter meeting one of these monsters is in deadly danger unless he calls it by its name, *splıx*, female genitalia. So doing will cause the animal to lose its power and grovel and writhe impotently on the ground.

Like all other supernatural animals, the *sninq* is believed to have only recently quitted the vicinity of Bella Coola, on account, so it is said, of the noise made by the rifles of the white man. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of the animals, though several state that they have heard them not many years ago. It is assumed that the *sninq* has migrated to some less populated area, probably to the region north of Dean Channel and east of Frederick Island.

The following stories, which are among the most popular in Bella Coola, illustrate the characteristics of the *sninq*.

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THE GRAVE ROBBER[44]

Long, long ago, there was a large Bella Coola town[45] on the Whitewater[46] River, a short distance above its junction with the Bella Coola. The soil in the vicinity was of clay, supporting a heavy, but not dense forest growth. At that period it was the custom of the Bella Coola to cover a corpse with skins and place it in a crouching position in a box, which was lashed with sinews and suspended from a tree. The inhabitants of this town became worried when, on the morning after a funeral, the coffin would be found on the ground with the lashings cut, and the body removed. The son of a commoner suggested to a friend, the son of a chief, that they try to solve the mystery. It was thought that a sorcerer must be robbing the coffins, so the two planned that the young commoner should be placed in one alive, and hung from a tree, with full funeral rites, while his comrade watched from ambush. This plan was carried out. The place of disposal for the dead was some distance from the town, but connected with it by a well-cleared straight trail. The son of the chief lay concealed in the bushes, and the townspeople provided themselves with resinous sticks for torches, in case their assistance should be needed in dealing with the malefactor.

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[44] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 86.

[45] Other informants stated that the village was *Stmx*.

The boy in the coffin kept watch, and presently he saw approaching, not a sorcerer, as expected, but a *sniniq*. The creature leaped for the box, ripped its lashing, and pulled it to the ground, where he hauled out the supposed corpse. The *sniniq* stuffed the boy into a basket carried on his back supported by a tump-line round his forehead; it was provided with spikes, projecting inward and downward to prevent the escape of anyone within. The boy continued to feign death, while his friend roused the town. A good trail led along the Whitewater for about twenty miles, and over this the *sniniq* travelled at a tremendous speed, ability to move rapidly being a characteristic of these animals. Across the trail lay two windfalls which had never been cleared away because they were at such a height that a man could pass under them. The boy knew of these fallen trees and planned to grip the first in passing, hoping that the animal would be unable to turn round to get at the basket, and, therefore, would be pinioned. He did this, and hung on as long as possible against the straining of the *sniniq*, but at last was forced to emit wind through his rectum and release his hold. The animal thought the pannier had been caught in the tree-fall till he heard the sound made by the boy and grew suspicious. He took off the basket, removed his prey, and laid his hand over his heart, but the lad held his breath long enough to deceive the *sniniq*. The youth made another attempt to escape at the next fallen tree, but again he was forced to give up and emit wind. This time the *sniniq* was still more suspicious, but again the boy succeeded in holding his breath for a very long time and escaped detection.

They had now reached the base of Mount *T̓soāx*, which was ascended

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[46] The Atnarko.

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in a diagonal direction until *snʼnʼiq*'s home was reached, an underground house entered by a hole in the roof which also served as a chimney. The boy was carried in and thrown down at the base of one of the walls, where he lay as if dead though taking stock of his surroundings through half-closed eyes. A double-ended stone knife hung near the doorway, while on the walls were numerous articles that had been placed in coffins, such as skins and tools. A female *snʼnʼiq* and two young ones were in the house and one of them took the lad's cloak, leaving him naked. The two youngsters began to play with his testicles, and asked their parent if they might have them for earrings.

"No," the father said. "This is no ordinary corpse. I am going to make earrings for your mother from the testicles."

Meanwhile the female was cooking a meal of human flesh. Glancing about the walls, the boy saw numerous corpses, or parts of them, hanging up like salmon; they were bodies which had been taken from coffins.

After eating, the male *snʼnʼiq* sharpened his knife and prepared to skin the boy. He seized his chin and raised his head, so that he could blow on his throat to clear the hair away for a free passage for the knife—as the Bella Coola do when skinning animals—and made a vertical incision in the neck and chest. The victim had waited for this, in order that he might have proof of his adventure when he returned home. He uttered a low hoot, such as is made by supernatural beings, and the *snʼnʼiq* drew back in surprise. Whereupon the boy hurled a brand from the fire at the other animals, seized the hanging knife, and fled. When he reached the base of the mountain he found that the *snʼnʼiq* was pursuing him, without the basket. The animal tried to fascinate and intimidate him by emitting flashing beams from his eyes, but without success, for the lad had now supernatural power. The *snʼnʼiq* was gaining on him when he reached the Whitewater, but he dived, swam under water, and emerged safely on the other side. The animal lost time in searching the river bottom, but when at last he saw the boy on the other bank he plunged rapidly down the river-bed in pursuit. The lad again escaped by swimming to the other shore, and in this manner the chase continued down the valley, the youth crossing and recrossing the river whenever the *snʼnʼiq* came close to him. Meanwhile his comrade had remained watching the trail near the village. When he saw a solitary figure approach, he sent word to the town that one of the search party, sent out after his friend, was returning. But all of them had already come back, so they knew it must be the hero himself, and all the villagers turned out to greet him. When the still pursuing *snʼnʼiq* saw so large a number of people he returned up the valley.

The boy related his experiences, and in proof of his veracity showed the wound on his throat and chest. He suggested that it would be an easy and a profitable task to kill all four *smmq*. The village chiefs decided to take action. They sent word to the other Bella Coola villages, asking for aid, and requesting that those disposed to give it should bring with them soiled clothing, cedar-bark cloths used by women in menses, and resinous sticks for torches.

Several months elapsed before a sufficient number of pads was collected as these are usually destroyed, but at last the members of the expedition met at *Stuie* and set out under the guidance of the boy. When the base of the mountain was reached, he pointed out the smoke rising from the *smmq*'s house, but not one of them could see it. Half way up the slope he again indicated the spot, but again it was invisible to all except himself. The *smmq* heard the approach and came to the door of his house, but the lad alone could see him. The animal flashed the power from his eyes at the party, and all but the boy fell down, senseless; after a time they recovered and continued their course, but again the *smmq* stunned them with his eyes, though this time the effect lasted for a shorter period. Alternate stupefaction and advance went on until the people were close to the cave of the *smmq*, who by this time could no longer affect them for the boy had transmitted to his companions his own power, before which the animal was helpless. They were now at the house, though the youth alone could see it. Under his direction, the soiled clothing and other articles were tied to resinous sticks and thrown as he indicated. The male *smmq* kept tossing these back, but though the villagers saw their missiles returned, and used them again, they could not see the thrower. After a time they heard a sound of choking. It was the death agony of the young *smmq*. They continued to hurl the burning weapons, and another gurgling marked the death of the female; a final choking ultimately proclaimed the death of the male. When all the noise had ceased, the boy opened the door and saw all four animals lying dead. Some of the attackers recognized objects on the walls which they themselves had placed in the coffins of friends or relatives; this loot was taken back to the village, for return to all claimants. The four *smmq* were skinned and their wavy pelts long continued to be a source of pride to the village.

THE GRAVE ROBBER

(*Second Version*)

Once, long ago, a number of boys and girls, with a few adults, went on a picnic to a pleasant, open stretch of country, not far from Kimsquit. They played for a time, had a meal of the food which they had brought with them, and then began to tell stories about what happened to the dead. An argument arose, and a brave young man offered to settle it by pre-

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tending to die, and allowing himself to be buried, so that he could tell by personal experience the fate of a corpse. Some of the party tried to dissuade him, others encouraged him, and finally all agreed to help him. Soon afterwards he fell down, as if suddenly stricken. The men wept and the women wailed as if a real death had taken place; then they carried the "corpse" a short distance from the scene of the "death" and buried it, taking care to insert a hollow reed from his mouth to the surface of the ground, so that the young man could breathe. After weeping over the grave in a realistic manner, the people returned to Kimsquit, leaving one young man concealed up a tree to watch the place of burial.

It was in the early afternoon that all this had taken place. Nothing approached the grave until dusk, when the hidden youth saw what he took to be a black bear draw near. The animal sank into the ground without effort, as one would sink in water, and emerged as a man, clad in a bear skin and carrying the buried youth over his shoulder, slung by the legs. Then the watcher knew that the creature carrying off his friend was a *sninq*. The animal trotted away towards his home with the youth who had been buried, and the latter took advantage of an over-hanging tree to clutch a branch with his hands and hang on. The *sninq* tugged, but the youth held on until the animal dropped his burden. Then the young man at once relaxed his grip, as he still wished to simulate death. The *sninq* concluded that a branch had caught his quarry, so picked up the boy from the ground again and started off. A second time the lad gripped a branch, but as he was straining at it he was obliged to pass wind. The *sninq* heard the noise and became suspicious, but the boy held his breath, and though the animal felt his heart he was deceived into thinking him dead. A third time he seized a branch, and again was forced to emit wind, but, as before, he held his breath for a very long time and the animal was again deceived. Meanwhile, the hidden watcher, having marked the animal's course as long as possible, returned to Kimsquit and told what had happened. Some of the people did not believe his tale, and went to dig up the grave, from which they found that the "corpse" had vanished. This time they wept in earnest and then returned home.

The *sninq* carried the youth to his home in the mountains, a house shaped like an ordinary one, where he lived with his wife and children. He threw the boy on the floor and the *sninq* youngsters spread his legs apart and began to play with his testicles, saying to their father:

"Please give us those funny things for earrings."

The *sninq* refused, and said to them:

"Stop that, you brats! I am going to give them to your mother for earrings. It is the first time that I have caught such an animal."

After eating a meal, the *snuniq* prepared to skin the boy, as a hunter removes an animal's pelt. He placed him on his back on the ground and blew on the youth's chest to separate the hair and facilitate a clean incision. When his skin had been cut vertically, from throat to stomach, the youth jumped up and cried out loudly. The *snuniq* and family fell over as if dead; the sudden shock had expelled their spirits. The youth grabbed a spear and fled down the mountain. He had nearly reached its base when a burst of light, almost equal to that of the sun in intensit y, came from the *snuniq*, and stunned the youth. After a time he recovered and continued his flight; this time he got almost as far as the bank of the river in the valley, when he was again stricken by the beam of radiance. Once more recovering, the lad fled down the river's edge, with the *snuniq* pounding along after him. When the animal had almost captured him, he dived into the river and swam to the other bank, down which he continued his flight. After a little delay, the *snuniq* likewise crossed the river and took up the chase, but again his quarry swam across. Thus the pursuit was continued with crossings and re-crossings of the stream until the village was approached, when the *snuniq* abandoned his efforts to recapture the youth and returned home.

The boy got back to the village without further adventures. After describing his experiences, he asked the people to join him in an attack upon the *snuniq*, adding that the weapons which could prevail against him would be cloths stained with menstrual fluid, or with the blood which follows the delivery of a child. The people agreed to join in the expedition, and for about two months carefully saved all such stained cloths, instead of immediately hiding them. When they had collected sufficient they set out for the *snuniq*'s house. Arriving near the spot, they built a fire, tied the cloths to long sticks and set them alight, then advanced four at a time, and cast the flaming brands into the house. The *snuniq* used his power to strike down the first group, but another took its place from the column of fours. Soon the first four revived and posted themselves in the rear, as did each group on recovering consciousness. Thus the assailants maintained their strength and the siege continued for a considerable period, until the interior of the house was steeped in poison, which at last killed the occupants. Then the attackers entered and carried away as spoil the goods which the *snuniq* had looted from coffins.

THE VANITY OF *Snuniq*[47]

Long, long ago a number of the young people of Kwatna went up the river to *Nuliliqalkink* to get hump-back salmon which abounded there.

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[47] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 83.

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The fish were so plentiful that the expedition was really in the nature of a picnic. They had built a huge fire in which they had thrown stones for boiling some of the salmon, when one of the lads, who was sitting on a log somewhat apart from the others, called the attention of his comrades to something that he saw coming down the mountain. The boy, whose name was *'O·ɬ'*, was a cripple and also had a split lip which made his speech difficult to understand. Whether his companions failed to comprehend him, or whether he saw something invisible to them, is not known. At any rate they saw nothing.

"All you see is yuur split lip," they said.

'O·ɬ' could now see a *snʌnɪq* rapidly approaching, but his companions paid no heed to his frantic warnings. The dreaded creature dashed into the camp, caught one after another, until he had stuffed all of the party into his basket. There was wild wailing and weeping. *'O·ɬ'* alone had retained sufficient presence of mind to keep the knife with which he had been splitting salmon, and with this he slit the bottom of the basket so that one captive after another could drop out without the *snʌnɪq* being aware of his loss. Each one shed his or her blanket so as to slip out more easily, and these coverings in time formed a false bottom, so that a little girl who had last been caught and, therefore, was at the top of the basket, could not escape. The *snʌnɪq* was very angry to find on reaching home that this one child was his only prey.

When the children returned to Kwatna and told what had happened there was grief and consternation. The little girl carried off was an only child and her parents were almost overcome by sorrow; every day the bereaved mother used to go behind her house to weep, crying until she finally sobbed herself to sleep. One day as she was crying, she happened to notice some of the mucus which she had blown from her nose on to the ground, and saw, to her utter amazement, that a head appeared to be forming in it. As she watched, the mucus gradually grew into a boy which she picked up and carried home, delighted beyond measure. The infant was a supernatural being. By the next morning it had grown miraculously, and this phenomenal growth continued for four days; by that time the child had the strength and ability of a well-grown youth; he was also very handsome.

On the fourth day the youth asked his father, as he called the husband of the woman from whose mucus he had been formed, to get him a bow and arrows, and a fish-spear. Thus armed, he set off up the river and finally sat down on a fallen log that projected at an angle over the stream. In a little while the *snʌnɪq* came along and greatly desired him on account of his wonderful beauty. The youth showed no fear, but as the creature rushed at him merely used his own supernatural power to vanish, appear-

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ing again a moment later in a different position. Finally the *sninq* saw the youth's reflection in the water and was deceived into diving after it. When he came to the surface, after catching nothing, and again saw the reflection, the stupid monster concluded that he must have been mistaken, and that the image which he saw could be no other than his own, that he was more handsome than he dared to believe. What he especially admired was a pair of abalone-shell earrings which the youth always wore.[illegible] The amused youth, sitting immediately above the creature, determined to continue the game. When the *sninq* moved his head sideways, the boy did the same; when he moved it up and down, so did the boy; when he scratched his brow, the lad did likewise. The *sninq* was completely baffled. At last this became monotonous, so the youth called out to the monster. With a crash the animal's dreams of his own charms vanished and he was filled with grief and envy.

"Oh! I wish I were as beautiful as you are," he called out. "If you know what your mother did to make you so handsome, won't you please do the same for me?"

"Are you brave enough?" asked the boy.

"Yes, yes," eagerly replied the *sninq*. "I would do anything to have your beauty."

"All right then," replied the youth, "but remember my parents took drastic steps to obtain me my beauty. You are sure you are brave enough?"

"Yes," said the monster, firmly.

"All right then," continued the boy. "My father placed a heavy stone on my forehead, let's go and find one."

They went up the stream together until they found a fine smooth stone about three feet long. The boy told the *sninq* to lie down on his back, and, when the animal had done so, he placed the stone on his forehead.

"Oh! oh!" cried *sninq*, "I am frightened, it is too heavy, please stop."

"I did not cry like a baby when my father put such a stone on my head to make me beautiful," said the boy. "Keep quiet!"

"All right," cried the troubled animal, who was thoroughly frightened, yet at the same time desirous of obtaining beauty. "I want to be lovely, go ahead! I'll be brave."

When the boy replaced the stone on the *sninq*'s head the latter began to wail more loudly than before. The youth grew angry.

"If you don't lie still," he said, "you will come to harm."

In his fear the *sninq* had risen to a sitting position, but when he again lay down the youth decided it was time to act. Taking the stone in both

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[illegible] Why the *sninq* did not realise that he was not the wearer of such is a point the story does not elucidate.

+539 hands he crashed it down on *snanaq*'s head, crushing it to a pulp so that the brains ran out over the stones. The animal died instantly. The boy built a fire over the carcass, reducing it to ashes which he blew in all directions, saying as he did so:

"Henceforth you shall be mosquitoes."

That is why there are mosquitoes in all parts of the land today.

Thanks to his supernatural vision the youth could see *snanaq*'s house. He went there at once to rescue the little girl, whom he restored to her mother amid great rejoicing.

The next day the supernatural youth asked the little girl to accompany him a short distance up the river. At a spot where eagles were plentiful he made a small shelter in which he placed the down of several of the birds which he killed, then, towards dusk, the two returned home. Every day they did this until a large pile of eagle down had been collected. Then the supernatural one said to the little girl:

"I must go back to my own home tomorrow. My father sent me down to your mother because he saw how disconsolate she was at your loss. Now that you are home I have done my work. You must not mourn for me, nor let your mother do so."

They returned home that night as usual and the following morning the supernatural one told his "mother" that he was going to leave that day. With the little girl he went as usual to the shelter containing the eagle down.

"Soon I shall bury myself under the down," he said to her. "Then I want you to take a stick and beat lightly on it. Keep on beating for a long time. I shall become eagle down, and presently you will see a rather large tuft work its way up to the top of the pile. That will be I. Take me and throw me up in the air. I will slowly drift upwards in circles. You can watch me until I disappear, then you must go home."

The little girl faithfully obeyed orders. It was a very long time before she saw a rather large tuft of down come to the surface, but when she threw it into the air it at once floated upwards. She watched it until it vanished, then went home weeping at the loss of her supernatural rescuer whom she had come to regard as a brother. Her parents, although themselves filled with grief, comforted her by reminding her that he had left according to his own free will.

THE WOES OF *Snanaq*[41]

Above Canoe Crossing there was long ago a village at a point where two creeks enter the Bella Coola River, one from either side. The people of the place lived in underground houses facing the stream. One night a newly-born child was crying in one of the houses and, as the mother was feeding it, she saw by the light of her small fire a *sninq*, with a white patch on his throat, looking into the house through the doorway-flue. There was always trouble at this place, so the people used to sleep with their weapons beside them. The woman cautiously awoke her husband, who reached for his bow, and shot an obsidian-pointed arrow into the white spot on the beast's breast. With a roar the *sninq* vanished from the opening. The man was afraid to investigate that night, but he and his family built up a roaring fire as a protection. Next morning with his friends he made a careful search, but nothing was to be found, even the arrow had disappeared.

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[41] For similar stories see Boas, pp. 64 and 87.

Near *Nusq'alst*, there was a large stone on the bank of the river which served as a landmark. A few days after the visit of the *sninq*, a female of the species took up her position on this stone, where she groaned incessantly. No one had the courage to pass the place in a canoe. The son of a *Stuix* chief, however, wanted to investigate the animal, and he asked a fellow-villager, a young commoner, to accompany him. The latter was unwilling to do so, but he was under obligation to the chief's son, who pointed out that any evil results would fall upon himself, as leader of the expedition; so finally the commoner agreed to go.

They set off secretly in a canoe, with the chief's son as captain in the stern; when near the rock he reversed the craft so that the aft end grounded against it. The captain had confidence in his supernatural power, but for safety he seated himself on the rock with his feet in the canoe, so that if the *sninq* made a hostile movement he would be able to push off and thus give his comrade a chance to escape. The *sninq* continued to groan so dolorously that the boy was touched and soon he and the animal were weeping together. The *sninq* told her sad story: how she had lost both her husband and her child, the animal shot at the entrance to the underground house. The parent was lonely and had taken up her position on the rock in order to tell her story to some brave man, but was disgusted at the cowardice of most people, who avoided her. She drew out a copper on which she had been sitting, and gave this to the boy, saying it had belonged to the dead child.

"If you go to my cave on Mount *Mi'als*," she added, "you will find many more of the same which I have obtained from the coffins of the dead."

Having gained a hearing of her woes, the animal left, saying that she was going to *Nass*, an indefinite spot in the far east. The young man went to the animal's house, invisible to anyone else, and there took possession of many coppers. Later on, the body of the slain *sninq* was found about six miles above the village. The corpse had brought a blight to the

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

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countryside; the vegetation looked as if salt had been placed on the soil, while bones lay about as if the place were an old battlefield, not of the *snenaq* alone but also of those of many other animals killed by eating the poisonous flesh.

The neighbourhood is still considered barren and, as recently as about 1870, no one would settle there.

THE LITTLE GIRL WHO WAS KIDNAPPED[19]

Long, long ago there was a little girl who used to cry a great deal. One night her weeping disturbed the whole household and her father sent her to bed.

"You had better keep quiet or a *snenaq* will get you," he said angrily.

After a time all the people in the house went to bed, leaving the girl still crying in the main room of the house. Soon she heard a voice she thought was her grandmother's.

"Come out to your grandmother, my dear," it said, "and have a feast of goat's grease."

The girl slipped outside and the voice told her to come a little farther on. When she did so she was seized by a female *snenaq*, for it was one of those creatures that had imitated her grandmother's voice. As the animal thrust her into her basket, the girl cried out that she was being carried off by a *snenaq*, and the people in the house heard her. They called to her to clutch a passing tree, which she did, but the *snenaq* cut it through with a single blow of her knife-edged leg. The girl was carried a long distance up the mountain and across a chasm bridged by a fallen log, at the other end of which was the *snenaq*'s cave. The girl saw that it was full of coppers taken from coffins, as well as other kinds of goods and food that had been placed beside the dead. In one corner sat an old woman from whose body grew roots extending far down into the ground, effectively anchoring her to the spot. This woman told the girl not to eat anything the *snenaq* might give her, as roots would grow from her too if she did; instead she gave her a small bag in which to conceal food she must only pretend to eat.

"I am going out to get a sister for you," said the *snenaq*.

As soon as she had gone the old woman told the girl to put on her fingers a pair of mountain goat horns which were in the house; and when the *snenaq* came back to stand, opening and closing the fingers at her, as she tried to cross the bridge, saying at the same time, "*sapqlitsptma*."[20] Soon they heard the *snenaq* returning. The animal gained the bridge, but was unable to advance or retire in the face of the girl, who opened and

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[19] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 88.

[20] The meaning of this phrase is: "Open your eyes, mother."

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closed her fingers with the goat's horns upon them and kept repeating the word, "*sanqkioptma*."

"Look out! Look out! You will hurt your grandmother," the animal cried out in fear.

But the girl continued until the *sniniq* fell from the log down into the chasm. Then the old woman said to her:

"Take that rope from the wall and I will lower you down to the dead *sniniq*. You must cut off the breasts; when you have done it, shake the rope and I will haul you up again. But be quick, for the young *sniniq* are out hunting and will shortly return."

The young girl was lowered down and cut off the flesh as she had been told to do. When she was drawn up again, she cooked it in grease. In a little while the young *sniniq*, who were wolves, came in and stared at the stranger, but the old woman explained:

"This is the new sister your mother has brought you. She has gone out again after another one."

They sat down to the food which had been prepared for them, but as soon as the eldest brother had tasted it he said:

"Taste it! Taste it! It is like our mother's breasts."

They all partook of the food and fell down dead. Following the old woman's instructions, the girl threw the carcasses down into the gorge.

Next she was told to fill a box with grease and food. She did so, making a handle of the rope with which she tied it. Then the old woman said to her:

"Give me a bundle of mountain goat fur."

This she began to roll out on her thigh into cord.

"Now," she said, "When you descend the mountain, take with you one end of this cord, or else you will never be able to find your way back. As you go on I will lengthen the cord to keep up with you."

The girl did this, and reached her home in the evening. She rubbed herself against the wall of the house, and the mother sent out her youngest child to ascertain the cause of the noise. The little one quickly returned.

"It is my sister who was carried off by the *sniniq*," she called out.

The mother considered this impossible and scolded the child for telling a lie. She then sent out another of her children but when this one returned with the same story, the mother rushed out and welcomed her daughter with great rejoicing. They went within and the girl asked her father to bring in the box she had been carrying. He tried to do so but could not lift it, even with the help of some of his friends.

"That is funny," said his daughter. "I carried it with one hand."

She brought it in without any trouble and took from the one box food enough to fill half the house. Having obtained the *sniniq*'s carrying

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powers, she had not noticed the weight. A feast ensued, and next day all set out with the girl to the *sniniq*'s house, following the rope as guide. They were astounded at the wealth they secured, but when they tried to release the old woman by cutting the roots, milk gushed out and she died.

THE LITTLE GIRL WHO WAS KIDNAPPED

(*Second Version*)

Once upon a time, not long after the people had come to this earth, a small girl, about ten years of age, cried and cried incessantly. Her mother grew tired and at length made no effort to comfort the child, but callously went about her work, at last going to bed with the other members of the household. Soon a female *sniniq* came to the outside wall of the house, applied her mouth to a knot-hole, and said to the little girl, in the voice of her father's mother:

"Come with me and I will give you some delicious mountain goat grease, and flesh from the stomach of a spring salmon."

The little girl stopped crying, and prepared to go to her grandmother's house. The *sniniq* blew on the knot-hole so that it enlarged sufficiently for the little one to pass through, and as soon as she had done so the monster seized her and thrust her into her basket.

"A *sniniq* has got me!" the terrified child shrieked.

This roused the household. The young men took brands from the fire and set out in pursuit of the kidnapper, guided by the crying of the girl in the basket. The *sniniq* travelled fast, sometimes diving under the earth in her efforts to out-distance the pursuers. For a long time the men were able to follow, but at length had to give up the chase, baffled. The mother was heart-broken, blaming herself for the child's loss, because *sniniq* have good ears and make a practice of stealing those whom from afar they hear crying.

The *sniniq* carried the little girl to her home, a cave in the precipitous wall of a canyon, approached by a single tree-trunk as bridge, put her inside and then went off hunting. As the child stood weeping bitterly, she saw in the corner an old woman who was fastened to the ground by roots which had grown from her rectum. This poor creature told the girl that the *sniniq* had captured her years before and had gained complete power over her because she had eaten some of the human flesh her captor gave her. Looking around, the child saw corpses hanging on one side of the cave, goat meat on the other. The old woman bade the girl eat some of the latter, for it was good. She would then be able to tell the *sniniq* on her return that she had eaten, and could thus escape making a meal of human flesh. She further added that the *sniniq* had forgotten her gloves, from which radiated flashing light, and would be certain to come back for them shortly. She suggested a way by which the child could kill her captor.

"Put on the gloves," she said, "and stand in the doorway, opening and closing your hands in the *sniniq*'s face as she returns across the chasm."

The little girl eagerly obeyed, put on the gloves and awaited the *sniniq*'s return. Soon she saw her coming, and as she was half-way across the bridge the child began to open and close her hands, so that the flashing light struck the monster in the face. She also sang, as the old woman had bidden her:

"*Sanqsitsqalma.*" "Open your eyes, mother!"

The *sniniq* grew terrified.

"Stop! Stop! I shall fall," she cried out.

But the girl continued until the brute fell from the log into the chasm and was killed. Then the old woman said to the girl:

"Take one end of this long rope and climb down the chasm, while I hold the other. Cut off the *sniniq*'s breasts and I will haul you up again."

The girl did as she was told. She found the corpse of the *sniniq* and cut off the breasts; then the old woman drew her up by the rope, and said:

"The *sniniq*'s four children, who are wolves, are away hunting at present, but they will soon return. You must hurry to cook their mother's breasts for them so that they will eat and die."

The girl had just finished cooking when the four wolves came in, laden with their spoil of mountain goat. The girl gave them the meal which she had prepared, and at the first mouthful, the eldest said to the others:

"This is queer meat. It tastes like our mother's breasts."

The others hastened to sample the food and agreed with him. They all fell dead. At the old woman's bidding the little girl threw the four corpses over the brink of the chasm.

"You had better go home now," the old woman said to her. "Be sure to keep hold of one end of this rope, made of mountain goat hair, which I will spin out as you travel, otherwise you will never be able to return. When you reach your home, tie the cord to a tree before you go into your house. Tell your friends what you have seen and done, and they can all come here, using the rope as a guide."

So the little girl set out for home, taking one end of the rope with her, while the old woman kept spinning out at the other end, singing as she did so,

"Make yourself long by your efforts, wool."

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It was a long journey home, perhaps twelve miles, but the little girl carefully carried one end of the rope, nor did she forget to tie it to a tree before she entered the house. When she had told of her amazing adventures, great was the delight of her parents at her escape from such a perilous predicament. She told of the old woman rooted to the ground, and gave her name, well-known as that of a woman who had mysteriously disappeared one night many years previously, whose fate had never been discovered. The girl told also of the wealth on the walls of the *snɛnɛq*'s house, valuables robbed from the coffins of the dead, and how the old woman had bade her bring her friends to carry away the loot.

Next morning the entire population of the village set out on the quest, led by the little girl, who carefully watched the rope to guide her back to her destination. After travelling about twelve miles they came to the canyon.

"We are almost there," she said. "I can see the opening into the cave."

No one else could distinguish it so the villagers went closer, but still it remained invisible to all except the girl herself. She rubbed her hands over the eyes of about a dozen men and at once they were able to see the mouth of the cave. With these men she entered and found nothing altered since the preceding day. The place was packed to the roof with all sorts of treasure, including a countless number of mountain goat skins, highly prized for their wool. The men took down the valuables and divided them equally among all who had taken part in the expedition. A more difficult task was to free the old woman. First they tried to pull her up, but the roots were as firm as if a part of the mountain itself. At her request, given the day before to the little girl, they had brought an axe and when all else failed they cut her roots. When the last was severed, however, her life went too for it extended down into them. So the party went home without her.

Two other versions of this story were collected; they resemble the accounts here given so closely that publication seems unnecessary.

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Supernatural Stories

In this section are grouped a number of miscellaneous accounts, describing the adventures of supernaturally endowed individuals, and of those who came in contact with supernatural beings but received no special boon. These are of

many kinds, some of which verge on the tales of shamans 538
already given. Like all others in this chapter, the following stories have no social significance and can be related by anyone.

THE WRONGED WOMAN 539*

Long, long ago, the sister of *Kina'o·* married a foreign chief with whom she went home to live. Her husband used to beat her and treat her so abominably that she kept asking him to allow her to return; finally he consented, and she set off gladly with him in his canoe. About half-way to the destination, the husband landed and asked his wife to climb with him to the top of a very tall tree. This she did, nor did she become suspicious when he sharpened the extreme tip of the trunk. Suddenly, he seized her, and thrust her down on to the point which pierced into the lower part of her body, pinning her to the tree-top. The evil husband then returned home.

The captive did not die immediately. From the tree-top she could see canoes passing, and kept calling out for help, but no one heard her. At last her brother *Kina'o·* went by, *en route* to his sister's home with a present of food. Not knowing who he was, she cried out as she had done before; he recognized her voice, landed, but at first could not see her, and was filled with amazement to discover her pinned up the tree. Up he climbed to lift her off, but as he did so, she died.

Kina'o· determined to have his revenge. He clothed himself in his sister's cape, hat, and blanket, in order to resemble her; this was an easy matter as the two looked alike. Thus attired, he continued his way to his brother-in-law's village, which he entered, leaning heavily on a stick as if he had received an injury to the lower part of his body. He said nothing, but *Sımtus*, his sister's husband's mother, saw him and mistook him for her daughter-in-law.

"You have been beating your wife again," she said to her son. "Look how she is limping."

He did not answer, being amazed to see her alive.

Kina'o· lay down as if sick while *Sımtus* prepared for her a dish of putrid salmon roe and bracken roots. When this was ready, the old woman sent one of her daughters to summon the supposed daughter-in-law who sat down near the fire and ate with bent head. The daughter noticed the great size of the eater's arms and legs and commented upon this to her mother.

"Hush!" answered the latter. "Don't be rude."

When *Kina'o·* had finished eating he went back to bed and then the

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old woman saw that there was blood where he had been sitting. She pointed this out to her son.

"See what you have done to your wife," she said. "Look at the blood."

The husband was puzzled, but concluded that in some manner his wife had escaped so there was nothing more to be done about the matter.

Presently he went to bed and began to fondle *Kina'o·*, believing all the time that it was his wife.

"Don't touch me," *Kina'o·* said. "I am in too much pain."

He desisted and went to sleep. Then *Kina'o·* got up, cut off the head of his brother-in-law and fled away with it. Only the murdered man's sister saw him and cried out that she had known all evening that it was a man. Relatives of the victim followed, but *Kina'o·* eluded them, finally returning home with the corpse of his sister and the head of her husband.

The kinsmen of the murdered man determined on revenge. Several months later, they despatched a war-party which sacked *Kina'o·*'s village, killing him and all his people except one girl whom they carried off as a slave. After living in bondage for several months, she became pregnant. In due course she went alone to the woods and delivered herself without assistance; the child was a boy. The mother knew that, if his sex were known, he would be killed through fear that if allowed to grow up he would avenge his mother's wrongs;[82] so she bound up her son's penis in a curve to resemble the organs of a girl. On returning to the village, she was asked if the child were a daughter, and she replied that it was. Several women looked at the infant, but none of them noticed the deception, nor did they observe it on future occasions when they helped the mother wash her child.

The woman had determined that her son should slay those who had enslaved her. Accordingly, she used to wash him in the river at dawn.

"Be bold," she would say as she did so. "You must revenge yourself on those who have wronged your mother."

Thanks to this washing, the boy gained so much strength that, when about ten or twelve years of age, he obtained supernatural power from *sisiutl*. One day he found some excuse to send his mother and her friends out of the village, then used his *sisiutl* ability to cause a landslide from a precipitous mountain behind the town. All the houses were swept away and every inhabitant killed except those whom he had sent away. Thus did he revenge his mother.

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[82] No Bella Coola had ever heard of the killing of a slave's son at birth to prevent danger to his mother's owners. It is assumed that this may have occurred in the distant past.

This story has been handed down for so many generations that the boy's own name has been forgotten. He is always spoken of as *Ăłko·sɛp*, "He of the Tied-Up Penis."

THE FERN GATHERERS

One autumn, just before the fall of the snow, a number of girls, with one boy companion, went off into the woods to gather ferns, as is customary at that season of the year. They ascended a side valley and camped beside the stream which flowed through it. By nightfall they had collected a large basketful of the ferns and were ready to rest. A fire was built, on one side of which the girls sat, with the boy on the other. Presently he began to sing, beating his own accompaniment:

"Rise, rise, you stream, and carry away their ferns," was his song.

The girls asked him to stop; at last he did so, but it began to rain. It rained and it rained until the creek rose so that a branch of it swept through their camp, destroying the fern and separating them from the boy. They wished to join him as it was on his side of the now impassable torrent that the trail back to the village was situated. The lad was equal to the emergency. Seizing his penis, he pulled it out to great length, and threw one end across to act as a bridge. It was not quite long enough, but one of the girls rushed into the roaring stream and hauled the end to shore. She was a trifle embarrassed as she did so, and walked with mincing steps. All the girls crossed the stream on this bridge and so were able to return to their village. As a result, the boy received the name, *Tcu'laiyu*.

THE MAD WOMAN

One April, not a great many years ago, nine men, in three canoes, went to fish for steel-head salmon in the Bella Coola River, near Hagenburg. A crazy woman followed them, crying out, making objectionable remarks, and annoying them, as she had done other fishermen on previous occasions. So intent was she on chasing these men, that, when necessary, she swam the river to keep in touch with them. Finally they decided to wait for her and kill her. Choosing a place where the rapids were bad, they stopped, caught the lunatic, and threw her into the whirlpool.

As idly they watched the river, to their amazement the woman appeared in the quiet water, a long way downstream, below the rapids, and swam ashore. They heard her say to a near-by mountain:

"See what they have done to me. Come!"

In response to her command the whole snow-cap of the mountain plunged down the valley in a vast slide, blocking the river, and killing the

*539 mad woman, as well as eight of her attempted slayers. She must have had some evil power, but no one knows what it was. All insane people are somewhat uncanny and are interfered with no more than is necessary.

THE IMPOSTOR

ɩsyuyuyut (I, p. 328) had a son named *Stuɩx*. The latter's son and his grandson, the hero of this story, each took the same designation and each was a successful hunter; in fact, ability in this line seemed to accompany the name. *Stuɩx* the third had been married for some time, but, although he deeply loved his wife, he seldom slept with her, as he was observing ceremonial chastity to increase his success in hunting. They had no children. On one occasion *Stuɩx* and his wife camped in a beautiful spot a little distance up the valley of the Kimsquit River, not far from a village where lived a bad woman who was in love with *Stuɩx*. He had scorned her advances but had failed to warn his wife against her. This woman, determined to win *Stuɩx* by fair means or foul, used to watch the camp to learn of his movements, in the hope that some chance would help her. Once when he was absent, hunting, she approached and began to talk pleasantly to his wife, who, suspecting nothing, invited her to sit down and gave her some food. After the meal the bad woman began to question her hostess about *Stuɩx*.

"Tell me, my dear, does your husband exercise his marital rights?" she asked.

"No," replied the wife. "He is a hunter; therefore does not do so."

"What do you do when he first comes home?" the other went on.

"I take off his skin shoes, wash them, and hang them up to dry."

The guest expressed interest in this answer and continued:

"Do you cook for him?"

"Yes," replied the trusting wife.

The scheming woman went on with a number of questions, such as, what time *Stuɩx* went to bed, when he got up, what his wife was accustomed to say to him on his return after the day's hunting, what he liked best to eat, in fact every conceivable detail of his day's routine. *Stuɩx*'s wife, rather flattered at this interest in her husband's doings, answered the queries openly. Towards the time of *Stuɩx*'s return the woman departed with loud protestations of friendship, promising to return another day to sit with the lonely wife. This was quite a natural suggestion, as there was an easy trail from the village to the spot where *Stuɩx* was encamped and visitors often walked the distance.

When *Stuɩx* returned, his wife pulled off his skin shoes, washed them, squeezed them, and hung them out to dry while the food was cooking.

Then she sat down to the meal with her husband, the routine being 539* exactly as she had described it to her visitor. After they had finished eating, *Stuux*'s wife told him of the day's happenings, how a woman, giving her name, had visited the camp and had asked a great many questions about him, including whether or not he observed ceremonial chastity, and other personal matters.

"What did you tell her?" *Stuux* asked his wife.

"Oh, I answered her truthfully," she replied.

"You should never have done that!" *Stuux* burst out in anger. "It was none of her business. Don't you know that you should never discuss a hunter's observance of ceremonial chastity? You have behaved very [785] badly."

Stuux had reason for his wrath, because no wife should ever discuss [831] this matter, as in so doing she weakens or destroys her husband's power.

A few days afterward the evil woman again visited *Stuux*'s camp, carrying concealed beneath her blanket a wooden club used for killing salmon. *Stuux*'s wife did not see the approach of her hypocritical friend, who struck her on the head with the weapon and killed her. The murderess dragged her victim's body a short distance from the camp; with her copper knife she removed the skin and drew it over her own body, endeavouring in every way to make it fit. But the wife of *Stuux* had been larger than the bad woman, who tried to remedy the difference in size by tying the excess in wrinkles around her hips. The greatest difficulty was about the eyes, where the skin hung in folds which the impostor sewed neatly to make less noticeable. When all was done the murderess scraped a hole in the soft ground and buried the body of her victim.

While awaiting the return of *Stuux* the impostor busied herself in carrying out all the small household occupations, just as she had been told about them. Towards dusk *Stuux* came back. He noticed that his wife looked peculiar and uneasy, but said nothing about it; they sat down together to the meal but the woman kept her eyes lowered, lest the loose skin about them might betray her. *Stuux* wondered at that and also at her voice, which did not sound normal. At night the masquerader went first to bed, as a wife always does when her husband is observing ceremonial chastity. *Stuux* followed shortly. In a few minutes an owl hooted:

"*Stuux*'s wife has tied up a fold of skin round her hips."

Neither man nor woman spoke. Even at that distant period it was [775] well known that the voice of a dead person passes into an owl, though only [825] rarely can one communicate with the living. It was, in fact, the slain wife speaking from above the spot where her body lay. The murderess feared that *Stuux* would put his arm around her waist, but she was saved because his observance of ceremonial chastity prevented him from doing so.

*539 Nevertheless, she was greatly terrified. *Stuux* had been puzzled at his wife's unusual actions, and this warning increased his bewilderment, but he hesitated to show his suspicions by asking what the owl meant. Both lay awake all night and towards dawn the owl hooted again. The next day *Stuux* set out, as if for hunting, but lay down and slept instead, which the impostor was afraid to do in case he should return and look at her, when she was unprepared. That night the owl again hooted, and as before the two lay awake without speaking. The third night it was the same, but on the fourth, though the owl continued his hooting, the woman was so much exhausted that she fell asleep. *Stuux* then felt cautiously across her body, found the protruding fold of skin and realized something was amiss. He rose and built up a bright fire towards which he dragged the sleeper.

"Get up, I want to talk to you," he said.

As he pulled her by the hair he felt her scalp become loose in his hands, and realized what had happened. In great anger he cried out:

"But for the owl I should have remained in ignorance. Now I know what you have done. Why did you kill my wife?"

The woman did not answer. *Stuux* struck her twice with a club and she died. The owl stopped calling; its work was done.

The murder had taken place about midnight, but *Stuux* remained seated beside the fire until dawn without touching the woman he had slain, because he wanted witnesses to see the corpse before it was disturbed. After eating some food he went to the village where lived his own relations, those of his wife, and also the mother of the bad woman. He went first to his own family.

"I am in trouble," he said. "I believe that some one has impersonated my wife. At any rate last night I killed a woman who said she was my wife, though I think she was not. I want you to come and see what she looks like."

Two lads were sent as messengers round the village and soon all gathered to hear what had happened. *Stuux* addressed the people:

"I don't want to say much about what took place last night; in fact I do not know much about it myself. Please come and see. I have killed a woman who looked like my wife, but I do not think it was she."

They all set off with him to his camp, where they found, apparently, the corpse of his wife. *Stuux* sat down.

"Please take off her clothes and feel beside her hips," he said.

When they had done so they felt the peculiar rolls of skin.

"Please lift her hair," he continued.

The people who did so found it slack in their grasp. On more careful examination they lifted the skin of the face which came up loosely into the hand, and they found the various seams. Finally they stripped off the false skin and disclosed the body of the bad woman. The whole population of the village had gathered by this time and all were witnesses to the imposture. *Stuix* spoke:

"I had my suspicions that this was the case; this woman came to the camp and asked my wife a great many questions. I told her that she had done wrong in letting a stranger know the details of my observance of ceremonial chastity."

"Have you any idea where your wife is?" asked the chief.

"No," replied *Stuix*. "The only clue I have is that an owl kept calling from that tree over yonder behind the house, saying: '*Stuix*'s wife has tied up a fold of skin around her hips.' "

The young men began to dig under the tree and presently uncovered the skinned body which had been thrown into the earth without clothing of any kind. The people, filled with grief and horror at the deed, showed their sympathy by gifts to *Stuix*; a coffin with carved sides, copper knives, and other valuables to place beside the body in it. The corpse was washed and borne in state with the many presents, including a large number given by *Stuix* himself, to the cemetery near the village, where it was interred. The family of the murderess buried her hastily on the spot, fearing the wrath of the people at the crime she had committed.

Stuix was so heartbroken that he did not hunt all winter, but supported himself on the stores laid up in his house. Grieved though he was at his wife's loss, a greater sorrow was that she had not lived long enough to bear him a son to perpetuate his name. Some four months after her death his father-in-law approached him, suggesting that he marry one of her sisters. The dead woman had two brothers and three sisters, and the whole family sympathized with the bereaved husband. *Stuix* was very much pleased with the proposition and promptly married one of the sisters,[53] who took the place of the murdered woman. Once more *Stuix* went hunting, in which he was so successful that many youths were constantly employed carrying home his game.

Within a year his wife bore him a male child who was likewise given the name of *Stuix* and who received supernatural good fortune at a time of famine.

THE WAR OF THE BIRDS[54]

A day's journey from *Stuix* there is a lake near which there used to live a race of sturdy dwarfs called *Snutsälätst* by the Bella Coola. They have all moved away, but the exodus could not have taken place many hundred years ago, because the ruins of the underground houses in which they lived are said to have been visible as late as about 1870. Once upon a time a youth went from *Stuux* to *Ăxyätl*, a place where buffaloberries were plentiful; during the day he became thirsty and knelt to drink at a spring. At length he reached the town of the *Snutsälätst* people who rushed at him, asking:

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[53] Such a marriage is common if the dead wife's family respect the husband, though not otherwise.

[54] The Bella Coola regard the following as a record of an event which occurred

"Where did you find the bear?"

"I found no bear," he replied, somewhat puzzled.

"How then did you get your knees stained with earth?"

"Why, I knelt to drink at a spring."[illegible]

"That's it!" cried the dwarfs.

They rushed off in all directions to prepare sharp sticks for digging. When these were ready they insisted that the now thoroughly mystified youth should guide them to the spring from which he had drunk. Unwilling to anger his hosts, the lad consented, but his curiosity was not lessened when at the spring the dwarfs proceeded to dig a number of holes in a rough circle around it.

Soon one of the diggers called out, "Here is a [bear] leg!"

The lad looked into the hole and saw that it was the leg of a *mätsqus*.

The *Snutsälätst* people redoubled their efforts until they had uncovered the animal which they killed, much to the fear of the Bella Coola youth. He accompanied them back to their town where the *mätsqus* was cut up, amid the rejoicing of the *Snutsälätst*, who then proceeded to eat it. The lad watched with horror, and refused to take part in the feast.

Afterwards the dwarfs began to strengthen their houses by placing additional planks over the cracks, and stuffing the smaller crannies with moss and mud. In answer to their visitor's inquiries, they replied:

"You will see our danger soon enough. Every year we are attacked by migrating birds, especially hummingbirds, which penetrate everywhere. We have had a feud with the birds for years. They attack us every spring, but this year we are specially terrified, because the early migrants have not yet come and we are afraid that all the birds are gathering to assault us in a body. We kill many of them every year, but it seems to make no difference in their numbers or their ferocity."

The lad had noticed that many of the dwarfs were blind, and that

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not many years ago. In time the historical setting will unquestionably be forgotten and the account will be considered purely as a tale.

[illegible] Another version states that the dwarfs had, in some mysterious way, realized that he had power to locate the winter sleeping-places of bears.

nearly all had lost one eye; but he had not thought of attributing this to attacks from birds.

Soon the sky became black with all kinds of them—geese, ducks, plovers, sandpipers, hawks, owls, eagles, crows, woodpeckers, as well as many varieties of insectivorous birds. They swooped down on the village, flying fearlessly into the faces of the dwarfs who seemed unable to cope with them; in fact, they were as frightened of the birds as the Bella Coola had been of the *mätsqus*, which had occasioned the *Snutsälätst* no fear. The lad enjoyed the onslaught and killed a great many wild-fowl, especially geese and swans; it was wonderful hunting. He alone was not afraid of the hummingbirds which penetrated into the houses through minute cracks and flew into the faces of the dwarfs. The birds ceased their attack only after they had carried off one of the *Snutsälätst* as a slave.

The Bella Coola youth plucked his booty and cooked a fine meal for himself, while the dwarfs held their noses in horror, just as he had done when they were eating the *mätsqus*. He continued to live in the village of the dwarfs for some time, but this last attack, culminating in the loss of one of their young men, had so disheartened the inhabitants that they abandoned their settlement and moved away. Then the youth returned to Bella Coola, where he learnt the fate of the *Snutsälätst* carried off as a slave.

The birds, flying in a dense flock, had been carrying him down the Bella Coola valley, when the inhabitants of *Nuqäx̣mäts* saw the swarm and clapped their hands, noisily. The birds became frightened, separated, and down fell the dwarf near the village. He was made a slave by the Bella Coola, and was greatly valued on account of his strength. It was said that he could make a salmon-weir unaided, a feat which none other could accomplish.

THE ADVENTURES OF *Ällsiäx̣*

One day *Ällsiäx̣*, a man of *Stuix*, went out hunting, leaving his old father, *Skimutcitl*, at home. The hunter shot an arrow at a mountain goat, but succeeded only in wounding the animal, which fled with the missile sticking in its shoulder, *Ällsiäx̣* in pursuit. He followed his quarry for a long time until the goat came to a stream in a canyon of which the farther bank rose precipitously. Hunter and hunted reached the bank at the exact spot where a waterfall plunged down; the animal leapt across fearlessly and vanished against the sheer cliff. It was really Mountain Goat's home, but *Ällsiäx̣* was ignorant of this. The disappearance was a mystery to him. Weary and disappointed he sat down and cried.

Meanwhile there was consternation within Mountain Goat's home.

*539 He was in great pain from the wound, but none of the supernatural shamans could even diagnose the trouble, the arrow being invisible to them as their weapons are invisible to mortals. The most powerful supernatural doctors, Grizzly Bear, Black Bear, and *Snunq*, were called in, but none could help Mountain Goat. *Ällsiāx̣*, sitting down outside the house, could hear the beating of sticks as if curative measures were being taken somewhere, but he could see nothing. Presently one of the animals, who had left the house to fetch water, saw a man sitting by the stream. On his return he suggested that they might consult the mortal.

So they called in *Ällsiāx̣*.

"Please, mortal," said Mountain Goat's father, "if you are able to effect cures, help my son."

"All right," replied *Ällsiāx̣*, "I have some ability that way, I will try."

This was a lie, *Ällsiāx̣* was no shaman, but he could see the arrow projecting from Mountain Goat and he knew that he would be able to cure the injury. So he asked that Mountain Goat be covered with a large cloak, under which he too hid himself, to lend an atmosphere of mystery to the operation. *Ällsiāx̣* then cut the arrow and forced its head through the flesh, thus expelling it. Mountain Goat cried out in pain that he felt as if some object were being drawn from his body, but he could see nothing. Then *Ällsiāx̣* danced a shaman's dance while the animal singers beat time, using, instead of sticks, bones from mountain goat legs. In the course of his gyrations, the man threw the broken arrow out of the door.

Mountain Goat's father in his gratitude gave *Ällsiāx̣* supernatural hunting ability.

"When you want to hunt goats," he said, "smear as many daubs of red paint on your face as you desire carcasses. Then think of goats, and use the song which we sang when you danced after curing my son, and the goats you want will fall dead outside your door. One thing you must never forget, always hang the leg-bones of your victims on the walls of your house, never throw them away."

Ällsiāx̣ then returned to his *Stuix* home.

In the village there was another hunter, *Äx̣ā*, whose success was dependent on a pair of shoes he had received from *Twalällit*, by means of which the roughest mountain goat trails became easy paths. As *Ällsiāx̣* began to have extraordinary fortune, jealousy arose between the two as to which was the greater hunter, until at last they decided to put the matter to a test. Setting out together they camped at a suitable spot above *Stuix* where goats were plentiful. When *Ällsiāx̣* put a single daub of red paint on his face there appeared a solitary goat on the mountain not far away, but in such a position that it seemed impossible for a human being to reach the animal.

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"I will go and get that one," said *Ăx̣ă* confidently.

Owing to his supernatural power he scaled the precipitous cliffs without trouble, but as soon as he was out of sight *Ăllsiăx̣* rubbed the paint from his face, causing the goat to vanish. *Ăx̣ă* returned, unsuccessful and puzzled, and that night they camped without food.

Early in the morning *Ăllsiăx̣* went to the river where he washed himself four times. Then he put his hands down at his side, as if without reason, but when he brought them up there was a beaver held in either palm. These he carried back to the camp where he woke the people, telling them to come and eat, an invitation which they gladly accepted.

That day the hunters divided into three parties, *Ăllsiăx̣* and *Ăx̣ă* each formed one, while the other hunters went together as a third group. When *Ăllsiăx̣* reached the base of a precipitous mountain not far from the camp he painted his face with a large number of red daubs, then, as he began to beat time and sing the song which the animals had used, goat after goat fell dead before him. He thus killed a great many, but when *Ăx̣ă* returned at night *Ăllsiăx̣* found that his rival had been equally successful. They hunted no more, but instead dried the meat and then went back to *Stuix* where each gave a potlatch.

Ăllsiăx̣ carefully hung the leg-bones of his victims around the walls of his house. After he had hunted several times, always using the paint and the song, his house was full and he prepared to give a shaman's dance, as had been directed by the father of the mountain goat he had cured. But old *Skimutcitl*, fearing that this would mean that his son would no longer go hunting to keep his household plentifully supplied with fresh meat, refused permission. This was more than *Ăllsiăx̣* could endure. For four days he lay down on a raised platform behind the fire, deliberating on his next move, then decided to assume the form of a mountain goat. That very night he did so, leaping down from his resting-place with a goat-skin loosely wrapped round him, shaking himself once to place it firmly in position, then bounding out through the door. An old woman, who happened to be sitting awake near the exit as he dashed past her, threw some red paint at him, leaving a daub on his flank.

Skimutcitl was filled with consternation and grief. In a frenzy of despair he rolled on the ground so near the fire that most of the hair of his head was singed off.

"I have exiled my son, I have destroyed my own food,"[38] he wailed.

Ăllsiăx̣ never returned. For generations hunters from *Stuix* saw on the mountains a large male goat which they recognized as the lost man by the red stain on his flank. Perhaps he became immortal, perhaps he

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[38] He used a term meaning, "I have cut my meat," having the double significance of driving away his son, and as such taking away much of his meat supply.

*539 was so wily that no one could kill him, perhaps no one was reckless enough to try. Who knows?

THE ADVENTURES OF *Ālisiāx̣*
(*Second Version*)

Long ago there were two men who had supernatural ability for killing mountain goats. *Ālḷsiāx̣*, who lived at *Stuıx*, had a miraculous chequer-work mat of cedar-bark which he used to spread on the ground near the base of a mountain when he went hunting; as soon as it was in position, numerous flies would come floating down from the upper slopes to settle on it. Though they appeared as insects, each was really the spirit of a mountain goat so that, when *Ālḷsiāx̣* squashed a fly, the goat of which it was a supernatural element would fall down dead not far from the place. *Nusqwaxlān·i*, of *Tāl·io*, was the owner of a pair of miraculous shoes which made the mountain trails so easy for him that he could follow the goats to their resting places. The reputation of each as a hunter spread far and wide.

In course of time they decided to compete to find out who was the better. Such a competition between rivals was not uncommon and was termed a *wina*, the same as a war expedition. With this aim in view *Nusqwaxlān·i* went to *Stuıx*, whence the two hunters went out together into the mountains, each taking a number of friends to carry back the meat. They camped for the night and it was decided that *Nusqwaxlān·i* should go out alone the first day. As he set out he could see, having miraculous eye-sight, very many goats on the mountains so that he expected a successful day's hunting. But, as soon as his rival had left, *Ālḷsiāx̣* painted with charcoal on his own face representations of mountain goat tracks; instantly all that *Nusqwaxlān·i* on the mountain could see were tracks of the animals, not one in the flesh. Though he hunted diligently all day, he succeeded in killing only one small goat. Much ashamed, he skinned this animal, cut up the flesh, toasted it, and gave it to *Ālḷsiāx̣*, who meanwhile had washed his face.

"I don't know what is the matter," said *Nusqwaxlān·i*, "this is the first time that I have ever failed so miserably. I can give you only one goat."

Ālḷsiāx̣ thanked his rival profusely, and said that the flesh was very fine, as sweet as salmon. It was, in fact, a tasty kid.

"Please don't go out hunting tomorrow," said *Ālḷsiāx̣* to *Nusqwaxlān·i*, "let me try my fortune, and you try again the following day."

So *Ālḷsiāx̣* set out alone early in the morning, telling his packers to meet him about noon. He spread his mat on which flies soon settled, and as he squashed them, dead goats fell from the mountain slopes above. His packers worked very hard and managed to carry all the carcasses to camp, where *Ällsiāx̣* toasted the meat. He gave everything, meat, grease, and hides to *Nusqwaxlān-i*, saying that it was in return for the latter's present of a single kid the preceding day. *Nusqwaxlān-i* was thus shamed and went back to *Tāl·io* the next day, defeated.

Ällsiāx̣, with his father, *Sk̇imutcitl*, and some friends, remained in camp to prepare smoked goat meat and hides for the winter, taking full advantage of the excellent hunting. One evening they heard the hooting of an owl. There was something peculiar about the sound and *Ällsiāx̣* said to his father:

"That is no owl, it is a person."

Ignoring *Sk̇imutcitl*'s disbelief, *Ällsiāx̣* set out to investigate. There was deep snow on the ground so that he had to use snow-shoes, the crunch of which apparently betrayed him, because the hooting ceased. Presently it began again. *Ällsiāx̣*, having bound a goat-skin over his snow-shoes to deaden the noise, crept forth and this time he was able to locate the source of the sound, a tall blasted tree on the top of which he could see a man seated. He was wearing a large abalone-shell nose-ring and *Ällsiāx̣* determined to shoot an arrow through the ornament.[57] His aim was faulty, it pierced the man's neck and he fell down dead. Examining the corpse, *Ällsiāx̣* realized that he must have been a scout of the people known to the Bella Coola as *X̣āt*, a branch of the Carriers whose home was in the south but who were accustomed to range far afield, always ready for a quarrel. He cut off the head and carried it back to camp, where *Sk̇imutcitl* was sitting with his limbs spread out to get the full benefit of the fire.

Ällsiāx̣ crashed the bloody head down on his father's naked body, saying as he did so:

"There's your owl."

Sk̇imutcitl collapsed with terror.

"I am old," he wailed, "and cannot run away. Anyway it does not matter what happens to me, just cover me up in a corner."

This seemed the best plan, so *Ällsiāx̣* lifted the planks from one corner of the floor of the shelter, and his father crawled down to cower under a skin. Then the boards were replaced and ashes were strewed over all. No one would have suspected that a man was hidden beneath. When this was done *Ällsiāx̣* and the other young men abandoned the camp.

The Bella Coola realized that the *X̣āt* people were so superior in numbers that they would have no chance in an open fight, but *Ällsiāx̣*

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[57] The story does not give the reason for this.

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knew of a natural hiding-place, capable of defence, to which he led the way. It was a large cave, opening in a precipice, only to be reached by climbing a tree which grew close to the cliff, and from its upper branches crossing on some kind of ladder brought up from below. The fugitives felled a sapling on which they reached the cave in safety, drawing their bridge in behind them. The people of *X̣ät* trailed them to their lair and without more ado began the attack. Recklessly they climbed the tree so that it was an easy matter for *Ällsiäq*, from within the cave, to pick off one after the other with his arrows. At each shot he killed one of the attackers, but his supply of arrows was exhausted when only about a quarter of the *X̣ät* warriors had fallen, and the others continued to press the assault. Fortunately, there were many stones in the cave and by accurate throwing the Bella Coola were able to keep the attackers at bay. In fact, before the stones were finished they managed to kill about as many of their foes as *Ällsiäq* had done with his arrows. Meanwhile the *X̣ät* people in some way[88] had succeeded in felling the tree so that it leaned against the entrance to the cavern, where they fastened it with ropes, thus having a comparatively easy means of access to the very mouth of the shelter. It was a critical moment. *Ällsiäq* rushed forward and cut the ropes. Then, heedless of the blows that were rained on him, he used the sapling as a lever against the tree, causing it to sway to and fro until all the climbers—and they were all the attackers still alive—had been shaken off. Some were killed instantly by their fall, others were maimed. *Ällsiäq* swarmed down the tree-trunk and quickly dispatched all who were still breathing. The Bella Coola scalped their slain enemies and with their bloody trophies returned to camp.

One of the *X̣ät* men, instead of taking part in the attack, had gone to the Bella Coola camp where he had remained stuffing himself on the meat. Even when the victors drew near he did not try to run away, lacking the necessary energy. *Ällsiäq* asked the *X̣ät* which scalp was that of the chief and, when the prisoner had pointed it out to him, he placed it firmly on the head of the cowardly captive and bade him dance. Amid the derisive hoots of his captors he was forced to perform while so ornamented, and meanwhile the conquerors heaped every other possible ignominy on him. It was *Ällsiäq*'s wish that this man should be spared to carry the word to his home that it was the Bella Coola who had slain the *X̣ät* warriors. This was done, the victors giving their prisoner enough meat to enable him to reach his journey's end; then they too set off for home, carrying with them abundant stores of smoked goat meat.

Now occurred what the Bella Coola regard as very strange. *Ällsiäq* had become a shaman from Mountain Goat and as he was proceeding homewards the goat meat spoke to him.

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[88] The account is vague.

"In the future," it said, "you needn't bother chasing us to the mountains. Just sing and we will come to you and fall dead. But never break our leg-bones. Keep them until you have two boxes full, then perform a *kusiut* dance, using for it the power which you have received from us."

When he returned to *Stuie*, *Ålkiäy* placed a large box on each side of the door of his house. Whenever he sang, goats came trooping down from the mountains and fell dead; his success as a hunter was truly phenomenal. Before long he had filled both boxes with the leg-bones of the goats which he had killed.

Then *Ålkiäy* said to *Sḱimatciil*, "I want to initiate a *kusiut* dance, as the goat meat told me to do."

Sḱimatciil was angry, knowing that if his son did so he would be forced to remain secluded for long periods and be unable to continue hunting.

"If you start a *kusiut* rite," *Sḱimatciil* answered, "you will spend all your time lying down. Now you are having success as a hunter, what more do you want?"

"I cannot help that," *Ålkiäy* replied. "Unless I perform this rite the goats will carry me away."

Ålkiäy felt very bitter at his father's lack of sympathy. For four days and four nights he lay, without sleeping or eating, on a raised platform behind the fire. Then, to the amazement of the people of the village, a number of goats came walking up to his house. A herald reported this to *Ålkiäy*.

"All right," he replied. "Do not disturb them. Do whatever they want."

The goats, including old ones and young ones, male and female, entered the house, led by an old he-goat. When they had circled the fire four times, the leader shook himself, and a spare hide jumped from his body. This the animal tossed to the raised platform, where *Ålkiäy* put it over his shoulders and wriggled. Forthwith he became a goat, jumped down, and followed the others as they ran from the house. As he dashed out the doorway an old woman struck at him with her hand smeared with red paint; it left a daub on his flank. Many times afterwards hunters have seen the red-marked goat on the mountains.

Sḱimatciil was heart-broken.

"Oh, I have lost my son," he wailed. "I have lost my never-ending supply of good food."

In his grief he rolled on the ground until his head went into the fire and all his hair was singed off.

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THE MAN WHO TRIED TO RECAPTURE HIS DEAD CHILD[59]

Once, long ago, when a husband was absent sealing, his wife gave birth to a child. The woman's mother was in attendance, but though she did her best, her daughter died. Using her own discretion, the assistant killed the infant, the usual practice under such circumstances. The father of the dead woman was so grieved at the loss of his daughter and grandchild that he determined to leave the spot, a decision concurred in by the rest of the community. They stripped the planks from all the walls, and piled them on canoes, leaving the posts and beams of the houses alone in position. Their last act was to bury the woman and her baby within the framework of her home, perhaps with some vague idea of giving strength to it. Then they moved away.

The next night the husband returned, accompanied by a lad who had been sealing with him. He was, of course, all unaware of the calamity that had struck his household, in fact he had not expected his wife to be delivered during his absence. When still on the beach he heard a woman's voice.

"*Ăbutulka*," it said, "please bring me my basket."

It seemed as if the speaker were gathering clams, but the returning husband was much puzzled because *Ăbutulka* had long been dead. He went up to the village where the inky darkness prevented him from seeing that the houses were mere skeletons. On entering his own, he saw a fire in one corner with his wife sitting by it, running her fingers through her hair which had fallen loose over her forehead, and rocking an infant in a cradle suspended from a horizontal stick. As the delighted parent drew near he saw that the cradle was upside down, with apparently nothing to prevent the child from falling to the floor. He rushed up to remedy what he assumed to be his wife's carelessness, but when he touched the cradle there was a whistle—instantly fire, wife, cradle, infant, all vanished. Then the husband realized that they must have been ghosts, and in grief and horror rushed from the house into the darkness.

The man succeeded in locating his parents-in-law, who told him that his wife had died three days previously, and, almost mad with grief, he determined to attempt a rescue. He knew that on the fourth night after death the dead dance to welcome a newcomer, making him or her an official member of their community. Once admitted, there is no possible chance of returning to this world, so the husband resolved to try to catch his wife at the dance itself. He enlisted the aid of a number of friends with whose help he collected a number of full chamber-vessels, which he placed on the rafters of his now deserted house. Towards dusk he and his friends concealed themselves on the rafters, each with a vessel within arm's reach.

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[59] A story probably of Bella Bella origin.

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For a long time nothing happened; then was heard a sound as if some wooden objects had been thrown carelessly to the floor. Soon a small fire appeared. Presumably firewood had been dropped. Then the dead came in, one or two at a time, as mortals do when assembling for a dance. They took their places to "cure" the dead woman by a frenzied beating of sticks as *kukusiut* do when a dancer returns from the upper regions and must be called back to sanity. The leaders of the supernatural pounders are Grizzly Bear, *Snanq*, Wolverine, and one other. When all were in attendance, Wolverine smelt the hiding men.

"Take care," he called out, "I smell mortals."

His companions rushed out to investigate, but though they searched around the house they failed to discover the men hiding above them. Numerous pretty girls came in, decorated with cedar-bark, both dyed and undyed, and eagle down, all ready for the dance. After the frenzied beating of sticks, led by Wolverine, the dead woman began to dance while the choir sang. The husband could contain himself no longer. As he leapt down, his companions showered the whole house with the contents of their vessels, but with a whistle the dead vanished, leaving only scattered bones. The husband had failed.

THE BOYS WHO DRIFTED TO SEA

Long ago, when supernatural beings were so closely in contact with mortals that extraordinary experiences were more common than at present, a number of lads were bathing at *Ärda*, on the south side of North Bentinck Arm, about half a mile from the head. As four of them lay across a huge drifting log to dry themselves, they fell into a heavy sleep so that they were not awakened when, at high tide, their float began to drift away from the shore. It was near dusk before one of them awoke to find that only the peaks of the mountains were in sight. He quickly roused his companions, but they had no means of propelling the raft towards the distant shore. For a long time they wept bitterly at their fate, but at last one of them began to investigate and found some consolation in the fact that their log was hollow. The four crawled inside, smoothed away the rough edges of wood as much as possible, curled up together for warmth, and at last cried themselves to sleep.

In the early morning one of the boys awoke. Looking up through a crack, he saw the daylight momentarily obscured by a bird waddling across. Cautiously investigating, he found that a flock of white geese (swans?) had settled on the log, where they were walking to and fro in

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fancied security. He silently wakened his companions. Each stationed himself at the crevice until at a given signal each grasped the legs of two of the birds, thus pinioning eight in all. Unable to drag the geese through the narrow crack, one of the lads moved his birds along so that his neighbour could hold them with his own, and then went on top where he quickly wrung the necks of all. They skinned their booty, ate the flesh raw, and covered themselves with the plumage. The day passed without further incident, the log continuing to drift along though no land was in sight.

As on the preceding night the four slept inside the hollow log. At dawn they saw that there were more birds, this time Canada geese, resting on the trunk above their heads. The boys caught a number in the manner already described; as before, they dined on the flesh, and clothed themselves with the plumage of their quarry. The following morning they seized a number of gulls, and the next day some mallard ducks. By this time they had provided themselves with comfortable cloaks made from the skins of the birds.

Like its predecessors the fourth day wore away without incident, but that night the four boys were wakened by their log pounding against something. Looking out, they saw that it was crashing repeatedly against a rocky shore formed of small crags of some dark substance resembling coal; there was no beach in sight. The youngest of the four rashly jumped immediately for the land, but, though his brothers saw him, apparently, reach one of the rocks, he vanished as if the earth had swallowed him. The three survivors dared not follow, but instead remained shivering and crying inside their shelter. The log, constantly rebounding from the precipitous shore, slowly drifted along until caught in, what seemed to the voyagers, a whirlpool. Round and round it spun like a twig, now one end in the air, now the other; the three lads were dizzy and feared their last hour had come.

Though the boys did not know it, their log had been caught in the salmon-weir of *Nusḱiaqd*, the supernatural lord of the land of ashes. When a fire consumes wood, mortals see only ashes remaining. This is because *Nusḱiaqd* swallows the substance of the wood and takes it to his domain, which is called *S'qu'i or Squml*. But there is no strength left in that portion of the wood which he devours, hence when the youngest of the four brothers jumped on to it he passed right through; it was nothing more than the form of a crag. *Nusḱiaqd* has a huge salmon-weir in which he catches the corpses of those drowned either in the rivers or the ocean; they serve him as food, in fact, they are his salmon. How much of this information was known to the three boys, or how much of it was learnt only from their adventures is a point that this tale does not explain. 539

In the morning, when *Nuskiapsk*'s servant *Tlaa'kwaa* went down to the weir, he was much surprised to see the enormous log in it. He ran back to tell *Nuskiapsk*, who asked him why he had not brought it to land. *Tlaa'kwaa* then returned to the salmon-weir and tossed the trunk ashore, a feat that his remarkable strength made easy. As it struck the ground, the log split, exposing the three boys cowering within; back ran the surprised *Tlaa'kwaa* to tell his master what he had seen, and *Nuskiapsk* told his servant to bring them home. When *Tlaa'kwaa* had delivered the message, the three followed him to the house where the first thing that met their horror-stricken eyes was their brother, dead, hanging spitted through the mouth amid a row of salmon. Seals were playing about as if they had been dogs; otherwise it resembled an ordinary house, always excepting the ghastly hanging corpse. An old woman sitting in one corner, though they did not know it, had long been a prisoner of *Nuskiapsk*, whom she determined to thwart by aiding the three boys.

"You will be seated," she whispered, "with a fire on each side of you. As the heat increases, your captors will examine you to see if your noses are sweating; if they are, they will say, 'What fine salmon,' and will kill and eat you. We are salmon to them. But take this piece of greenstone and conceal it under your arm-pit. When the heat increases so that you begin to perspire, just draw it out a little and it will become cooler where you are sitting."

With this advice the old woman gave the eldest of the three brothers a fine, smooth piece of jadeite, such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands.

Towards evening *Nuskiapsk*'s companions gathered in the house. They seated the three boys between two fires and offered them what they said was a kind of cranberry, but the lads had watched their hosts take the food from a large provision box and saw that it was really the eyes of dead people. The three declined the meal in horror; in so doing they were fortunate, because if they had eaten the eyes they would never have been able to return to the land of mortals. *Nuskiapsk* then killed one of the young seals which was playing around in the house and on this the three boys made their supper. Before long it began to get very hot, but the eldest lad pulled forth the stone so that he and his brothers did not feel the heat. Their hosts kept handling them and remarking what fine salmon they were, but the stone had done its work and their noses did not sweat.

When *Nuskiapsk* realised that he had no power over his guests he became friendly. At their request he restored to life the youngest brother

*539 whom, moreover, he made a shaman. The boys were able to make some return present to *Nuskiaqek*, whose wife had eyed the skin cloak covetously; this they presented to her. In the course of a few days the boys expressed a desire to go home.

"That is easy," said *Nuskiaqek*. "Your land is not far away, just a *mā·lqi*"[44]

Nuskiaqek showed them their home, and indeed it appeared to them as if it were less than an inch away. When he sent them off he warned them not to open their eyes, otherwise the journey would be a long one, but that if they kept their eyes closed they would reach their destination almost immediately. The boys did not know what kind of canoe they were in, and it was not till later that they found they were with *Nodkgnum*, the bringer of the salmon. The wanderers sensed the proximity of their own land, and opened their eyes to find themselves in front of their own village. They had been absent a whole year.

THE BOYS WHO DRIFTED TO SEA

(*Second Version*)

Once upon a time, long, long ago, when a number of lads were bathing on the tide-flats at the head of North Bentinck Arm, one of them, a boy of fifteen or sixteen years, swam out to a huge log which was floating a short distance from the shore. He clambered on to it and, finding it comfortable, called out to his companions to join him. Three younger boys did so. It was early in the afternoon of a warm sunny day and the four soon fell asleep, stretched on their stomachs, and lulled by the gentle movement of the water. Late in the afternoon the other bathers went home, without disturbing the four sleepers. The sun had set before the eldest of the boys awoke to find that the log had drifted so far out to sea that not even the peaks of the mountains were in sight. Dismayed, he roused his sleeping companions, who, realizing their plight, cowered together in fear. It began to grow cold. One of the boys discovered that their craft was hollow, with an entrance at the end from which roots had grown. The four crawled inside, where it was warmer, and spent an uncomfortable night with their craft pitching and tossing on the waves of the open sea.

The next morning when the eldest boy, who was the first to awaken, crawled to the entrance of the log he saw, projecting down from above, the tail of a bird which must have been perching on the very end of the shell. With a quick motion he seized the tail, by which he dragged a

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[44] A *mā·lqi* is a measure of distance equal to the width of the thumb and one finger.

swan into the log and wrung its neck. To his surprise another tail at once appeared in the aperture, and he was able to treat the second bird in the same manner. A third and a fourth followed in close succession. Four swans must have been roosting on the log, and each had unsuspiciously moved up to take the position at the end when it was vacated. The boys ate the flesh raw, and the eldest sewed the four skins together with swan sinew to make a rude cloak for himself.

That day and the following night passed without incident, the log drifting along out of sight of land. The next morning they caught four more swans, in the same manner as on the preceding day, and with these the eldest boy made a cloak for one of his companions. On the third and fourth mornings four more swans appeared, providing clothing for the remaining two boys.

That day they were roused by the crashing of their log against a rocky shore. As they peered cautiously forth they saw that their craft was bumping against a beach consisting of lumps of lava-like rock, ill-shaped boulders, and small crags. At the same time they heard a sound as if countless small particles were falling from a height, so the eldest boy concluded that they must have reached the Land of Ashes, *S'qu't*. Even at that distant time it was well-known that the substance of wood burnt in a fire is carried far across the ocean to *S'qu't*, where it appears as rocks having the original shape of the wood, but without its solidity. If this were not the case, Bella Coola would soon be buried beneath the mass of consumed firewood, whereas only a few ashes remain after a fire. The eldest boy further knew that in this land lived an evil chief, *Nuskiagek*, who devoured the corpses of human beings drowned in the ocean. Accordingly he warned his companions not to venture ashore, but one of them, over-anxious to leave the log, jumped out, only to vanish from sight as if he had passed through the rock to which he had leapt. This was indeed the case, it having merely the shape of a crag with the consistency of ashes.

The three survivors, even more terrified than before, continued to cower within their log as it drifted down the coast and finally entered a river where, during the night, it was caught in the salmon-weir of *Nuskiagek*. When the latter visited his trap in the morning he was amazed at the huge tree-trunk caught in it; it was so big that it had almost burst the weir, and was far too heavy for him to lift. He went to his house and sent his slave, one of the prodigiously strong dwarfs who formerly lived in the mountains to the east of Bella Coola, to attend to it. He tossed the log ashore and it split, revealing the three boys. Back ran the slave to his master to tell what had happened.

"Bring them here," said *Nuskiagek*.

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The three boys followed the dwarf to *Nuskiax̣ɛk*'s house, which they found to be similar to their own, except that seals were running around on the floor instead of dogs; these are, in fact, dogs to the people of the Land of Ashes. On looking around, they saw to their consternation their missing companion, dead, and hanging spitted through the mouth like a salmon. They further saw that their hosts were eating human heads; they fish for human beings as mortals fish for salmon. The boys cried out in horror at sight of their dead comrade and, when *Nuskiax̣ɛk* asked them the reason of their exclamations, they told him their story. He said nothing, merely invited them to sit down, and brought them a human head to eat. When they declined this with expressions of disgust he killed one of the seals, on which they made a hearty meal. After his guests had eaten, *Nuskiax̣ɛk* removed the corpse of their friend from the spit, placed in the ears some stale urine, and rolled the body in a mat with only the head exposed. He gently massaged the body, spitting on it and on his hands as he did so, until, when he had rolled back the mat, the three youths saw their comrade restored to life. The joy of the four at thus being reunited was past expression.

They asked *Nuskiax̣ɛk* whether they might return home.

"Yes," he replied. "*Noăkx̣nɩm* leaves shortly taking the berries and salmon to Bella Coola. I will find out the exact time of his departure and you can return with him."

Noăkx̣nɩm left the next day, taking with him the four boys who had spent the intervening night in *Nuskiax̣ɛk*'s house. The journey home was uneventful. When their supernatural conductor had moored his craft at the submerged pile near the mouth of the Bella Coola River the wanderers found a canoe in which they returned home. Their friends welcomed them as returned from the dead, having abandoned hope of their safety during their year's absence.

THE SALMON-BOY[81]

One spring morning, soon after the first people had reached this earth, and when it was still sparsely populated, some women were cutting and cleaning salmon on the beach. As one of them, whose name was *Maqwănts*, sliced open a fish, she saw inside of it a diminutive baby boy. At her cry of wonder, all her companions rushed up; there was much talking and excitement. Nearly all advised her to kill the infant because it was unusual and, therefore, to be dreaded, but one wise, thoughtful man told her to tend the child carefully; after some deliberation *Maqwănts* decided to follow his advice. She took the baby home, where she sponged him with soft cedar-bark and looked after him as if he had been her own.

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[81] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 73.

Within a few days he began to sit up and take an intelligent interest in what was going on around him. This phenomenal growth continued, so that when the salmon-child was only a year old, he had the stature and intelligence of a boy of fifteen or sixteen. The foundling had a great affection for *Maqwänts*'s own son, a boy of fifteen, and the two became boon companions. One day the salmon-boy asked *Maqwänts*'s husband to build for him a house on the shore of the river opposite the town, choosing a spot which was on the course taken by the mergansers in flying upstream. He further asked for, and received, some double-pointed, bone-tipped arrows, such as are used for fowling. When the house was completed, the salmon-boy invited his foster-brother to accompany him to it. Once inside he showed his comrade some mysterious food, a gift from *Älquntäm*, which he carried in his mouth on all occasions. Then he said:

"I want always to enter this house first, and must sleep on a raised platform-bed behind the fire on all occasions. When you come to the house, always knock; otherwise I shall fall dead."

After these instructions were given, the two boys crossed the river to their home. Early next morning, *Maqwänts*'s own son heard his comrade, whose name in the salmon language was *Skatpts*, meaning chief of the spring salmon, leave the mother's house. Obedient to the injunction, he said nothing, nor did he follow to the new shelter until the first sign of dawn. He knocked at the door and was told to enter by the salmon-boy. Mergansers were flying past within a few feet. *Skatpts* made his preparations by fastening to one of his arrows a cord, which he had plaited from woman's hair, so that he could draw back the missile after discharging it. With this contrivance he shot a single merganser, which the two boys carried back to the village. *Maqwänts* and her husband, as well as the man who had advised rearing the salmon-boy, were delighted at his skill, the child being only a year old. It was the first time that such a method of hunting mergansers had ever been employed.

The next morning before dawn the salmon-boy again stole away to the new house, followed, as before, by his foster-brother at day-break. This time he killed two mergansers, which he bore home in triumph. The third morning he slew three birds, four on the fourth, and ten on the fifth. That evening *Maqwänts*'s husband gave a feast to all the chiefs with the mergansers the salmon-boy had brought in, and the company was greatly pleased at his phenomenal success. On the sixth day he brought back a river canoe filled with the birds, which he distributed to each household, amid great rejoicing.

*539 About this time *Skalpts* gave the following instructions to *Maqwänts*'s son:

"If I should die, feel in my mouth behind my right molars and draw from there my food. Put this into your own mouth, and, like me, you will never be hungry for it is my good fortune,[a] the source of my power. If you take it you will have the same. Then have built for me a house on the beach in which you must lay my body on a bed. Do not enclose it in a coffin. Watch near the house on the fourth night after my death."

One day the foster-brother forgot to knock before entering the hunting lodge, and forthwith the salmon-boy fell dead, to the terrible grief and horror of the offender. Furthermore, he was greatly alarmed at the thought of his parents' anger when they should learn the cause of their adopted son's death. But he remembered his comrade's instructions, felt in the mouth of the corpse and drew from it an object that was cold, hard, and round, like a bird's egg. When he had put this into his own mouth he felt no further need for food. He recrossed the river to the village where he explained the death of the salmon-boy, through his own error. On hearing the news, all the villagers bitterly lamented the loss of such a fine young man, who had proved himself a public benefactor. Sorrowfully, they brought back his corpse on a platform between two lashed canoes. *Maqwänts*'s son told his father of the salmon-boy's wish to have a house built on the beach for his body, and everyone gladly helped in this task. Inside, they made a bed whereon they laid the body, obedient to the instructions of the deceased, not enclosing it in a coffin.

On the fourth night *Maqwänts*'s boy stole away from his friends to watch near the house in which lay his dead comrade. Presently he heard a canoe approaching, and voices in it speaking his own language, but he could see nothing. The craft was a salmon canoe, and the people in it salmon people, but the watcher was ignorant of this. They were discussing where the house ought to be, and when they saw it they landed. One of them, as the concealed lad judged from the sounds, went to the door and knocked.

"Please get up!" he said.

This he repeated four times; *Skalpts* obeyed the fourth summons, emerged from the house, and went with the strangers to their canoe. Seeing his comrade about to embark, *Maqwänts*'s son called out:

"Please wait. I want to go too."

"You are sure you want to come?" asked his foster-brother.

"Yes," responded *Maqwänts*'s son.

"Wait a minute," said the salmon-boy to the occupants of the canoe.

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[a] *Siya.*

Maqwänts's son came running up and jumped into the canoe, which he was able to see, and also the salmon-boy, but not the latter's companions. The canoe moved away rapidly to the west, beneath the surface of the ocean, without visible means of propulsion. Presently, the salmon-boy rubbed his hands over his comrade's eyes, enabling him to see the crew, who were salmon people, but in human form.

Onward the canoe sped until it entered a belt of air reeking with the foul smell of countless sardines, which drifted out as the party passed by the shore of the Land of Sardines. This country the travellers reached first, because that fish is first to reach the rivers in the spring. The village, the people, the sun, were all the same as upon the earth, but the land was beneath the surface of the sea. Beyond the sardine country they reached that of the herring, the second fish to come to British Columbia rivers in the spring, then came to the olachen land, and finally to that of the salmon, *Qolohmxao wa smikets*.[53] Here was a series of adjoining towns, the first populated by the spring salmon people, the second by the dog salmon, and so in succession came the settlements of all varieties. In front of these towns extended a beautiful, wide, long, grassy beach. The canoe landed at the first town, where *Maqwänts*'s son found himself among countless spring salmon men. In the next, that of the dog salmon, he noticed that the people laughed so much that their teeth projected. On the beach were numerous women digging white roots. *Maqwänts*'s son said to *Skaipts*:

"I want to go for a stroll along the beach."

"All right," replied the salmon-boy, "but do not stay too long, as I want to take you to my father's house in the middle of the town. Its front is painted to represent the jaws of an animal, the doorway being the mouth. It opens when anyone wishes to enter; jump quickly inside and all will be well. If a visitor passes slowly through the doorway, the jaws close and crush him."

Maqwänts's son promised to be absent for a short time only.

As he walked along the beach he saw that all the women whom he had previously noticed were either Canada geese or mallard ducks, and that all were blind. One woman smelt him and called out to her companions:

"*Maqwänts*'s son is here."

"No. It is impossible," they answered, laughing. "He is thousands of miles away."

Maqwänts's son chewed up some of the white roots they had been gathering and spat in the eye of the woman who had smelt him. Thus she gained the sight in that eye.

"Yes, it is *Maqwänts*'s son," she cried out. "I can see him."

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[53] Also termed, *Nu'yen-ixim* because it is taboo for salmon to lay eggs there.

No one believed her. Then he spat in the eye of one of the other women, and she gained the sight of that eye, so was able to confirm the fact that the son of *Maqwānts* was among them. But the others, still disbelieving, asked how he could possibly have reached their country. When he told them the story of his travels they did believe, because many of them knew about the salmon-boy who had gone to live among men. All the women begged to be granted their sight, so he spat in the eyes of everyone and each received vision; if he had not done so, using the power he had received from *Ālquntām*, all geese and mallards would still be blind. The first woman to whom he had given sight showed gratitude by her anxiety for his safety. She told him not to venture among the women who were swimming in a neighbouring river, but instead to go at once to the home of the salmon-boy's father.

Maqwānts's son followed the woman's advice and without difficulty found the house, which resembled a Haida one, with elaborately carved front and totem-pole. In the latter was the jaw-like door, which the visitor passed through safely, to find, within, all the chiefs gathered to meet him, as comrade of *Skatpts*, beside whom he sat down. Food was passed around and accepted by all except *Maqwānts*'s son; he did not like salmon fare, but felt no hunger, thanks to the miraculous food which he carried in his mouth. Towards dusk he suggested to *Skatpts* that they go for a walk to see the town and its inhabitants, and they set out together. The land of the salmon and geese was warm and pleasant so they had an agreeable stroll as far as the last house of the village, where the occupants politely offered them food. The salmon-boy declined it, saying:

"We are just out for a walk, to see the people."

Presently, as they strolled further, *Maqwānts*'s son saw in one of the houses a beautiful merganser woman with whom he fell in love.

"I want to marry that woman," he said to *Skatpts*.

"Don't do that," replied his comrade. "Take any other woman you choose, but she comes of a bad family. She has been married several times, and on each occasion her father has murdered his son-in-law. I should be afraid of *Maqwānts*, if you were killed."

Maqwānts's son persisted, and against the advice and wishes of his comrade he was married forthwith, and spent the night with his bride.

Next morning, as soon as *Maqwānts*'s son had risen, his new father-in-law asked him to go salmon-fishing with him and he agreed. The two embarked on the river in a canoe, *Maqwānts*'s son in the bow. When they reached mid-stream, the merganser man tilted the craft so that his son-in-law was thrown into the river. His father-in-law expected him to be drowned, because no salmon can swim in its own river, but *Maqwānts*'s son, being human, easily reached the far shore. The salmon-boy and his father, who had watched the attempted murder from the other bank, took a canoe and fetched the lad back to their side of the river. All the salmon people wanted to kill the evil merganser man, but *Maqwănts*'s son said:

"No. I will settle him myself, tomorrow."

That night he slept again with his wife, who felt that she was pregnant, and the next morning the merganser man and his son-in-law again went out to fish, but this time the latter insisted on taking his place in the stern. In mid-stream he tilted the canoe so that his father-in-law fell out and was drowned. He did so partly in revenge for the attempt upon his own life, partly at the request of his wife, who said that her father was always killing her husbands and destroying her marriages. Next day the wife of the murdered man gave birth to a male child, and on the following day the wife of *Maqwănts*'s son bore twins, a boy and a girl. This was possible because mergansers breed quickly. The twins were somewhat different from the usual merganser or salmon children. Not long afterwards *Maqwănts*'s son said to his comrade's father:

"I want to go home. Neither my father nor my mother knows where I am. They must be grief-stricken."

In fact both *Maqwănts* and her husband were almost prostrated at the loss of their son. The spring salmon chief told everybody to get ready for a journey and in four days the preparations were complete. All the fish accompanied *Maqwănts*'s son, in the van the sardines, then the herring, the olachen and the rest, in the order of their arrival on the British Columbia coast in the spring. The host travelled slowly, camping at night, when they sang and danced, as if on a picnic, but never leaving the land beneath the ocean. When near the mouth of the river the spring salmon chief asked *Maqwănts*'s son to go ahead to tell his father of the coming of the fish people who wanted presents in the shape of mountain goat grease, eagle feathers, and soft cedar-bark, to use as sponges for their babies. So *Maqwănts*'s son with his wife and two children went ahead, in the shape of salmon, and entered his father's fish-weir. The old man was lying on the framework of the dam, weeping over the loss of his son, when he felt four successive jars, indicating that four salmon had entered his trap, but he was too listless to raise it. His son and the latter's family threw off their salmon form and became human.

"Please lift your trap," *Maqwănts*'s son called out to his father. "My children will catch cold."

Recognizing his son's voice, the father joyfully raised the trap, and his delight was unbounded when he saw his son again, with a beautiful wife and two handsome children. *Maqwănts*'s son asked his father to strew the house with clean sand and to summon the neighbours. That

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night when they had assembled, the wanderer told about his adventures and the desires of his friends, the fish, who were waiting in the river. *Maqwänts* and her kinsfolk were delighted with the lovely wife her son had brought home. Next morning the people threw into the river large quantities of mountain goat grease, eagle feathers, and cedar-bark, which the salmon gladly received.

Maqwänts's son told his father that if anyone made his children cry his merganser wife would leave him and never return. On this being explained to the villagers, they all promised never to strike either of the children on any account. Unluckily, the twins were mischievous, always making other little boys and girls cry, but for three years no one raised a finger against them. Then one day a bad boy struck one of the children who ran home sobbing to his mother. She too wept when he came in; when she told her husband that she must leave him, he also began to cry. She took her two children, went to the river side, lifted the edge of the water as if it had been a mat and plunged beneath it. They all swam away as salmon. *Maqwänts*'s son tried to follow, but failed because he had lost his power of changing into a fish.

Since that time no salmon have lived among men.

FURTHER ADVENTURES OF THE SALMON-BOY

One day *Maqwänts*'s son was playing on the beach with a sling, a toy that used to be very popular. As he shot stone after stone out over the water, he thought to himself how happy he should be if he happened to hit and kill a salmon. Then he chanced to see a dead one lying on the beach. It was nothing but skin and bones, but he said to it idly:

"I wish you were alive; then you would be of some use."

To the intense surprise of *Maqwänts*'s son the salmon answered:

"Take me to the river and see what happens then."

The lad picked up the salmon, carried it to the river and threw it in. The fish swam around, jumped clear of the water four times and became strong and well. It swam back to the shore and politely invited *Maqwänts*'s son to go for a ride on his back. The boy agreed. Lifting his cedar-bark cape over his head he lay down on the salmon and sank his face close against its back, so that his nose was in a kind of pocket, protected by the cape. Before long the rider feared he might suffocate, and began to squirm, upon which the salmon hastily bore him to the shore to breathe. He asked what was the trouble and the son of *Maqwänts* replied that he could not breathe under the water. The fish told him to bury his head in the back fin and he would be all right. The rider obeyed and suffered no further inconvenience.

In a little while they came to some rapids where they saw, still beneath the water, a canoe in which they embarked, *Maqwänts*'s son taking the bow, the salmon, who had become a man, the stern. On and on they went till they smelt countless tiny salmon and were soon in the midst of an innumerable shoal of small fry which crowded the water so that the canoe was in danger of being sunk beneath their weight. *Maqwänts*'s son baled out the fish with his cedar-bark cape, and thus avoided the impending disaster. After passing through these small salmon the journey was continued without incident until a very foul smell arose, indicating an approach to a multitude of herring. Soon the canoe was in the midst of a vast shoal of these fish and again was in grave danger of sinking beneath the weight, but *Maqwänts*'s son cleared it out with his hands.

This danger past, the two went on till they came to a place where a couple of old men were seated on either side of the river leaving only a narrow passage for the canoe. These were halibut, who had taken up this position to intercept all canoes. *Maqwänts*'s son and the salmon bravely drove their craft through the narrow gap, though it was scratched in the process. Soon afterwards the salmon said:

"In a little while we shall see a place where some women bathe in the river, helped by an old man. We shall be able to have a good time with them."

Soon the salmon pointed out the house where the women lived, and the quiet stretch of water in which they bathed. *Maqwänts*'s son went ashore and hid himself. Soon he saw approaching a vile and ugly old man in dirty clothing who sat down on the shore.

"What is your job?" asked *Maqwänts*'s son.

"Oh!" replied the old man. "I sit here and when the women have finished swimming I help them to wash."

After a moment's thought *Maqwänts*'s son said:

"Please exchange clothing with me and then go and hide."

"All right!" answered the old man.

After the two had exchanged clothes, the old man hid himself while *Maqwänts*'s son sat on the beach clad in the other's rags, with his hat pulled down over his eyes to conceal his identity. Presently, four beautiful young girls came along, stripped off their clothing and dived into the water. *Maqwänts*'s son felt very much pleased with himself. When the first girl had finished swimming and came out on to the bank, he washed her by rubbing his hands all over her body, handling her with undue familiarity. She said nothing, merely went to a sunny spot and stood there drying herself. The young man repeated his actions with the second maiden who appeared, and also with the third. Neither said anything even when he ran his fingers up between their legs. But when he had finished with the fourth, she turned upon him, indignantly.

"You bad old man!" she burst out. "That is the first time you have ever done such a thing to me."

Maqwänts's son was silent.

"What did he do?" enquired the other three young women.

"He handled me familiarly," said the girl.

"He did the same to me," said the first damsel.

"And to me!" "And to me!" affirmed the second and third.

The fourth girl cursed him fluently, making full use of the wide range of Bella Coola execrations. Instead of answering, *Maqwänts*'s son threw off the old man's rags and stood forth in his true form. At once the four maidens fell in love with him and besought him to marry them. He declined to do so, but when they urged him to stay and be their temporary partner, at least, he agreed. He remained for two days exercising full marital rights.

After that he returned to the canoe and continued his journey with the salmon. When they had gone some distance the latter remarked that they would see more women on the shore; soon they came to a wide beach where they beheld a great number of blind women, who were in reality birds, digging roots. *Maqwänts*'s son watched them eagerly. When they had collected enough, they went into their house and began to cook the roots; silently, he crept in after them.

"I smell *Maqwänts*'s son," said one woman.

The others laughed at her but she persisted in her belief that he was among them. When the food was ready, the cook poured it out on a dish, whereupon the youth took it and concealed it under his cape. Each woman accused her neighbour of the theft; harsh words followed by blows ensued and pandemonium resulted. *Maqwänts*'s son spat in the eye of one of the women, enabling her to see. At this she cried out loudly:

"I have the power of sight in one eye. I see a very handsome young man in the house with us."

He spat in one eye of each, restoring its sight. The women all fell in love with him and wished to marry him but he replied:

"No. I am returning home in a very few days, but if you like I will stay with you for a time."

His hostesses, delighted, thanked him profusely. He, then, spat in the blind eye of each, thus giving her full vision. For several days he lived with the women, bestowing his favour impartially, but in no case did conception follow. Finally he returned to his salmon-canoe which took him home.

If *Maqwänts*'s son had not visited the land of birds the latter would be blind unto the present day.

THE BOY WHO HAD POWER OVER SALMON

A considerable period, perhaps seven hundred years, after the first people had come to this earth, the wife of *Änukkälsnam*, a Kimsquit man, dreamt that she became a salmon and in this form went up the river and caught a small fish. The following morning, when the woman remembered her dream, she realized that it meant she was about to have a male child. Presently she felt that she was pregnant, and long before the usual time had elapsed, she gave birth to a boy. The infant grew with such extraordinary rapidity that, when only three months old, he was able to sit up in his crib, a three-sided box fitted with a cross-bar, behind which he rested, with his legs projecting. This was the parents' first child, and the father, delighted with the infant's precociousness, gave him his own name, *Änukkälsnam*.

When young *Änukkälsnam* was one year old he had the appearance and ability of a boy of ten, and always accompanied his father on his expeditions, rather to his mother's dread. One day, when the first salmon of the season were running, his father took the lad to the mouth of the river, where he startled his parent by talking in a strange language.

"Father," he said when he had finished, "I have just had a conversation with the river people, who have asked a number of questions about us."

"What people?" the startled father asked.

"The salmon," answered his son. Then the father, remembering the story of *Maqwänts*'s son (II, p. 472) knew that his own son must be partly salmon and partly human, and that the language he had been speaking was that of the former.

He did not reply to his son's remark, and the two continued their journey to the edge of the ocean. When they passed the same spot on the return trip, the boy once more carried on an animated conversation with the salmon, from which, judging by his frequent laughter, he derived much pleasure.

When they reached home, the salmon-boy bade his father invite the people to his house, as he desired to transmit to them the wishes of his friends. As soon as all had assembled, the father told of his son's conversation in a strange tongue, from which he suspected that he must be in part a salmon. This the people readily believed, remembering the phenomenal speed with which he had grown. Acting as spokesman for his son, the father went on to say that the salmon wanted beaten cedar-

*539 bark, both dyed and undyed, roots, and other articles which they could not obtain in their own land. Next day the people, willing to oblige the salmon, gave *Ănukkălsnam* large quantities of the provisions named, which he cast into the river to the grateful fish.

When twelve years old, *Ănukkălsnam*, strong as a man, began to build a salmon-weir, to the great gratification of his neighbours. Wishing to obtain good cedar logs from *Suxwılk*, on Dean Channel, he set off in his canoe at dawn, before anyone was stirring. He travelled a little distance down the fiord to a bend where many salmon were lying, and at that point he sank his craft beneath the surface of the water, though he continued in human form, nor did the canoe change as it passed amongst the salmon. Their chief recognized *Ănukkălsnam*, whom he greeted by name, and informed him that he was sending four salmon youths to assist him in his task. With their aid the craft sped on, without visible means of propulsion, at a tremendous rate of speed, and soon reached *Suxwılk*, eighteen miles down the fiord, where the four salmon, previously invisible, took on human form and helped the salmon-boy drag the heavy logs to his canoe. Swiftly they went back towards Kimsquit, and at the same point where he had gone beneath the surface, *Ănukkălsnam* brought his canoe from below, and paddled home, normally.

The people of the village, who were just getting up, were amazed at the celerity with which he had accomplished his task, but *Ănukkălsnam* explained that it was due to help which he had received from his salmon friends, and counting on that he had not desired any human aid. But he gladly accepted assistance from everyone in the construction of his fish-weir, so that it was soon finished. In it he caught many salmon, as his knowledge of their habits enabled him to set his trap in a suitable place. The youth repeated to his friends what he had learnt from the fish: that they should have respect for their prey, should never catch more than they could use, and especially should never throw any away.

One December a party of Kimsquit people, among them *Ănukkălsnam*, journeyed to Bella Coola for some ceremony. Returning, they encountered a gale from the northwest in Labouchere Channel which detained them for a whole month. At the end of that time their food was almost exhausted and they were at the point of starvation, having left but one dried dog salmon. One of the party, a man named *Lăklăkls*, whose children were starving, begged *Ănukkălsnam* to help them, promising him a canoe, if he stopped the wind. The salmon-boy agreed to do so, and asked for the single dog salmon left. It had been slit along the backbone and opened for drying, but he spread it out carefully, and placed within it two small stones. Then he bent up the edges of the fish, as they had been in life, and tied them in this position, so that the whole roughly resembled a salmon. He carried this effigy to the beach, where, holding it in his arms, he plunged into the water, coming to the surface a little distance from the shore; again he dived, to reappear farther out. When he had done this four times the salmon came to life. Immediately, the wind ceased, as it does in August, when the dog salmon breed.

According to the Bella Coola, the wind does not blow in August lest it incommode the dog salmon, hence, when one of these fish came to life, the wind obligingly ceased.

The travellers returned to Kimsquit, where the story of *Ănukkălsnam*'s exploit was told with wonder and awe, combined with great thankfulness. He was regarded as having received special power from *Ălquntăm* himself, so that people used to beg him to intercede on their behalf with the supreme deity. As accounts of his prowess spread up and down the coast, the Fort Rupert people became jealous and determined to kill him. They sent a war-party for this particular purpose which lurked in hiding where it could watch his movements, and when an opportunity presented itself they slew the salmon-boy, and fled.

THE MURDER OF *Twalăllit*[44]

Once long ago a lad who had gone hunting in the mountains came to the house of *Twalăllit*, the supernatural hunter of mountain goats, where his wife, *Ălmınmınăm*, was removing the fat from a bear-skin. The animal had just been killed and as she scraped she often ate small tid-bits. She had fastened her blanket with a rope around her stomach so that it would not hamper her movements while working; this is the usual practice, but she had tied the blanket so high that whenever she bent down the lower part of her body became visible. The lad watched unobserved for some time until he became infatuated with the woman. He approached *Ălmınmınăm* and told her of his passion, at which she was not displeased; so the two entered the house where they spent the day lying together, both very happy. Towards dusk *Ălmınmınăm* said:

"*Twalăllit*, my husband, will soon return. Don't let him know that we have been together, sit over there," pointing to a place on the other side of the fire.

The lad did so. Before long *Twalăllit* came in.

"Hello, *Ălmınmınăm*," he said at once. "I see you have a guest. Has he just come?"

"Why do you always question me whenever you find a stranger here?" *Ălmınmınăm* retorted angrily. "You are too suspicious."

This only increased *Twalăllit*'s doubts.

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[44] Boas, p. 57, records a somewhat similar story.

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"I suppose you have been misbehaving with the lad," he continued. "That is the meaning of your anger."

"Yes," replied his wife. "What are you going to do about it?"

Twalăllit said no more, nor did he show any resentment; instead he hospitably prepared a comfortable bed for the youth.

"Don't go to sleep," *Ălmʌnmʌnăm* whispered to him. "If he gets a chance, *Twalăllit* always kills my lovers, and unless you keep awake he will murder you. When he yawns, you do the same."

As darkness settled down *Twalăllit* yawned noisily, saying:

"When I have been out on the mountains all day it makes me yawn, but I cannot go to sleep."

"It affects me the same way," answered the young man, as he too yawned noisily.

This continued for hours; whenever *Twalăllit* yawned the youth imitated him, and neither went to sleep.

It was dawn before *Twalăllit* fell asleep and began to snore. *Ălmʌnmʌnăm* had warned the lad what to do if this happened, so he rose silently, took *Twalăllit*'s stick,[*] which was planted upright beside the sleeper, and pointed it at him. *Twalăllit* died instantly, as this was the weapon with which he was wont to kill mountain goats by merely pointing.

Up to this time *Twalăllit* had always slain his wife's lovers by causing the planks beneath the bed to turn over so that the occupant was precipitated down a chasm, at the bottom of which there was a pile of bones of those he had murdered in this way. It was because *Ălmʌnmʌnăm* loved the lad that she not only saved him but showed him how to kill her husband.

The young man did not return to his home, but continued to live with *Ălmʌnmʌnăm*, who made him immortal. He assumed the name and occupation of *Twalăllit* and it is he who has been seen by fortunate hunters even within recent years. If the evil old *Twalăllit* had not been destroyed there would still be many casualties, but his successor, himself once a hunter, is of a kindly disposition and often gives aid to mortals in their pursuit of game. The old people used to say that unless *Twalăllit* helped a hunter he would be unable to kill mountain goats at all.

THE MURDER OF *Twalăllit*
(*Second Version*)

Long ago hunters venturing into the mountains in pursuit of goats

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[*] A straight stick about seven feet long such as is carried by all hunters when they go into the mountains to assist them in climbing. *Twalăllit* always carries one.

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often failed to return, though no one knew what became of them. The fate of four brothers was typical of all. *Twaiāllis*, the supernatural hunter, met them and invited them to his house where he gave them a meal, but all the time he was plotting their destruction. He instructed his dog, *Ilaipāl*, to bite off their heads, which the animal did while the brothers were sleeping. *Twaiāllis* slew hunters in this way on many occasions.

Once a youth, hunting with a small dog, met *Twaiāllis*, who invited him into his house as usual. The host gave the unsuspecting mortal a meal and then went out hunting, himself. Heretofore *Twaiāllis*'s wife, *Ālmenmundm*, had made no effort to help her husband's victims, but she felt a great affection for this lad, which, he in turn, reciprocated; after misconducting herself, she determined to save him.

"When *Twaiāllis* returns," she warned him, "he will ask you the name of your dog. You must answer *Ilaipāl*, which is the name of his own dog. This will surprise him. He will then ask you if it has another name and you must say, 'Yes! He Who Can Hold Ten Goats in His Mouth at One Time.' Each time he asks you the dog's name, increase the number by ten, 'He Who Can Hold Twenty Goats in His Mouth at One Time,' 'He Who Can Hold Thirty Goats in His Mouth at One Time,' and so on. My husband will be powerless. Above all, do not go to sleep. When *Twaiāllis* yawns noisily, do so yourself, but do not sleep."

Presently the hunter entered the house.

"What is your dog's name?" he immediately asked.

"*Ilaipāl*," replied the youth.

Twaiāllis repeated the question.

"He Who Can Hold Ten Goats in His Mouth at One Time," answered the lad.

He replied in like fashion, repeatedly, as *Ālmenmundm* had instructed him, until at last *Twaiāllis*, much puzzled, admitted that the two dogs had identical names.

As darkness fell they went to bed. *Twaiāllis* yawned loudly and the youth imitated him, but neither slept. This continued throughout the night, but towards dawn *Twaiāllis* could keep awake no longer. Through his knowledge of the names of his host's dog, the mortal lad had gained power over it, and he now bade it slay his master, exactly as the latter had ordered it to kill the guest. *Ilaipāl* was prepared to obey the one who remained awake, so he forthwith devoured *Twaiāllis*'s head.

Instead of returning home the fortunate young man became immortal and assumed *Twaiāllis*'s position. It is he who has since been seen, without fatal results, by hunters.

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THE BRAIN SUCKER

Perhaps a hundred years after the first people came down to earth, there remained in *Nusmät·a* a woman, called *Snulpulpals*. She was old; so old that the skin on her face hung in great folds, while her breasts and body consisted of a mass of leather-like wrinkles of extreme ugliness. She was so old that she appeared hardly human, more like a witch than a woman. *Alquntam*, by his supernatural power, had kept her alive long after her normal span of life had been completed. One day she said to him:

"I want to go down to earth to pay a visit to my friends there."

Alquntam agreed, and caused an easy road to appear which led her to the bank of the Kimsquit River, opposite a village. She called out and four brothers who heard her brought her across in their canoe to the settlement, where they admitted her to their house. Then they sent word to all their friends to come and see the scarcely human hag whom they had found, this being the first time that the people had ever seen anybody of the kind.

Presently the four brothers went off to hunt mountain goats, leaving at home their sister, an adolescent girl, in seclusion. Some twenty or thirty people were living in the house, as was customary in the old days, and *Snulpulpals* was given a place near the door. That evening a baby girl cried incessantly; the mother could not pacify her.

"Please give her to me," said *Snulpulpals*, "I will put her to sleep."

The old woman took the fretting child in her arms and crooned into her ear:

"*Kulumalsikaa idaa, ai nalsitta i nix, kwls, kwls, kwls, kwli.*"
"Hush! Hush! Little girl, *kwls, kwls, kwls, kwli.*"*

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This is the kind of lullaby which mothers sing to their children so no one considered it surprising when the hag bent close to the infant's head. When no one was watching, she inserted her mouth into its ear, sucked out its brains, and thus killed the little one. Then she gave it back to its mother.

"Put it to bed," she said. "The baby is asleep."

The mother obeyed, not knowing what the treacherous old hag had done.

When night came all in the house went to sleep, except the young girl who lay awake, but silent in her corner. Presently she saw the flabby cheeks and lips of the old woman contract into a long, snout-like tube

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*This was recorded as song VII D 46b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

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extending from her mouth, which she inserted into the ear of one sleeper after another. The watcher was saved by her ceremonial uncleanness, that ever-potent protection against supernatural beings. No one stirred. Then the old woman went out. For four days the girl remained in her corner, and during that time no human being entered the house, from which she concluded that *Snulqulpāls* had murdered everyone in the village. The old woman herself returned at intervals but the girl said nothing to her.

On the fourth day the girl's brothers returned home, while the old woman happened to be absent. Their sister told them they had made a great mistake in bringing *Snulqulpāls* into the house, for she had killed all its occupants, and probably other households as well. One of the brothers stayed with his sister while the other three went to investigate. It was as the girl had feared; there were only corpses in the houses. She told her brothers that the old woman usually returned at dusk, so before that time the four lay down, feigning sleep, but fully determined to remain awake. Only the eldest, a shaman, carried out his resolve, the other three were soon snoring. When the old woman came in, the eldest youth had drawn his marmot-skin blanket over his face, but through a hole in it he watched the hag's snout materialize and stretch across towards the ear of one of his brothers. He jumped up with a shout, and severed the protruding proboscis with his knife. The four determined to slay the murderess. All night two of them guarded her, and at the first sign of dawn they cut off her head, her arms, and her legs, to cast them with her body into a hole made in the glowing ashes of their fire. Then the five fled up the river valley.

On the fourth day they saw *Snulqulpāls* pursuing them; she had come to life in spite of their efforts to destroy her. Hurriedly they crossed the river, and the eldest brother waited to watch for their enemy. When she was in mid-stream he reversed his marmot-skin coat, and immediately ice formed on the river which surrounded the old woman. They heard her calling after them, asking them to cut away the ice from about her face; they paid no heed, but continued their flight until night overtook them. The four brothers climbed a tree to be safe from *Snulqulpāls*, while their sister, protected by her uncleanness, remained below. At daybreak they continued their flight, kept going all day, and again climbed a tree to pass the night. All this time they thought they were upon their own well-travelled, well-known road, but instead it was the trail to *Sengʷ* they were following, and soon they saw a magnificent house with a man inside of it. The house was *Nusmāt-a* and the man *Älquntäm*, but they did not know this.

He invited them to enter. The five wanderers told him of their mis-

*539 fortunes, how all their people had been murdered by an old woman who had sucked out their brains through their ears, and how she was even now pursuing them.

"I know about her," their host answered.

This was the first inkling he had received of the crimes she had committed on earth.

Shortly afterwards *Snulpulpülis* came along, panting and tottering on two walking-sticks.

"I am tired," she said, but *Álquntäm* said sternly:

"I know now about all the evil you have wrought on earth."

He took a whip and beat her unmercifully. When he had finished he opened his door, and tore her to tiny shreds which he threw outside, saying:

"Henceforth you shall be mosquitoes."

[825] The fragments floated down to Kimsquit, where ever since there have

"Don't be down-hearted about the loss of your friends. I will help you. Spend the night with me, but tomorrow, when I send you home, I will give you something to restore the dead."

Next morning after breakfast he gave the eldest youth a small quantity of what looked like water, a drop of which he told him to put into each ear, each nostril, and the mouth of every dead one, for restoration. They were then told to return to earth on the road by which they had come, which would be made easy for them. It was as he had said; thanks to *Álquntäm*'s care, they reached earth in two days and one night. As soon as they came to their village the eldest boy first restored his parents, afterwards all the other people; to them it seemed as if they had only been asleep; none of them realized he had been dead. The eldest boy became wealthy through presents given to him in gratitude by those he had restored.

THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED WOLF

Once upon a time there was a young girl who was secluded in the corner of her house following puberty. Growing weary of her imprisonment, she one day slipped out through the hole in the floor to pick berries in the forest. Here she met a handsome young man who made love to her; at first she spurned him but at length gave in, and, immediately afterwards, the youth suggested that she return with him to his home, saying she could go back when she so desired; to this she agreed. They soon reached his house within which was his father, Wolf, who wore a wolf blanket and had a wolf's tail; only his face was human. As the old man moved around the house his tail almost went into the fire.

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"Take care!" the girl cried out, "you will burn your tail."

Much to her terror the old man became furiously angry and threatened to bite her.

Her lover had been absent when this was taking place but on his return she complained to him.

"What did you say that so angered father?" he asked.

"I told him his tail had almost caught fire," she replied.

"You must never do that," he answered, "it annoys him. Speak of his tail as his quiver, his arrows are inside."

The girl promised to remember, but she was badly frightened and wanted to go home, fearing lest her lover's father should devour her. They would not consent to her return; so it was like being in a prison.

One day as she was walking on a level tract of beach near the house the girl saw a huge mouth gaping before her from the sand. It was probably a [illegible], lying motionless in wait for its prey. Secretly she cut a stick, inserted it in the monster's jaws to wedge them open, then went back to her lover's house and told him that she had seen a strange sight, a yawning mouth like a house. [illegible] to investigate, the girl following. They plunged headlong down inside the mouth, whereupon she kicked away the stick, thus preventing their egress. The monster slowly shook himself, waddled to the sea and swam away with his victims.

The girl returned to Wolf's house where her lover's father had been left alone. She built a large fire in which she put a number of hot stones, then suddenly shoved the old man into it and held him down until he was burnt to death.

There was now nothing to prevent her return to her own home, so she set out. She arrived without further adventures and was welcomed as one back from the dead, a year having elapsed since she had disappeared. Remembering the stores of smoked deer and mountain goat meat in Wolf's house, she guided her relatives to this and they brought back large quantities of the food.

STUMP AND HIS WIFE*

Once upon a time, there was a little girl secluded in a corner of her house for the year following puberty. She frequently put on one side the food which her parents brought her, planning to wait until she needed it, but her elder brother used to steal this for himself, thus adding hunger to the discomfort of her confinement.

"What do you mean by stealing my food?" she asked him one day.

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*For another version of this story, see Boas, p. 100.

3 534 "It is because you are so greedy that no woman will have intercourse with you."

"Rot!" he replied. "I could sleep with you if I wanted."

That night as the girl was sleeping, her brother came and seduced her. She awoke just as he was leaving, too late to discover who her seducer had been. Thinking that whoever it was might return, she determined to remain awake the next night. For hours she lay feigning sleep, but towards dawn could keep awake no longer. Then her evil brother came again, as before fleeing as she awoke. She was much puzzled, unable to think who her lover might be. The third night she mixed some paint with gum and grease, warmed the mixture by the fire and went to sleep with it beside her. Once again her brother held intercourse, but this time, though he fled when she awoke and she was unable to see his face, she had been quick enough to throw out her arms, smeared with the sticky paint, and felt them come in contact with the man's body.

All the next day the girl kept peering out through the cracks in the wall of the house hoping to see a lad stained with paint. In the distance she could see the village boys playing, and noticed that one had stains on his body, but she was not close enough to recognize who it was. So she called one of her younger sisters.

"Go and see," she said, "who that is with paint stains on his back."

The younger child returned quickly.

"What's the matter?" she asked. "Can't you see? It is our eldest brother."

The girl was covered with shame and mortification. For four days she ate nothing, then gathered her few possessions—comb, paint, and so forth—into a small bundle, and set out, not caring where she went. Her younger sister saw her slip out through the hole in the floor.

"Where are you going?" she asked.

"Oh, I am just going to get some spruce gum to chew," she answered. "You run home."

The little girl did not want to go home, but turned back when her elder sister spoke angrily to her. Still intent on following, she hid in some bushes hoping that her sister would not notice, but the latter had become suspicious and watched. When she saw what the younger one had done, she turned back, caught the little girl, and, disregarding her struggles, tied her to a tree so that she could not come after her.

The elder sister now set out on her lonely journey, following a dried-up water-course which she ascended. Though she did not know it, this was the dry stream-bed leading from *Alquntam*'s house to this world, a track which often figures in Bella Coola mythology. To anyone else the stony stream-bed would have been difficult of ascent, to her it was like a fine road.

After a considerable period she heard the sound of axe strokes and, continuing her course, found that this was made by a middle-aged man with a huge head who was working at a salmon-weir. He was *Tmiax*, the water-scoured tree-stump with branching white roots such as is found in all rivers, but the girl did not know this. Stump saw her.

"Will you be my wife?" he asked.

"All right," she answered.

"Then come home with me."

The girl fearlessly accompanied Stump to his house, within which she saw sitting in a corner an old, old woman who had lost the use of her legs. As Stump was building a fire the old woman whispered to the newcomer:

"Don't eat any food that he gives you, or you will become helpless like me. I was once his wife. When he offers you food, accept it, but slip it down under your blanket into this pouch, and chew the sinew that fastens your blanket as if you were masticating."

As she said this the old woman handed the girl a small skin pouch.

Meanwhile Stump had prepared a meal. He gave his new wife, as a delicacy, some smoked meat of spring salmon which had spawned. She pretended to eat, but in reality slipped it down into her pouch as the old woman had directed.

Then Stump said, "The lice in my hair must be numerous as I am itching and uncomfortable. I want to scratch all the time. Please delouse me."

"All right," said the girl. "You lead the way to a suitable place for the operation and I will follow."

Stump went outside.

As his wife was following, the crone whispered to her:

"Take my bone knife." The girl took it and the old woman continued: "What he calls lice are really toads which infest his hair. Use the knife to pierce them, then throw each far away, and as you do so close your teeth noisily as if you had bitten it."

Stump was waiting near the door. His wife carried out the old woman's instructions; she pierced toad after toad, and as she threw each away she clacked her teeth. Once he became suspicious that she was not eating his "lice" and asked:

"What is that noise?"

"Oh, that is just squirrels dropping cones from the tree-tops," she answered, though of course it was made by the bodies of the toads striking the ground.

When the operation was completed, Stump, saying he must work at his salmon-weir, gathered up his tools and went off. This seemed to the girl a chance to escape and she rushed off again up the river-bed.

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But as soon as she had left the house the chamber-vessel called out: "Stump! Stump! Stump! Come quickly, your wife has run away."

Stump dashed off and soon caught the girl whom he dragged back to his house.

"Don't be such a fool as to try to run away," he said. "I can get you wherever you go."

The girl pretended that she was resigned to her fate so Stump went back to work. Then the old woman called to her.

"His chamber-vessel always spies for him," she said, "but if you bore holes around the rim it will become helpless."

The girl perforated the vessel. Whereupon the old woman gave her four presents, a whetstone, a comb, a mountain goat bladder filled with oil, and a bone needle.

"Take these," she said, "and when your husband pursues you throw one after the other behind you; they will delay him."

Thus provided for, the girl fled again. The chamber-vessel, seeing her leave, tried to warn his master but could do no more than cry, "*xwo·la! xwo·la! xwo·la! xwo·lo··!*" for the power of speaking had been taken from it. For a long time Stump paid no attention to this senseless calling, but at last, urged by curiosity, he returned to find the vessel perforated and his wife gone. At once he set off in pursuit up the river-bed. He could travel more rapidly than the girl, who soon realized that she was being followed. Before long he had almost overtaken her, so she threw behind her the bladder filled with oil; it became a large lake. Stump had to go around this, and by the time he had done so, his wife was far in advance. He grimly pressed after her, again gaining rapidly, until once more she was almost within his clutches. This time she dropped the comb which grew into a thick forest of small, spiky trees. Stump plunged into this but his large head was constantly becoming entangled.

"Which way did you go?" he called to his wife.

"Straight through the middle, come along," she answered him mockingly.

After considerable delay Stump succeeded in penetrating the forest and once more set off after the fugitive. He followed her trail relentlessly until again he was but a short distance behind when she cast the bone needle on the ground. Instantly there arose between husband and wife a multitude of small, sharp needles, which pierced Stump's feet so that he could only advance slowly, picking his steps with caution. Again he asked the girl how she had traversed this patch, and as before she said she had come through the middle. At last Stump reached the end of this area and again took up the trail of his wife. Once again he gained on her, until, when she was just before him, she threw down the whetstone; it became a massive stone rampart entirely hiding her. 539*

She continued her journey and presently came to a house, through a crack in the wall of which she saw a man. It was *Ălquntăm*, but she was not aware of this. He sensed her presence and greeted the girl:

"I have known for some time that you would come, for you have fled from your home in trouble. I have been waiting for you, you shall be my wife. Don't be afraid; come in."

The girl slowly entered though almost driven back by the great heat. *Ălquntăm* rubbed his hands over her face and at once she ceased to feel it. The two sat down and had supper together very happily. Presently Stump appeared.

"Have you seen my wife?" he roared through the doorway.

"Perhaps this is she," replied *Ălquntăm*. "Come in and see."

Stump's head was so big that he could not get through the door, but, by craning his neck, he could see that it was his lost wife inside, and he called out that she was there. *Ălquntăm* wrapped his blankets around himself and went to the door, then suddenly threw them open, whereupon the heat was so great that Stump's branching head caught fire. He was consumed entirely, not even ashes were left.

The girl lived happily with *Ălquntăm*, soon giving birth to a son. The infant grew with such remarkable speed that when he was the size and had the appearance of a child of three, he had the intelligence of a man. Realizing that his mother was lonely and sometimes wished to see her parents, he told his father of this; *Ălquntăm* was grateful for the suggestion.

"Don't fret," he said to his wife. "Your mother is not far away."

The woman looked down and saw her home as if it were just beneath her feet.

"If you want to visit your mother," continued her husband, "you can do so on my eye-lashes."

By "eye-lashes" he meant the beams of the sun on which the thoughts of mortals penetrate to *Ălquntăm*. [821]

Next morning the woman took her child, descended on *Ălquntăm*'s eye-lashes and soon landed at the door of her father's house. Her mother was weeping, as indeed she had done incessantly since the loss of her daughter. The girl did not enter at once, but rapped with a stick on the wall near where her mother was sitting. The woman thought that someone was being mischievous and sent a little girl of six to investigate.

"It is my sister, with a baby," she called out as she came running back.

"Don't lie to me," the mother answered. "It is impossible, your sister has been dead for more than a year."

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The woman sent another messenger, a child of about ten, who likewise reported that it was indeed the missing girl; then the mother rushed out, and was overjoyed to see her long-lost daughter. Equally great was the latter's delight at sight of her mother. *Äłquntäm*'s wife told her relatives to spread sand on the floor of the house, and when this was done she entered through a hole in the roof, being careful not to use the door.

The mother and her child stayed for some time on earth. The little boy used to play with the other children who often made fun of him because his eyes were feeble. Sometimes they even said:

"Your father cannot be *Äłquntäm*, if he were, your eyes would be all right."

This so angered the child that at last he returned to his father's house above. No one knows whether or not his mother accompanied him.

STUMP AND HIS WIFE
(*Second Version*)

Stump once appeared in the guise of a handsome man to a woman whom he invited to his home. She agreed to go, ignorant of his true form, and followed him to his house, where the two sat down together to a meal. Afterwards, Stump asked her to remove and eat the lice which infested his hair. They went outside and when he moved his head so that the sun fell on it the woman saw, to her horror, that it was covered with toads. Instead of eating them as her husband had directed, she merely bit them and spat them from her mouth. On returning to Stump's house she sat down; presently when she tried to rise she found she could not—roots had grown from her body fastening her to the ground. She had become a *Nusqiułbutsäx*, the term applied to a person thus fastened to one spot.

This version then describes how in course of time Stump caught another girl, the heroine of the first tale, and how the *Nusqiułbutsäx* kept warning her every day that when her husband asked her to remove his lice she must stab them with a needle and throw them away. On warm days the vermin worried Stump; it was on one of these that he asked his girl wife to cleanse his head, which she did in the manner already described. *Nusqiułbutsäx* told the girl how she would be able to escape with the assistance of four presents, a whetstone, a comb, a goat bladder filled with goat grease, and a cloud.

The girl fled away, but Stump, warned of her flight by his chamber-vessel's cry of "*xwo·la! xwo·la! xwo·la! xwo·lo··!*," sped after her. He had almost caught her when she threw behind her the cloud; instantly Stump was enveloped in a dense fog which so delayed him that his wife was able to get far ahead of him. When it melted away he continued the pursuit

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and had almost caught his wife when she dropped the bladder which became a lake around the edge of which her pursuer had to make his way. Again he almost overtook her, but she eluded him by throwing the whetstone, which grew to a precipitous mountain without trees. For a long time Stump was unable to scale this, but at last he succeeded. A fourth time he drew near his wife, but she hurled down the comb which became a forest consisting of sparse, large trees with dense undergrowth between. Stump's hair became entangled in the branches so that he could make little progress.

This version briefly describes how the woman reached *Äłquntäm*'s home, though unaware that she had been climbing, how he made her his wife, and how he set fire to the pursuing Stump.

THE GIRLS WHO VISITED *Nusmät·a*

Not long after the earth was first populated, there was living in Kimsquit a man who had four daughters, the eldest about sixteen years old. Some four years before the story opens, this girl had reached puberty, when, according to custom, she was secluded in a corner of the house for one year. Whether on account of poverty, or for some other reason, when this period had elapsed the father did not make the necessary arrangements for her marriage, but continued to keep her in confinement. As the second and third daughter in turn reached adolescence, each was shut up with the eldest, who had been virtually a prisoner for four years. Whenever they left the house their harsh mother went with them to see that they spoke to no one; they were most unhappy. At length they decided to flee from home, not caring whither they went. On confiding their intention to the youngest sister, who had not yet reached womanhood, she insisted on joining them.

The four watched for an opportunity to slip away from the village unobserved. Not heeding where they were going, they followed a track up the river bank; it led to *Sonx̣ʷ'*, though they knew it not. At length they came to a house, and, peering within, saw a man who invited them to enter, saying that he knew about them. They went in and sat down, realizing for the first time that the house was rather peculiar, bigger than any they had ever seen, and that the people, too, were different. It was *Nusmät·a*, and the man was *Äłquntäm* himself; he had willed the little girls to come that way, though they were unaware of it at the time. Their host's slave brought them a meal consisting of four bearberries which he served on a tiny thimble-like dish. The hungry little girls thought there would not be enough for all, but, though they said nothing, *Äłquntäm*'s wife knew their thoughts and told them that they would be unable to consume the food. This proved to be the case; though they ate their fill, the four berries were always miraculously replaced. Evening had come by the time the meal was over, and *Älquntäm*'s wife prepared a bed on which the sisters slept comfortably for the night.

In the morning the two youngest sisters were crying bitterly. *Älquntäm* asked the eldest what was the matter.

"They are afraid that they will never be able to return home," she replied.

To convince them that there was no such danger, he took down the wall of *Nusmāt·a*, then rubbed their eyes, enabling them to see their own country spread out beneath, as if it were indeed only a little distance away, as he said it was. Their vision travelled on *Älquntäm*'s eye-lashes, the rays of the sun such as are visible when its light is breaking through the clouds, or when there is much dust in the atmosphere. This is the route by which the prayers of mortals ascend to the supreme being. The girls were comforted by the thought that their home was so near. In readiness for their departure, their host's wife gave the eldest girl a whetstone, a comb, some eagle down, and a basket so closely woven that it would hold water. *Älquntäm* indicated the place where she would arrive on earth, from which two roads led to Kimsquit, and told her that on one of these, which he also pointed out, there dwelt an evil monster, so the other must be taken. Then he called the four sisters to him.

"I am going to put you all into this basket," he said, "and lower you to your home. As you descend keep your eyes closed, or great harm will befall you. When you reach the earth you will know it by the bump of the basket on the ground; then, and not until then, you may open your eyes. Get out and shake the rope, so that I will know you are all right. When you are on earth, should the monster chase you, use the presents which my wife has given you: As he follows, set the whetstone upright behind you to serve as a barrier. If he surmounts that, place the comb behind you, and if both of these fail, shake out the eagle down to blind the enemy."

Älquntäm packed the girls into the basket and tied them carefully. He put the eldest on top, as if she were a brooding bird, entirely covering her younger sisters, so that they could not peek out, even if they had been tempted to disregard his instructions.

The supreme being lowered the basket carefully until the sisters felt a gentle bump and knew they had reached earth. Then the eldest girl opened her eyes, lifted out her younger sisters, shook the rope, and watched the basket as it was hauled aloft. The four started off and soon reached the point where there were two diverging trails to Kimsquit, one of which led past the home of the monster whose name was *Ostcāĺikoqʷ*, "Lake-Swallower."[66] Though *Ălq̣untăm* had given most explicit directions not to follow this road, the youngest girl had set her heart on taking it and would not listen to the entreaties of the others. At length the wilful one set out on the forbidden path, and her sisters, unwilling to have her go alone, decided to accompany her, though the eldest was very much frightened.

Soon they came to Lake-Swallower's house, near a pond. Inside the door was an old woman, paralysed from her knees down, who told them they had made a great mistake in coming by that road; she too had erred in her youth, with the result that the monster had captured her and she was unable to leave his house, though he had never actually hurt her. The eldest sister explained that it was all due to the folly of the youngest that they had ventured on the wrong trail. Whereupon the little girl began to cry bitterly. The old woman continued:

"Lake-Swallower will return shortly. He always eats a meal of dry mountain goat bones, then he goes to the pool for a drink. Your only *chance of escape is while he is drinking, since, once started, he cannot* stop until the water is exhausted."

Presently in came Lake-Swallower, a giant, ten feet tall and of massive proportions; from his belt dangled two mountain goats which he carried as easily as a human hunter would have carried two grouse. He gulped down the two animals for his meal, like a wolf, devouring skin, bones, and meat. When he had finished, he called to him the four little girls, whom he was delighted to see in his house, and bade them go with him to the lake, where he proposed to drink. He told them to lift his head by the top-knot when he had swallowed enough, because, unless helped, he was unable to stop until the lake was dry.

The girls went with him, but as soon as he began to drink they fled back to the fork in the road where they had so foolishly disobeyed *Ălq̣untăm*'s instructions. Lake-Swallower could not stop, but with each gulp he took in so large a quantity of water that soon he had drained the pool. Then he set off in pursuit of the fleeing girls.

He gained on them rapidly and had almost overtaken them when the eldest, who was in the rear, set the whetstone upright behind her; it became a steep mountain which Lake-Swallower could not surmount. He hurried round the obstacle, however, and again found the trail of his quarry. Once more he was on the point of catching the girls when the eldest placed the comb in his track; instantly, there sprang up a forest of tangled undergrowth, which delayed the monster for a considerable period. At length he forced his way through, and again he had almost captured the four when the eldest threw out the eagle down. This turned

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[66] Literally, "He Who Has a Lake in His Head."

*539 into a mist which so utterly blinded and confused Lake-Swallower that he was forced to abandon the pursuit. Without further difficulty the four sisters reached home, where they were received with great rejoicing, especially when their friends heard of the dangers through which they had passed.

THE SUN'S CAPTOR

*539
821 Long, long ago, a woman was sitting on the ground with her back to the sun, who noticed her. He came down and rubbed his hand over her back, causing her to become pregnant, then went back to his station above. The child grew so rapidly that the woman bore a son before the usual period had elapsed. This little boy grew with phenomenal rapidity. One day he asked his mother if he might go up to see his father, and when she consented, he built a long ladder up which he climbed until he reached the land above. When the sun drew near, his son spoke to him, saying that his mother had allowed him to come up to see him, and suggesting that he bring her on a later visit. The father agreed and the boy descended to his mother on earth.

A few days later, when the lad and his mother climbed above, the sun disregarded them entirely, and continued his course without seeming to be aware of their presence. Angry at his father's callousness, the lad asked his mother to give him a pubic hair with which to make a noose to catch the sun.

"Don't be silly," she answered. "The great heat will burn it."

Her son persisted until she finally gave him a single hair from between her legs. This he rolled into a rope with a noose at the end, and hung it from a stick in the course of his father. When the sun came along he was fairly caught in the noose. Thus restrained, he could no longer shine on the earth; the people were filled with wonder, though they were rather thankful, as heretofore there had been perpetual summer.

"It is your son who has caught you," said the boy to his captive father. "You thought yourself too strong. The people down below do not want you to shine all the time; if I release you, you must hide yourself at regular intervals."

The sun agreed to do this. Then the lad untied the noose and the captive went off in his wonted path. To regulate his father's movements, [823] and to ensure his remaining at a safe distance during the winter, the lad raised high mountains at Kimsquit, Ulkatcho, and Leguc, which still limit the sun's course.

THE SUN'S CHILD

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Very long ago there lived at *Stuux* a chief whose daughter, Copper, was a source of perpetual worry to him. The girl was restless and disobedient, always wandering off by herself and being on too friendly terms with men. At last the father, losing his patience, told Copper to go her own way, that he would have nothing more to do with her. She wandered about, aimlessly, from place to place until she came to a road leading up to a large house within which was a man; it was the dwelling of the supreme deity, but the girl did not know this. *Älquntäm* asked her to come in, surprised her by calling her by name, and talked to her about the trouble she had had with her father. In this way Copper discovered the identity of her host. She stayed with him that night, and in the morning he told her to go home.

"How?" she asked.

"On the power of my eye," replied *Älquntäm*.

With that he opened a hole in the side of his house and sent her sliding down to her father's upon one of his eye-lashes, a sunbeam. Though Copper had spent but a single night with *Älquntäm*, it was equivalent to a year upon the earth and in that time she had conceived, passed through the period of pregnancy and given birth to a male child of whom *Älquntäm* was the father. Copper carried the infant with her on returning to her own home, outside of which she waited until a younger sister chanced to see her. The little girl rushed to her mother saying:

"Copper has come back!"

The old woman did not believe her and was angry. When another of Copper's sisters had confirmed the news, the mother believed it and was glad. Copper told them to spread clean sand on the floor for herself and her child, then, removing a board from the roof, she entered the house from above.

As time went on Copper's son throve and grew big enough to play with other little boys. But he had inherited from his father some of the heat-giving power of the sun so that he burnt his playmates who were naturally angry and showed their resentment by calling him a bastard. Mortified at this insult, the child told his mother, who instructed him to prepare a bow and a large number of arrows. When he had done so, she told him to shoot upwards. His first arrow went so high it stuck in the floor of *Sonx*$^{w'}$ itself. He sent up arrow after arrow and each lodged at the base of its predecessor, until a ladder was formed to the land above. Up this the boy climbed, each arrow falling to the ground as soon as he had transferred his weight to the one immediately above. On reaching the upper regions, the lad proceeded to the house of his father and told

*539 him how unhappy he was, because people on earth called him a bastard.

821 "Never mind, my son," said *Ălqŭntăm*. "Presently, I will let you do my work and then you will be more powerful than anyone on earth."

Next morning the father sent the lad off to act as sun, giving him the usual supply of heat. But the boy was so angry with the people on earth that he increased this supply, hoping to burn up the whole of them. Seeing some children at play, he swooped down to slay them; it became so hot that water boiled in the lakes and rivers and the whole race of mankind was roasted to death. [825] Most of the animals escaped by hiding in burrows, but not the black bear, who at that time had a white coat. It was burnt black and has remained that colour ever since, while the grizzly was scorched to his present rustiness. The deer and the weasel failed to hide their tails, both of which were burnt; that is why each has a black tip to this day.

Ălqŭntăm, angry at his son for killing everybody, restored all to life, [825] and broke the malicious child into countless pieces which he threw down to earth in the form of mosquitoes.

CATASTROPHIC STORIES

538 Disasters which occurred in the distant past provide themes for stories of a non-ceremonial nature.

THE FAMINE

*539 *Kă'lăn·a* was a Kimsquit man who made a practice of watching the sun; from its movements he was able to foretell the solstices and other coming events. One winter, long ago, the sun, instead of stopping at its usual place, continued far beyond its proper course. *Kă'lăn·a* was much worried and prophesied strange changes, with famine; he called on the young men to weep, but instead they merely laughed at him. Next summer, when there was plenty of fish, berries, and other foods, the people jeered at the prophet. For four years there was the same plentiful hunting and collecting, but in the fifth came a great change. It failed to become warm in April; the berries flowered, but the constant cold wind prevented their fruit from ripening. Few fish entered the river, and even they could not be caught because the water remained so clear. The same conditions prevailed for four years until the people were starving; their only food was porcupine and mountain goat, with a few trout caught on hook and line. About this time a Kimsquit man, *Ŧsaixliŧ*, went goat-hunting behind his village, and one night after setting his snares, lay down in a cave. He could not sleep, and presently heard the goats talking in his own language and laughing together at his poor workmanship in setting the traps. The following day he found that he had caught nothing, but, heeding what he had heard the animals say, he changed his nooses, and discovered next morning that he had secured a large number. Thus he virtually became a shaman.

The people were in dire straits for food. Among other expedients they tried to dip up salmon from the ocean, and when they failed, boiled and drank instead the water where the fish had jumped, as it was thought to be slightly flavoured. Even the clams and mussels were dead, so that fern-roots and trout were the only dependable foods.

At this time there was living at *Nuxwdlst* an unmarried woman with a child, who like everyone else, was starving. She used to support herself by hunting eels on the beach. One morning she saw a number of gulls feeding on something, and, driving them off, she found that it was a stranded porpoise. The woman returned for her basket and knife, cut up the food and took it home to hide. A young orphan boy frequently helped her to gather firewood, an onerous task because at this distant period there were no trees, only stunted, grass-like bushes. One day the lad came to her, starving, and she gave him food secretly. He returned several times, and the people wondered where he derived his strength, but no one was able to find out because she opened her store only at night and hid it before morning.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THE FAMINE

One year long ago there was famine. The warm weather did not come to ripen the berries, and the rivers stayed so clear that no fish could be caught, because they saw the net or fisherman. The people were starving and went everywhere in search of food; many men wandered off to hunt in unknown regions and no one knew how they died. Hunger drove many persons to boil and drink water from the river where they had seen salmon jumping in the hope that some savour of the fish might be left in it. At *Stuix* there lived a certain *Qwaiutsamlaix*, who had two children and a very strong slave. Instead of ranging far afield, this man used to go a short distance down the river below his house and spear trout to keep himself alive. He usually fished at night, making torches of cedar-roots which he had straightened for the purpose. *Qwaiutsamlaix* was tolerably successful, more so than his neighbours, among whom was a woman whose husband had starved to death; in her extremity she used to boil the blood, scales, and refuse of the trout which she gleaned from his canoe.

One day *Qwaiutsamlaix* and his slave were near *Tcımotl*, making a fish-dam. The workman was so strong that he had made two for his master, who was the only person ever known to have more than one. On this occasion *Qwaiutsamlaix* saw a movement in the water near his canoe and speared at it, thinking it to be a salmon; he felt the impact of a successful throw, but when he pulled in the rope, he found that it had been cut. The slave suggested that it must have been a beaver. The following afternoon when they were returning to *Stuix*, and were only a short distance below that village, they saw something move on the bank and, going ashore, *Qwaiutsamlaix* found that it was a wolverine devouring a beaver in the back of which was embedded his detachable harpoon-head. The wolverine, startled by the man's sudden appearance, fled up a single tall tree. *Qwaiutsamlaix* called his slave and the two felled it so that it crashed into the water and drowned the animal. By the time they had finished, it was too late to return to *Stuix* so they camped for the night at the edge of a pool of water formed by the river overflowing its banks. There was a thin coating of ice over the pond, but during the night *Qwaiutsamlaix* heard, or perhaps sensed, that there were trout in the pool. Next morning he broke the ice and caught a great number of the fish, on which they breakfasted heartily. The fisherman realized that here was a valuable source of food, and accordingly, with the aid of his slave, he made a stockade to prevent the fish from escaping back to the main river. This occupied a large part of the day. When the enclosure was finished, *Qwaiutsamlaix* returned to *Stuix* and told the woman that she would have no further need to exist on the refuse of trout since he had obtained a great abundance of food. She returned with him to the place where the fish were imprisoned; the two, with the slave, subsisted on them for the period of the famine, about one and a half years. They lived in tolerable comfort though many people starved to death.

THE FLOOD[69]

Once, long ago, it began to rain steadily. The mountain creeks became swollen, then the rivers, and the valleys became flooded. The people were forced to make canoes, and the improvident were in trouble when the waters continued to rise; some were taken aboard by their relatives, others were drowned. The valleys were filled; at first a number of mountain tops were left exposed, but finally the bare peak of *Nusqalst*, the highest in the Bella Coola valley, alone rose above the raging torrent. The Bella Coola were driven to this spot where a large camp was formed. The gales were so strong there, that on two occasions the mooring-rope of a canoe broke; one was carried away towards the Skeena and another towards China Hat. The occupants settled in these two localities and have since, in their songs, told of Bella Coola, but have not been able to return. A canoe from the lower Fraser, with its occupants, landed on Mount *Nusq̣alst*. The flood lasted until food was almost gone, but at last the waters subsided. Many people had been drowned, others had died from starvation, so that there were fewer Bella Coola villages after the deluge than before.

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[69] For another account of the flood see Boas, p. 96.

Many years afterwards, two men at different times climbed to the summit of *Nusq̣alst* and found a number of relics proving the existence of a large camp, and thus confirming the tradition of the flood. Hundreds of years later, *X̣oqotlis*, a man from *Nusq̣alst* village, scaled the peak, but a gale prevented any search for remains. *X̣oqotlis* determined that he would succeed on some future occasion, and for twelve months observed continence. On the same day of the next year he again climbed the mountain. Owing to the care with which he had purified himself it was a fine day; there was neither wind nor clouds, only brilliant sunshine. After finding spoons and other relics of the camp, all turned to stone, he took up a position on the very summit, and looked to the east where he saw the tide-flats of the upper world. Then he looked southwards, where he saw a huge column of smoke rising vertically; it rose from a beautiful seashore where no house was visible, so he judged it was from the abode of *Kāmai·ts*. Looking west, he saw a pleasant country, but when he looked north all was dark and ominous. When he had completed the circle, moving in the same direction as the sun, he started to descend. His fellow-villagers, knowing of his effort, were awaiting his return and went to meet him when, on the third day, they saw him approaching. He summoned them all to his own house, and, standing on a box, told them what he had seen. When the story was finished, a sudden gust of wind blew open the door, although it had been a calm day. Ashes were blown over *X̣oqotlis* and he fell dead, without a mark on his body. The people were grieved, not only on account of the loss of their companion, but because they wished to hear more of what he had seen.

As further evidence of the flood it is said that a white man has seen a white man's anchor above the timber-line on Mount Kwatna, forty miles to the west of Bella Coola. The presence of clams in the upper Bella Coola valley is also accepted as proof of the flood, though the shell-fish are really fresh-water mussels.

According to another version, the climber, on his first trip, saw fragments of mooring ropes and hooks used for raising salmon-traps, all reduced to the consistency of burnt paper. A gale then forced him back. After a year's continence, he again scaled the mountain choosing a windless day for the attempt, and not only regained the point he had reached on the previous occasion, but scaled to a pleasant land which he thought was the home of *Kāmai·ts*. He returned in safety and lived to a great age.

*539 Another account of the flood states that while many persons fled to Mount *Nusqalst*, others took refuge on the summit of the mountain opposite to it, on the north side of the Bella Coola River. The waters continued to rise until this latter peak was on the point of being submerged, when it requested *Nusqalst* to give it some of itself. *Nusqalst* complied, and gave to the other the small knob that projects from its summit. This was not inundated.

Kimsquit too was flooded at the same time. The Kimsquit River rose until the people were driven to the slopes of the mountain now known as *Sulukst*, to the west of the river. Here they were forced to camp for several months, and it is from this event that the river received its name, which means "Many Houses." The Dean River people were driven to Mount *Smaks*, where, in later years, indications of their sojourn were to be found, such as mooring loops for canoes, hooks for lifting fish-traps, and various utensils. One man tried to remove some of these relics, but they crumbled in his hands as if they had been burnt paper.

According to Bella Coola belief, the flood was not limited to any one locality. As evidence of its occurrence in Fort Rupert the following myth was related by a man who had heard it from his father's father, a Fort Rupert Indian.

One of the latter's ancestors, having dreamt that a flood would cover the earth, prepared a great quantity of gum with which he pitched his house both inside and out. Presently it began to rain, and the deluge continued until the whole land was covered, but this man dwelt secure in his rain-proof house. When at last he heard the sound of drops on the roof, he knew that the flood must have diminished so he dared open his door. When he and his family went outside they found on the shore two *susiutl*, the supernatural double-headed salmon that cause land-slides. From this event the man took the designation, *Nukao·sa*. When the present owner of the name performs his ceremonial, the beating-boards are in the shape of a *susiutl*, and there appears a masked figure of a man who always shields his face with his arm. This appears to be an allusion to the man protecting himself from the waters.[70]

It is said that the time of the great heat[71] occurred soon after the flood.

HISTORICAL STORIES

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173 Although the Bella Coola regard all the stories included in this chapter as chronicles of events, yet they realize that all the preceding possess elements of the supernatural which are

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[70] It was impossible to learn the type of ceremonial of which this story serves as origin myth; it has accordingly been included in this miscellaneous section.

[71] Various accounts of this have already been given; see vol. II, p. 424 and p. 500.

not likely to occur at the present time; in fact, they belong to 538
the golden age of the distant past. In addition, a few tales 179
are popularly told, not for their wealth of interesting detail, but as historical incidents. Some of these contain exaggerations that verge on mythology, whereas others, especially those dealing with certain individuals not long deceased, have clearly a foundation of truth. The themes include tales of travel, hunting exploits, the experiences of criminals, and varied subjects.

THE WIFE WHO WAS SOLD AS A SLAVE 599*

This story describes the adventures of a Bella Coola woman, daughter of a chief named *Taskuwam*, who was married to a Bella Bella chief. The latter's father sold her as a slave to *Tcibusa*, a Kitkatla chief and ancestor of the chief with the same name who was so feared by the Bella Coola. This was, of course, contrary to all established custom. *Tcibusa* carried the woman away to Kitkatla, whence there seemed little hope for her return.

Tcibusa owned a number of crabapple trees at Kitlobe which he visited every autumn to collect and preserve the fruit. The woman had been with him for some time when he went as usual for the ripe apples. Members of different tribes can be distinguished by their different physique [144]
and a Kitlobe, recognizing that the woman was a Bella Coola, asked her how she came to be with *Tcibusa*. She told him how she had been sold, disgracefully, and he promised to help her return home. Telling her to conceal her plans, he bade her to be ready to flee early the following morning. At the appointed time he appeared, bringing dried olachen, grease, moccasins, and other equipment, wrapped in a seal's stomach. He sketched on the ground the overland route to Kimsquit, telling her how many affluents of the Kitlobe River she must pass before following one to the south, thence across the divide, and down the Kimsquit River.

The woman started out, but after several days of travel realized that she had passed the place where she should turn south, and was lost. In point of fact, she was at this time near Ootsa Lake. She headed back in the hope of recovering her trail, but snow fell and she could go no farther; to make matters worse she had consumed all her olachen, and most of the grease. The unfortunate woman sought shelter under a big tree, where in time she was completely covered with snow. Every day she ate a small

539 portion of the grease until it was exhausted; then she ate the container, and when it was finished she was entirely without food. She was very weak, but not unconscious, and the careful husbanding of her provisions had kept her alive into February. It so happened that four Kimsquit men, brothers, were trapping beaver in this particular hunting ground. Followed by his four dogs, one of the brothers went to inspect a shack, which they had previously built at some distance from the place where they were encamped. One of the dogs began to dig in the snow, and soon the other three joined in. The hunter thought it strange that they did not bark as usual when digging for game, and asked the dogs what they were after. To his amazement a voice spoke from below, using the Bella Coola language:

"You will be rewarded if you save me. I am the daughter of *Tsaiecwam*," it said.

All Kimsquit knew of her fate, so the hunter quickly grasped what had happened. He burrowed a passage down through the snow to the woman, who told him of her efforts to return home by the overland route to Kimsquit. The rescuer cut her some firewood and admonished her to be brave, while he dashed off for help. He hurried back to his brothers, told them the news, and then rushed back with a little food, telling them to follow his tracks to where the woman lay and bring with them stone dishes for cooking. By the time the three brothers arrived, the forerunner had replenished the fire, and the woman was sitting up. One of the three was a shaman; he felt her heart and said that she would recover. For one day they camped with the woman, feeding her first with warmed grease of goat and olachen, then with a little food. This revived her sufficiently so that the brothers could carry her on a litter to their camp. For twenty days she was so very weak that one of them had constantly to remain in camp to feed her with bear soup and other nourishing foods, but she gradually regained her strength.

On her account the brothers decided to return home in April, instead of waiting until June as usual. They planned their arrival at Kimsquit to take place at night, and hid the woman in their house, telling only the members of their own family about her. It was June before she had fully recovered from her painful experience. Then she left the home of her rescuers, clad in new clothes which they had given her, and the account of her adventures was made public. A canoe was sent to Bella Coola informing her father of his daughter's safety, and inviting him to fetch her. This he refused to do, but said if her rescuer brought her home he might marry her with his full approval. This was agreeable to her saviour, and a large party of his Kimsquit friends accompanied him to Bella [425] Coola where presents were exchanged and the couple married. As an

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especial mark of gratitude, the father gave a piece of Bella Coola land to the Kimsquit man. This is one of the few instances known of outright bestowal of land at marriage. 539* 425

THE ADVENTURES OF A BELLA BELLA CREW

6b 539 6 539*

One April, a few years after the establishment of white settlements on the coast, a party of Bella Bella set out in a single canoe to hunt sea-otters. Planning to be absent for several months, they carried with them considerable supplies of food and water, while their mat sail lessened the work of the paddlers. They reached their first destination, Goose Island, without difficulty, and then continued in a north-westerly direction towards a barren islet of hard sand where sea-otters were usually to be found. All went well until they were in sight of this, when they encountered *Xai-atl*, the steady north wind, against which they could make no headway. In spite of the efforts of the paddlers, the canoe was driven southward and westward, out of sight of land. Steady winds prevailed for months, preventing the crew from heading their craft east towards the shore; fortunately, they had ample supplies, though these finally began to run low. Rain kept them supplied with fresh water, and they were able to eke out their food with fish, which had to be eaten raw. It was the end of September before they saw land, a small, isolated island with moderately high hills and, more important, running water. They beached the canoe and tried to leap ashore, but long sitting in narrow quarters had so cramped them that they could only crawl. After they had rested and regained the use of their legs, the captain climbed to the top of a hill from which he could see the other side of the island where smoke was rising. The mariners paddled around, and found themselves near a settlement of people whose language was unknown to them. They resembled Indians, though their mouths were exceedingly small, and the wanderers could see that they were eating raw worms picked out from rotten salmon. The Bella Bella feared to land among these strangers, but some of the latter swam out and passed their hands in wonder along the sides of the foreign canoe. Their own craft were smaller and narrower than any used on the coast, and all were tied together in pairs to prevent tipping.

As the party was leaving the island, a strong west wind sprang up before which they made such headway that three days later they reached the mainland. None of the crew knew where they were, but they realized that their home must be far to the north, so they cautiously proceeded in that direction. The wind changed to the south, again assisting them, and they sailed on for four or five days until they were suddenly pursued by hostile canoes as they neared the point of what seemed to be a large

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Bella-bella NE5

Bb 539 B 539 Ob [415]

island. Ignorant of their whereabouts, they paddled blindly, succeeded in out-distancing their enemies, and soon after found themselves at Victoria of which they had heard. A few schooners were in the harbour and on the beach they saw a single white man. The latter noticed them and recognized that they were strangers from the shape and decorations of their canoe, and the type of boxes they were carrying, each with a hole in the corner, as is typical of those made by the Bella Bella. The man mentioned this peculiarity to his wife, who was herself a Bella Bella, and she came rushing out of the house to welcome those whom she knew at once must be her fellow-tribesmen. The weary mariners landed and were provided with food and water by the white man's wife.

They rested for several days at Victoria, rejoicing in their safety, then began to think of returning home. The white husband of the woman who had befriended them urged the travellers to stay and work for him, promising that he would later guide them north himself, but when he realized that they were unwilling, he gave them what assistance he could. None of them was familiar with the inner route, and they feared to return and go around the outside of the island owing to the hostile reception they had had at the southern end. So the kindly white man drew a rough map on the sand, giving them information about the tides, hostile Indians, good hiding-places, and other lore which he thought would be of value. Then they set forth and reached the north end of Vancouver Island without being seen. Thenceforth they were among friendly tribes and could travel openly.

Meanwhile the Bella Bella had despaired of the safety of the long-absent hunters. The father of the chief had invited neighbouring tribes to a memorial potlatch in honour of his son when, on the morning of the day when the rites were to commence, a large canoe was seen approaching the beach. It contained so much European clothing and utensils that those on shore could not recognize the occupants until they were close at hand; but when it was seen that they were the long-lost hunters, they were welcomed with great rejoicing. The only disappointed man was the one who had arranged to marry the wife of the absent chief; she had insisted on waiting for a year before re-marrying, although the wives of the crew had all taken new partners believing their husbands dead.[77]

B [177]

[77]It is difficult to explain a story such as the above. It seems impossible that a canoe-load actually reached an island off the coast of California, and yet there is no place off the Oregon or Washington shore to which it could refer. Probably the time that elapsed and the directions taken by the canoe have become confused in the years that have passed since the voyage, though it is highly probable that it rests on a basis of truth in the adventures of a crew driven from their course by adverse winds. Naturally enough, the Bella Coola do not claim to be familiar

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NEA Bellacoola NEB

Bellabella NES

A MURDERER AND HIS PUNISHMENT

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For many generations, the name *Sekakmān-a* has been transmitted among the Chilkotin. It seems to embody an inheritable tendency to lawlessness and killing, for almost all who have been so designated have been murderers. About 1860 or 1870, a certain *Sekakmān-a* married a Bella Coola woman, which brought his activities to the attention of her relatives. He used to do considerable trading at the Hudson's Bay Company's post, although his manner of obtaining furs was extremely pernicious. He had a wide knowledge of the interior and of the routes by which hunters were likely to bring pelts to Bella Coola. If he could learn that a stranger was likely to be travelling along a trail, it was *Sekakmān-a*'s custom to set out, unarmed, to meet him. He would explain to the hunter that he had come to buy furs and the latter would always make him welcome. The price was argued in a friendly manner and the two would prepare to camp together for the night. Then *Sekakmān-a* would say:

"Perhaps you do not know what a dangerous place Bella Coola is? Even now I am running away. I do not think I will be pursued, though I wish I had a musket to lay beside me as I sleep."

An unsuspicious hunter would usually offer to lend his to *Sekakmān-a* who, protesting his gratitude, would load it and go to sleep with it beside him. Early in the morning he would rise, shoot his sleeping companion, steal his furs and sell them at the trading post. Sometimes he would murder two or even three hunters on a single trip; thus in course of time he had amassed great riches, but had also made enemies over a wide area. Whenever it became too dangerous for him in the interior he would retreat to Bella Coola and live with his wife's relatives. People sometimes asked him why he continued his nefarious work, but he always answered that it was involuntary, his parents having smeared him with ashes from a wasp's nest when an infant.

On one occasion, *Sekakmān-a* set out for Salmon House, on the Dean River, where there was always an encampment of Carriers. He travelled up the valley of the Nechetsconnay and had just reached the open lands above the timber-line when he met two Carriers, bound for Bella Coola with furs. At once he began scheming to kill them and steal the pelts. *Sekakmān-a* greeted the two by saying:

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with the details, though the old man from whom the account was obtained discussed it with his wife and with several of his friends who were confident that it was related in the same form as it had been told to them by a Bella Bella many years before. Since it is not the type of theme to be invented as a story, it must be left as an unexplained incident, half-buried in the mists of tradition.

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"I was on my way to visit you, but that will be unnecessary now that I have been fortunate enough to meet you."

The two hunters, ignorant of [illegible]'s reputation, were willing to do business without having to journey to Bella Coola, and suggested that he turn back to a favourite camping-place within the timbered area. He agreed, and they soon reached a spot which he had quitted half an hour previously. [illegible] at once went off to gather firewood, and soon returned with a load; this was not sufficient, but he told one of the Carriers that more was available in the direction he indicated, and that he would remain to help the other build a fire. The remaining Carrier lit some of the wood which had been broken up, but carelessly threw on too much so that the fire was choked. As he knelt to blow it up, [illegible] was given the opportunity for which he had been looking, and slew his companion with a single blow of his axe on the back of the head. Without waiting to conceal the body, the murderer hurried off to meet the other Carrier. He was returning without any fuel and inquired:

"Where did you get the wood? I could not find the place."

[illegible] guided him to the spot and suggested that they cut long poles which they could carry between them. This they did, but as the Carrier bent to lift his end of the burden, he too was killed with a blow. [illegible] dragged the corpse under a fallen tree and covered it with bark, then returned to the fire and heaped stones over the body of his first victim. Having thus achieved his purpose, he camped for one night on the spot and then returned to Bella Coola with the stolen furs. It was plain to all that these must have been obtained illegally since sufficient time had not elapsed for him to make a trip to Salmon House. Moreover, he had blackened his face and tied his hair into a top-knot as is done by all warriors after killing people.

Two days after the unfortunate hunters left Salmon House, another party left for Bella Coola by the same route. They reached the usual camping-ground at dusk and looked for traces of their friends, but, to their surprise, found the remains of one bed only. A few minutes later one of the women happened to stumble on the corpse hidden beneath the tree. Torches were prepared and a careful investigation made, leading to the discovery of the other body. Taking into account the fact that the two had been carrying rich loads of furs, the Carriers suspected that it must have been [illegible] who had slain their friends.

Meanwhile [illegible] was at [illegible] where a Cannibal dance was taking place. During this, he fired upon and seriously wounded a young Bella Coola, [illegible], who was employed at the Hudson's Bay Company's post. The assault was committed in the presence of the factor, who handed his gun to an elderly Bella Coola and told him to shoot the members. The man, a crack shot, took careful aim at *Sxḳamts a*'s top-knot, but the musket had a flatter trajectory than he expected, so the bullet, instead of dropping and killing the man, flew straight and merely cut down the tuft on top of his head. *Sxḳamts a* ran off to the village and *Nuxwdim* was carried to the house of one of his relatives on the north bank of the river.

Conflicting reasons are given for this assault. Some state that *Sxḳamts a*'s uncontrollable temper led him to fire; others that he did so on the orders of *Potlo*, who was offended because *Nuxwdim* had disobeyed an order to carry food home to his wife. It is whispered that on several occasions *Potlo* had used *Sxḳamts a* to get rid of those who had displeased him.

If the assault had been committed during the summer, revenge would have been an affair of the injured youth's relatives, but it occurred during the *kusiut* season so all members of the society were affected. A party was organized to arrest the offender with the aid of an American who happened to be at the Hudson's Bay Company's post at the time. *Sxḳamts a* was in the rear part of one of the houses at *Snoqo'ts* when his enemies entered and stood hesitating at the door. As he faced them, an old man, related to *Nuxwdim*, crept behind and leapt on him, wrapping his arms and legs around him. The murderer drew a knife and struggled furiously before he was overcome, bound and carried to *Aḷqlaxl* where his victim lived. *Sxḳamts a* pleaded that he had mistaken *Nuxwdim* for one of his Chilkotin relatives, but when no attention was paid to this, he said that he had acted under orders from *Potlo*. This was likewise disregarded, nor was there any suggestion of revenge on the alleged instigator since he, being a chief, could do as he liked. It is said that *Potlo* endeavoured to help his henchman by sending a message to some Chilkotin who were camped in the vicinity and inviting them to rescue their kinsman.

Meanwhile it was obvious that *Nuxwdim* was seriously wounded. His relatives said that if he lived, they would be willing to accept compensation for the assault, so *Sxḳamts a* was kept, bound hand and foot, in a house where a *kusiut* dance was taking place. During the night he almost succeeded in freeing himself from his bonds, but this was discovered and he was again tied up; it is possible that an accomplice assisted him in the attempt to escape. Towards dawn *Nuxwdim* died and it was decided that his murderer should be killed at once.

The *kukusiut* all helped to take him outside and make preparations for shooting him, but no one desired the task of executioner. Meanwhile the Chilkotin were gathering; a fight seemed imminent and the excite-

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ment was intense. One of the chiefs told two boys who were excellent shots to fire, but another interrupted, saying:

"This is too weighty a matter for mere lads."

He himself covered [illegible] and made ready to press the trigger. The murderer, seeing his fellow-tribesmen in the vicinity, tried to stall for time.

"Please do not shoot me," he called out. "I have always been terrified to die that way, please use a knife."

"Some of those you slew were probably terrified of muskets too," the self-appointed executioner grimly replied.

"Wait just a moment," [illegible] pleaded. "I want to speak to my kinsmen."

"So probably did several of those you shot," came the same answer.

Then the chief fired and [illegible] fell dead. The Chilkotin were armed and seemed on the point of rushing forward to avenge their relative, but the chief took another musket, brandished it in their direction, and said:

"All right. The dogs will eat you too."

A Chilkotin chief pointed out that the Bella Coola were armed and in overwhelming numbers, so advised his angry followers to withdraw. Thus the incident closed without further bloodshed. Some state that [illegible]'s corpse was given to his relatives, others that it was buried by the [illegible] alone in a large grave, beneath the body of [illegible].

A SUCCESSFUL HUNT

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One September, between 1840 and 1850, a certain [illegible] was preparing for a potlatch. Taking twenty men with him as packers, he set out for mountain goats up the valley of the [illegible], which flows into the main Bella Coola from the north, nearly opposite Mount [illegible]. They camped at a suitable spot, and for several days [illegible] hunted with fair success. On one occasion, when out with his son, he happened to notice a number of female goats on a narrow point of rock, beneath which there was a sheer drop to a jagged pile of boulders. Quickly realizing that there was only one approach to the point where the animals were standing, [illegible] told his son to remain below while he climbed up to stalk his quarry. With extreme caution, he succeeded in getting between the goats and the only line of escape; then he knew they were his, and stood up boldly. He shot two or three, and compelled the rest into plunging over the precipice where they were crushed to death on the rocks far beneath. The successful hunter climbed down to where his son had remained and the two carried one of the carcasses out to the trail where the packers were to meet them. They were not due to arrive for several 594* hours, so [illegible] cooked the goat and had a plentiful meal ready 224 for his followers. They asked whether he had had any luck, and he answered casually that his son had killed one, but when they expressed regret at his lack of fortune, [illegible] pointed to the pile of dead goats, visible in the distance, and said:

"See what my son killed."

Never before had there been such a slaughter of goats at one time, and it was obvious that no time could be lost if the meat was to be smoked 594* before winter. Fortunately, there was a large cave in the vicinity where they established their headquarters. The packers were divided into two [251] parties; some brought in the carcasses, while others kept a fire smouldering, tended the drying meat, and boiled out the grease. It was a slow process and there was a heavy snowfall before it was finished. The snow drifted into the narrow valley to such a depth that it was impossible to think of leaving. The beleaguered hunters were well provided with food; melted snow gave them water, and the cave was sufficient shelter, so their confinement was more irksome than dangerous. Nor did it prove profitless. The smell of food attracted two martens which were so unafraid that they were killed with sticks. All the hunters began to make traps [257] which soon provided them with enough skins to make several of the much-prized blankets.

So the winter dragged away. The wife of one of the packers had a reputation for faithlessness and her husband's companions used to tease him by saying that his wife would have remarried before he got home. This wore on his nerves until he determined to try to reach the village in spite of the snow. He constructed a pair of snow-shoes and set out, [481] carrying with him enough marten-skins for four blankets, packed in a sack made from the stomach of one of the goats. The journey was less difficult than he had feared; he camped for one night, and reached his own village soon after dusk of the next day. Looking through the doorway, he saw his father throwing food into the fire and realized that someone must have died. He called out anxiously, but his parent, who had long since abandoned hope for his son's safety, could not believe that his voice was real, and was not convinced until he actually stood before him. The long-absent one asked for whom the food was being thrown on the fire, and his father replied:

"For you. We thought you must be dead and have burnt almost all your personal possessions."

"That does not matter," replied the son. "We have plenty of meat, grease, and furs."

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As soon as the weather moderated, the rest of the party returned, each carrying enough marten skins for at least one blanket. Some had so many that three or four cloaks could be made, in addition to the large supplies of smoked goat meat and grease.

THE SUCCESS OF A LAZY HUNTER

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In the early days, when the visit of a trading vessel to Bella Coola was a rare event, it is remembered that an *Ăsăn-ăn·i* chief bought a musket from the captain of the *Beaver*. He paid for it a pile of beaver-skins which, when stacked up, was equal in height to the length of the weapon. This was one of the first muskets owned by a Bella Coola and the chief took great care of it, never treating it roughly, and hanging it with ropes from the roof of his house whenever he was not actually using it. One day a certain *Snăkelt* asked the owner to lend him the musket to hunt goats. This was no slight request, and it was surprising, since *Snăkelt* was not a hunter, but merely packed in meat killed by others. At first the chief was unwilling to allow his prized weapon out of his sight, but at last consented when *Snăkelt* promised to give him half the goats that he might kill.

Snăkelt probably thought that even temporary possession of the mysterious musket would make it possible for him to kill goats, but when he had climbed up into the mountains, and stalked for hours, he had not succeeded even in approaching one. He knew that if he returned home, unsuccessful and without some plausible excuse, he would be laughed to scorn, so he determined to cover his failure. First he beat the musket on a boulder until it was bent and battered, then he took a sharp rock and pounded himself until he was covered with blood from head to foot, as if he had been caught in a land-slide. When near the village, he lay down on the ground and called faintly for help; at first the people could not locate the sound, but after a short search someone found the would-be hunter, apparently in the last stages of exhaustion. Help was called, and *Snăkelt* carried home, moaning feebly and saying that he would die. He could just whisper that he had been caught in a slide on the other side of the mountain, this explanation being necessary since no one had heard one in the near vicinity. As the apparent sufferer was lying in his house, one man noticed that the patient's wounds were from gashes, not from bruises, and loudly protested that *Snăkelt* must have mutilated himself to conceal his lack of success. Everyone came crowding around and agreed that this must be the case; *Snăkelt* finally admitted the deception and congratulated his discoverer on his powers of observation. After a few days, he was as well as ever, but the chief had lost his precious musket.

Next spring *Snäkelt* declined to accompany most of the able-bodied men of his village to the ocean to gather herring, but lazily stayed at home with the old people. One day, when passing from one village to another, he saw a herd of caribou close at hand; for months he had been held up to ridicule as a hunter, and he felt that here might be an opportunity to vindicate himself. He was armed only with a small knife but, after creeping as near as possible, he suddenly sprang up with a yell which was enough to stampede the herd into a dense thicket. *Snäkelt* was in close pursuit and soon overtook a buck which had become caught by its horns in a thorny bush. Without hesitation, the hunter leapt on to the animal's back, preparatory to cutting its throat. But the sudden burden so terrified the caribou that it reared and jumped, redoubling its efforts to escape, and finally freed itself before its rider had been able to do more than cling precariously to its back. Blind with fear and utterly confused, the animal plunged into another bush where its antlers were caught more firmly than before, and *Snäkelt*, after several efforts, was able to cut its wind-pipe. The caribou fell to the ground and the jubilant hunter despatched it.

Snäkelt alone could not carry back all the meat, so he hurried home for assistance, taking with him only one antler as proof of his kill. When he told the inmates of his own house what he had done, and invited them to carry home the meat, they jeered at him for telling such a preposterous tale. *Snäkelt* warned them that if they declined to help he would go elsewhere, and they would lose their share of the meat, but they only laughed the more. True to his word, he went next door, and when his fellows heard him repeating the same story, they began to wonder whether, after all, it might have been the truth. One man picked up the antler which *Snäkelt* had thrown down in disgust at their suspicions and found fresh blood on its base. So they hastily went next door and offered to accompany him. Finally, the occupants of the two houses went together and packed home the meat of the caribou. In this way *Snäkelt* redeemed his reputation to a certain extent.

AN ANCIENT HUNTING STORY

One November, not many years after the settlement of the earth, a *Nusqalst* chief, *Sänunmdäats*, set out with four companions to hunt mountain goats. It was the rutting season, and the five were fortunate enough to come upon a number of the animals on a narrow ledge. Each singled out a female goat and shot an arrow; the sudden pain caused the victims to jump wildly, and fall from the narrow ledge. The males blindly leapt after them to be pounded to death on the rocks below. There was

*539 [224] a large cave in the vicinity where the hunters smoked the meat and boiled down the grease and marrow, but they had killed so many that it was January before their task was completed. Meanwhile the smell of flesh had attracted a number of martens which were caught in snares; in fact, they captured enough for two blanket-robes. When ready to leave for home, they prepared snow-shoes and on these safely negotiated the deep drifts and reached the village where all hope of their safety had long been abandoned. *Sānuxmāxots* arrived at dusk and heard his parents weeping and wailing; he asked who had died and found that they were mourning for him. His safe return turned their lamentations into rejoicings and a herald was sent out to call in the villagers to share the good news. When finally packed in, there was enough goat meat for an elaborate potlatch.[11]

[226] A year or two later, four men prepared to set out one afternoon to fish for trout. As they were leaving, *Sānuxmāxots*'s young son begged to be taken along and cried so piteously that they at last consented. So they wrapped him carefully in a goat-skin blanket, and placed him in the bottom of the canoe which they paddled about six miles upstream. They landed on the bank, cooked a meal, and dried black spruce branches over [226] the fire to serve as torches to lure the fish within range of their spears. When night had fallen, they began to drift downstream, one man holding aloft a brand while the others speared. They had fair success, but nothing noteworthy occurred until, as they neared *Nusqalst*, they saw white on the water, and paddled slowly forward, thinking it must be a huge flock of swans. As they drew nearer they saw that it was snow; a huge slide had swept over the village and blocked the channel of the river. The water, no longer able to flow westward, was swirling back to the east, and the fishermen drifted with it until they found a place to camp for the night with their young companion.

As soon as it was light, they returned to the scene of the disaster and found a deep bed of snow over the site of the village. They landed to investigate, and called repeatedly, hoping that some at least had escaped. At last they heard an answer and began to dig, imagining that it must be *Sānuxmāxots* himself. After excavating a deep hole, they unburied the sole survivor, a slave who had escaped by covering with a copper the

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[11] It will be noticed that there are many points of similarity between this story [538] and the one in vol. II, p. 512. It is possible that they are versions of the same account, but it seems more likely that they refer to different incidents of which the principal character of one has been forgotten. In such cases the Bella Coola, believing [551] that individuals with the same name often have the same characteristics, frequently give to the hero of an earlier incident the name of a person who has figured in a similar one within recent years.

PLATE 13

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Photograph by the author

Mrs. Joshua Moody (left) and
Mrs. Willie Mack, two Bella
Coola women

[p 516 (A)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 14

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Mrs. Jim Pollard, a Kimsquit woman

[p516 (B)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 15

142
291
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Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Mrs. Jim Pollard, profile

[p516(c)]

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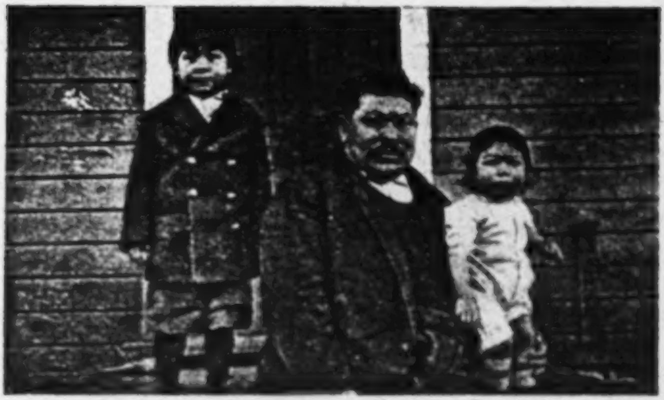
PLATE 16



Photograph by the author

Reuben Schooner, a Bella Coola man, and his children

[p 516 (D)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 17

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Lame Charlie, a Bella Coola man

[p 576 (E)]

PLATE 18

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Captain Myers, an aged Bella Coola man

[p 516 (F)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 19

142
291
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Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Skookum Mary, a Kimsquit woman

[p 516 (G)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 20

142
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Photograph by the author

Alec Davis, a full-blooded
Bella Coola

[p 516(H)]

smoke-vent of the house in which he had been alone at the time. In their grief at the loss of the chief, the four debated what to do with the slave; one wanted to kill him in their disappointment, but the others persuaded him that it would be better to allow him to live to look after the child. After a further fruitless search, the four paddled off to another village with the slave and the little boy.

Sänuxmdxoii's son grew up among strangers, but constantly under the protection of the four fishermen. Moreover, the slave turned out to be a devoted guardian, watching over his young charge with devotion, faithfulness, and skill. As the boy grew older, his protector continued to concern himself with his welfare, and in later years it was he who arranged a suitable marriage for the boy.

CHAPTER VI

THE MAN HIMSELF

Physique — Character

PHYSIQUE

142 144 IN central British Columbia there are two types of Indian; one represented by the Carriers and Chilkotin of the interior, the other, by the coastal peoples. The first are relatively slight of build with graceful carriage, and thin, rather delicate-featured faces. The younger people, particularly, are lithe and handsome, resembling bronze statues. On the other hand, individuals of the second type are characterized by stocky, heavy physique, with thick-set, powerful bodies, muscular arms and legs; their faces have wide mouths and prominent cheek-bones and noses (see Plate 13). Undoubtedly the Bella Coola belong with these latter.[1] No measurements were taken to substantiate this statement, but the general affinities of the tribe are obvious. Stature, build, physiognomy, and especially that intangible impression of heaviness, unite to demonstrate even to one with slight knowledge of British Columbia Indians that he is dealing with a people who are predominantly of the coastal type. Of course there are individuals of the interior type, but they are decidedly in the minority (see Plates 14 and 15). The Bella Coola claim that they can [829] distinguish a coastal man from one of the interior people, and that every coastal tribe has its own peculiarities sufficiently marked to be recognizable on sight. Probably no white observer can make this fine distinction, though the difference between the two main types is clearly apparent.

142 145 Judged by white standards the Bella Coola are far from prepossessing in appearance. Even the children are plain and stolid, with little if any of the grace and appeal of childhood.

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[1] Cf. Boas, p. 26.

As they grow older the plainness of feature is more pronounced, 142
accompanied by increasing heaviness of body (see Plate 16). 145
Many of the adults are corpulent and move with slow, awkward 481
gait. As a rule the men have great strength and are capable
of prolonged and arduous exertion, particularly in paddling; 147
in fact, constant use of canoes may have developed this power-
ful, ungainly build. Few are good walkers or packers; such,
if they are found, usually belong to the lighter interior type.
Among the grown people the face, though unbeautiful, often has 142
a kindly expression, even becoming attractive in laughter or 145
when a friendly grin spreads from ear to ear. With advancing
age the prominent nose seems to grow larger, frequently be-
coming almost aquiline (see Plate 17). Many of the older people
assert that this was even more common in former times.
In time the face becomes lined with wrinkles and the body
appears to shrink (see Plate 18). The teeth are in many cases
worn down to the gums; this seems to cause no discomfort, [194]
though an old person cannot utter the glottal stops and velar
sounds with which the language abounds without emitting a
fine spray of saliva. They are absolutely unable to pronounce
several of the Bella Coola words, while the constant spitting
is a disagreeable feature of their conversation, particularly to [124]
an investigator striving, often vainly, to record sounds accur-
ately. The deep wrinkles of old women give them a benign
"grandmotherly" expression, which makes them more attrac-
tive in extreme age than in youth (see Plate 19). Senile decay is 886
so frequent that the return to infancy in mind as well as in 145
physical powers is regarded as normal.

Among the coastal tribes hair on the face is not uncommon, 142
but in this characteristic the Bella Coola are pre-eminent.
Nearly all the men have sparse moustaches, at least; many 144
have a heavy growth, and several are full-bearded. That this 302
was due to white mixture was assumed at first, but no evidence
could be found to support this view. There are a number of
half-breeds in the community but they are no more hirsute
than the full-blooded Indians. Razors are now almost univer-

142 sally used but the older people state that beards were by no
144 means rare in former times. Careful inquiries were made
[302] concerning the ancestry of a man, about seventy years of age in
1922, whose curly beard suggests that he must be a half-breed,
as indeed he is assumed to be by the white settlers of the
valley. His father was *Potles*, the most influential chief of
recent years, his mother was herself the daughter of an important
chief. None of the older men had ever heard the
slightest rumour of faithlessness on her part. There were white
[648] traders on the coast at the time of his birth, and intercourse with
[567] slave women and others of low family was not uncommon, but
[632] it would have been difficult for a chief's wife to misconduct
herself, and still more difficult for her to conceal all knowledge
of it in view of the open life which prevailed at that period.
Moreover, it is said that *Potles* himself had a similar beard, as
did also the parents of several men who in 1922 were fifty or
sixty years of age.

142 Although the possibility of white mixture cannot be overlooked
144 in the case of this one individual, one must not disregard
826 the opinion of the people themselves on hairiness in
general. They are proud of it and regard beards and moustaches
[302] as marks of virility given to them by *Alquntäm*; baldness
and lack of facial hair are considered a sign of weakness.
They aver that their fathers and grandfathers were even more
hirsute than they. Furthermore, they point out with pride
[186] that this is a difference between themselves and the tribes of
the interior, who are, as they say in scorn, "hairless like Chinamen."
Finally, it is noteworthy that the hair on the head of
many Bella Coola is wavy, or even curly (see Plate 20), instead
of straight as among the majority of Indian tribes.[4]

CHARACTER

181 It is an almost impossible task to describe briefly the
characteristics of a people. Those of the Bella Coola have

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[4] This characteristic has led the writer to wonder if it could possibly have been caused by Ainu mixture.

181 been displayed in their customs and beliefs, their habits, practices, and folk-lore, their outlook both towards the supernatural world and towards their fellows.

The following additional observations are the result of personal knowledge, and recorded after considerable thought.

181 771 When a white man begins to understand the Bella Coola, he cannot fail to be impressed by their deep belief in the supernatural. To them religion is no mental abstraction, but a living reality. They feel the presence of strange creatures around them, and they recognize non-human powers in every manifestation of their own minds; in fact, every incident, good or bad, is attributed to supernatural intervention. This does not mean that they regard life with stoic indifference, content to murmur *Kismet* at whatever fate befalls them. They realize that supernatural powers have endowed them with brains, with physical strength, and with the ability to win favour and gain help from active superhuman beings, and consequently they strive in a world teeming with potent forces. The individual toils as does a white man in the struggle of life, but he attributes his fortune, not to luck or to his unaided exertions, but to the assistance of non-human agents. If he is fortunate, it is because his spirit has been active; if unfortunate, because it has been too inert to protect him.

177 771 Contact with white men, particularly with missionaries, has raised tremendous problems for the Bella Coola. The older people have been but little affected; they may state that they are Christians, believing in the white man's god, but this often means only the knowledge of one more supernatural being whom they add to the already rich pantheon. It is quite otherwise with the younger people, particularly with those who have been away at school. Some adopt the new faith with fervour, continuing to see the same visions and to experience the same mental exaltations, but attributing them to Christianity. [181] To others, however, loss of belief in their own faith has caused a general scepticism; though they may accept the new religion, it does not become the vital force which the old was to their

177 fathers. Inherited beliefs are too deep-rooted to pass away
771 entirely within a few generations. Even those who claim to
have adopted the new faith remain convinced of the potency
[181] of magic, and of the existence of those supernatural creatures
which do not actively conflict with the white man's creed.
Such lack of consistency is a world-wide trait, particularly
intelligible among the Bella Coola whose philosophy abounds
in contradictions, dependent upon statements handed down
in the origin myths of different families.

626 The Bella Coola are constrained not only by the omnipresence of supernatural beings; they are constantly subjected
[181] to the influence of their fellows. They are far less individualistic than white people. A chief may boast that he can do as
[622] he pleases, that he can disregard the restrictions of lesser men;
he often does so, but only because public opinion recognizes
that he has reached a position of eminence by giving many
potlatches. The duly validated warrior is brave because he
[703] feels that everyone is aware of his valour. The man who performs some ceremony in accordance with an ancestral myth
[769] incorporates himself with his forbears, and is strengthened by
the conviction that he has gained their support and approbation. In every phase of life, a person is profoundly affected
177 by the approval or disapproval of his neighbours. At present
626 the construction of small houses, each occupied by a single
342 family, makes it possible for a man to hide himself, or to do
work unknown to the rest of the community. This lessens the
force of public opinion, although it is even now more potent
than conscience in checking anti-social acts. Formerly, in
communal houses, every action was fully known, making individual freedom of thought and act virtually impossible. A man
[602] is chiefly influenced by his relatives who take a great share in
what the white man would consider purely family affairs. The
effect of the group upon the individual must not be overlooked,
nor can it be over-stressed in a study of these people.

177 The education and conversion of the younger men have
626 enormously lessened their reliance upon their fellows. In former
182
561

times, older relatives were revered, not only as senior members 177
of the ancestral family, but as those most familiar with myths 696
and other cherished possessions. With the spread of new ideas,
the young people no longer respect the lore of their elders, and 182
consequently do not heed their admonitions and advice. Theoretically, 561 such self-reliance would seem desirable, but in practice it has led to unfortunate results. A young man, considering himself superior to the older people, glories in acting on his own initiative, but too often he lacks the requisite strength of character to guide his own life. If he wishes to drink, he does so; if he desires to marry, he chooses his mate without considering [581] the transmission of ancestral rights which traditionally existed in former times; if he tires of his wife, he deserts her for another; if he cheats or steals, he is no longer restrained by relatives who fear disgrace. The elders, incapable of stemming the tide, watch sadly and ask anxiously whether the coming of the white man has brought compensation for the loss it has caused. It is deplorable that the emancipation of the younger men and women has taken place before the development of the sense of individual responsibility and conscience which public opinion formerly rendered less necessary. Christianity provides a moral code for those who are fully converted, but for the many in the transition stage, the break-down of the old system of family influence has been tragic.

Profound religious beliefs and lack of individual initiative 181
are shared by all Bella Coola with the exception, perhaps, of a 177
few of the younger people who, having been educated at white man's schools, have adopted the new outlook unconditionally. In most characteristics they display as wide variability as any 577
other people. In truthfulness, for example, they range from
one extreme to the other. As the writer became familiar with 124
the older men, he found it possible to recognize without difficulty the strength of some and the weakness of others. There are liars, but they can be easily detected owing to their lack of finesse. It is a pleasure to record the reliability of the author's friends and informants. Their veracity was checked repeat-

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[illegible]

ally until complete confidence was established, simplifying work in the field to an enormous extent. Equal trust could be placed on these men in other respects; articles of value were repeatedly left in their houses with the absolute certainty that they would be guarded with care. Some few individuals there were, however, who were neither honest nor trustworthy. Bella Coola religion is not concerned with ethics, but public opinion demands honour in dealing with relatives or friends. In former times, for example, debts incurred by an individual were considered a liability by his relatives. If a man died after buying goods on credit for a potlatch, his family were disgraced if they failed to pay his bills; now, unfortunately, nothing constrains the younger people, many of whom try to avoid settling even their own debts, much less those of dead relatives. Individual conscience has not replaced the tribal and, more specifically, family influence. Dishonesty in small matters is not uncommon, particularly in dealing with white people who, according to the Bella Coola, were the first to transgress. The older people bitterly lament the lack of morality of the younger and state, probably with entire justification, that they would have been prevented by the open life which prevailed when several families shared a single house. On the whole, however, the average Bella Coola is probably no less honest than the average white man.

Individuals vary enormously in mental ability. In making this investigation, it was necessary to interview all the older people of the tribe. Disregarding those unwilling to provide information, it was found that some absolutely lacked the ability to explain matters with which they were familiar; some did not have sufficient patience to be good teachers; some were so forgetful that they would omit necessary points in a story or account; some were downright stupid, whereas others displayed mental ability of no mean order. In reading ethnological literature, one is apt to think of the troubles experienced by the author, and to overlook the fact that natives have to

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grave difficulties in explaining their customs, as the white man has in understanding them. 153 124

The writer was impressed by the brilliance shown by several of the natives. Joshua Moody, for example, is essentially the philosopher. More individualistic than most of his tribesmen, he was one of the first to adopt Christianity and has been a faithful follower of the new creed. Deeply interested in religious questions, he has stored up what has been told him of the Bible and pondered deeply on all problems of life. Not particularly practical, subject to fits of anger or moroseness, but with a meditative temperament which delights in seeking biblical parallels and synonyms for Bella Coola practices, his is the kind of mind which, in other walks of life, would have produced the professor of philosophy. Jim Pollard is quite another type. Essentially practical, he has devoted his energies to keeping abreast of changing conditions. He is the best singer and composer in Bella Coola, the best canoeman for miles; he has learnt to handle a motor-boat engine, to aid prospectors for minerals, and has succeeded in amassing and saving a considerable amount of money. Jim excelled all other informants in clearness and logical presentation of his explanations, though he showed a slight tendency, intelligible enough, to gloss over aspects which he knew would be considered unpleasant. If Jim had been a white man, he would undoubtedly have made his mark in the world of business. The late Captain Schooner differed from either of the preceding. Older than they, and unconverted, he, perhaps, came nearest to the original, uncontaminated Bella Coola type. Sturdy in build, courteous in manner and expression, he had a heart of gold and was a fine *example of a native gentleman. He was glad to assist more* particularly in recording ancient lore, being intensely proud of the traditions of his ancestors. A friendship developed from this which is one of the writer's happiest memories. Often in the evenings life in general was discussed, the war, the rush of progress in big cities, the quest for wealth, the spread of white civilization, and the problems raised by the contact of peoples. 118 177 [133] [123]

115 Schooner lacked the mental acumen of Joshua and Jim, but
172 he revealed himself as a tribal patriarch, proud of his family's
[illegible] history and eager to assist his grandchildren and great-grandchildren, but feeling himself lost and helpless in the struggle before them. With sadness, but without bitterness, he used to speak of the approaching end of Bella Coola culture, and his words brought home the tragedy which the spread of civilization brings to so many, and the responsibility resting upon the white people as a whole.

153 Until an intelligence test is devised to correlate the mental
116 ability of the white man with that of the native, it is impossible to compare the two scientifically. None the less, the writer deliberately expresses the opinion that Joshua Moody and Jim Pollard are two of the most brilliant men he has met in any walk of life. They are undoubtedly the most able of the Bella Coola; others have only slightly less ability, while the mass of the population compares favourably with an average white community. Their ability, however, is defi-
178 nitely conditioned by their conservatism. Absolute trust in the traditions of their ancestors has checked speculation, as the established explanation is never questioned; new inventions, unauthorized by custom, have been regarded as almost sacri-
[illegible] legious; the force of public opinion, while valuable as a deterrent to anti-social practices, has effectively restrained innovations. The Bella Coola are a good example of a community whose development has been crippled by extreme conservatism fostered by religious beliefs.

[illegible] Taking into account the material obstacles, the achievements of these people have not been insignificant. In former
[illegible] times, provided only with tools of stone and unhammered copper, they built graceful canoes, made watertight boxes, hewed planks from mighty cedars, and erected large houses which called for considerable engineering skill. Judged by
[illegible] white standards, their carving and painting lacked artistic deli-
[illegible] cacy, but it required no mean ability to portray some designs to meet their own standards. Passing from the purely mechanical

to the æsthetic, their skill in dancing and dramatics is noteworthy; 105
no one who has witnessed a native dance can fail to 535
have been impressed by the performance of the participants
and the stage-craft of the carpenters. The fact that no system 598
of writing had ever been devised has prevented the establishment 212
of a native literature, but the practice of passing down 153
an extensive folklore by word of mouth shows their narrative
powers as well as their faculty for remembering details. At
present it is difficult to appreciate what must have been their
energy in earlier times when they faced the struggle for existence,
armed with stone tools. Abundant salmon gave them 224
adequate food, but only when weirs had been built with great
labour. Though game was plentiful, the hunter was equipped 224
with nothing more formidable than a bow and arrow. The
simplest task required patience and skill undreamed of by the
average white man. If the reader will allow his imagination
to carry him backwards two hundred years, he will realise that
the mere provision of food and clothing necessitated constant
effort and ceaseless exertion.

Hand in hand with many admirable characteristics, the 556
Bella Coola display others which strike the white man as
unprepossessing. A first impression is the untidiness of their
homes. Exteriorly, they are often fairly neat, but confusion
reigns within. Clothing, instead of being hung up, is left lying
on the floor; bed-coverings are piled carelessly; dirty dishes
cover the tables; dogs and children swarm over the floor; flies
abound; all is dirty and slovenly. The house itself may be
unrepaired; a window lacks glass and has been boarded up;
the roof leaks, or the steps are falling down. Nor are the
surroundings more attractive. There is one struggling flower-bed 247
in the village, but elsewhere the houses are surrounded by 351
wastes of mud where horses and cattle wander, dogs prowl, and 251
children play. In the distance the mountain peaks rise in
splendour, but near at hand all is squalid and unkempt.

They are only slightly more particular about their personal 515
appearance. Dirt does not distress them. They wash occa-

515 sionally, in a half-hearted manner, but it is not unusual for a
man to allow the basin of water in which he makes his ablutions
to remain standing for two or three weeks. Not many
177 years ago the Carriers taught their neighbours to make a kind
246 of soap from the ashes of burnt cottonwood sticks thrown into
water; with this clothes are washed irregularly and in most
988 cases from sheer necessity only. In former times bathing was
785 a semi-sacred rite, but this fell into disuse with the passing of
the old religion, and the use of soap and water merely for the
177 sake of cleanliness has not become a daily habit. The women
241 have more vanity; the younger girls especially like to have
new clothes, though they wear them carelessly, heedless of fit.
784 An effort is often made to clean up for ceremonial dances, but
it entails little more than the removal of the more obvious dirt
and the putting on, over unchanged undergarments, of a
sweater. Pride in personal appearance, love of tidiness,
delight in a clean house, are all quite foreign to the Bella Coola.

956 Probably the reason for lack of comforts in the houses is
simply that the people do not feel the need for them. They
264 consider it no hardship to sit on a rickety chair, scoop up food
231 from a common dish and, if they think of it, throw morsels
down to the dog or the cat. The smell, the flies, the dirt, the
152 chaos do not concern them. Capable of undergoing privations,
hardships, and even sufferings, they think neither of the comfort
231 of themselves nor of others. Their domestic animals are
often treated abominably, not through lack of affection or
cruelty, but from callousness. More than once the writer has
seen a favourite dog steal a piece of food from the table. Its
master, after a furious blow or kick at it, would suddenly, as
if by inspiration, throw a choice bit to the animal, saying:

"Why, he must have been hungry!"

Though the Bella Coola feel a kinship with animals unknown
to the white man, it is not combined with any recognition
of their feelings as living creatures. There are, of course,
577 many exceptions, but on the whole public opinion demands
generosity and kindness only towards human members of the
group. The moral code is not concerned with
animals.

group. The moral code is not concerned with animals. The life of the Bella Coola would be unbearable to most white people, yet they find it far from unpleasant. They sigh at present conditions, but there is much to amuse them notwithstanding. If several people are talking together, one is sure to hear bursts of laughter every few minutes. It takes little to interest them; a story they have heard a hundred times, the troubles of a neighbour with his wife, the eccentricity of a white man, the stupidity of the investigator, any of these is enough to cause a hearty laugh. When collecting information it was constantly necessary to joke with them; the most feeble witticism was enough, but they lost interest in the work unless kept smiling. Their sense of humour is not refined; jests about sexual matters are common and are enjoyed alike by men, women, and children. It is not that their tastes are perverted, but rather that they have no reticence in discussing this topic, so they find it easy to see the ludicrous aspects of a subject which is ever near the surface in their minds. They have no hesitation in poking fun at their friends; a successful practical joke, such as hiding the writer's tobacco, is enough to fill them with amusement. If the victim shows temporary resentment, the glee of his friends is complete, and shrieks of laughter usually terminate the trick. 600 522 [124] [331]

Unless the white man who comes to live among the Bella Coola is unusually broad-minded, he is at first repelled by the dirt and untidiness prevailing everywhere; even the people themselves seem unnatural. He finds it difficult to realize the sincerity of their religious beliefs, and the manner in which these influence their daily lives is hard to grasp. The potlatch system appears so grotesque that it seems to reflect a psychology diametrically opposed to his own. The force of public opinion on personal conduct is almost incomprehensible. Gradually, however, he begins to understand the reasons underlying Bella Coola life. The potlatch becomes intelligible when regarded as a means of achieving fame; constant attention to supernatural beings is natural considering the firm convictions 105 182 [626]

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105 182 [626] of their omnipresence; the guiding force of public opinion is seen as a check on individual licence, fostered or inculcated by the ties which hold together ancestral families and make it impossible for a man to lead an isolated life where others will not be affected by his actions. If the white man is willing to receive new ideas, he will learn much from the comments of the Bella Coola on his own customs. Many have been to [556] Victoria or Vancouver, and they feel that the contrasts of wealth observable in such big cities are atrocious; they ask [602] how this is compatible with Christianity. They feel that it is unnatural for a man not to receive support from his cousins of [956] all degrees; that the hoarding of wealth for the mere gratification of personal desires is selfish; that the selling of land is extraordinary; and that failure to ascribe every incident to supernatural causes is sacrilegious. These differences of viewpoint on so many matters explain the first impression of strangeness. A careful investigator comes to realize that he is among a people who fundamentally differ but slightly from his compatriots, though outwardly they have little in common. With respect to love, ambition, personal affection, sense of honour, pride, intelligence, even humour and vanity, the Bella Coola are essentially similar to ourselves. Unfortunately, these characteristics are expressed in ways unintelligible and often repellent to the casual traveller. If he will only look beneath the surface, he will find a people who are neither saints nor demons, but essentially human, with the faults and follies as well as the elements of strength and wisdom which comprise, as Kipling puts it, "Man in a world of men."

177 [16] [26] The coming of the white civilization has been cataclysmic to the Bella Coola. Within two generations they have been reduced to a mere handful; instead of living in scattered villages, roaming the mountains for game and fishing at will, they now dwell in a single settlement and the taking of animals and fish is subject to law; the introduction of metal tools and mechanical appliances has revolutionized their mode of life; new foods, new clothing, new furniture has altered their living conditions; fermented drink has presented a factor unknown

to their forefathers. Profound as these material changes have 177
been, those of a psychological nature have been even more important. New worlds have been thrown open to them, stimulating ideas have been brought to their attention, and they have realized for the first time that the world is infinitely larger than they had imagined. Hand in hand with this expansion of knowledge has gone disbelief in their own ancient lore. [771]
The white man, whose superiority and mechanical skill they admit, positively denies the actuality of their mythology, and laughs at the dramatic performances which were wont to fill the winter with engrossing interest. Such rites can flourish only in an attitude of profound belief: this has been so shaken [796]
that the dances continue listlessly, a mere shadow of a once living art. The young people were the first to embrace a scepticism that has rapidly grown into disbelief of the faith of [771]
their ancestors, and a half-concealed scorn for their elders, the upholders of the old customs. [562] Worst of all, prohibition of the potlatch has made it impossible for a man to reach a position of social eminence. [554] Moreover, since the holding of any type of ceremonial requires a distribution of gifts, formal gatherings [431]
of all kinds have become virtually impossible; even marriages have no longer the social support that formerly made them so lasting. [581]

These cumulative blows would be enough to shake any 177
civilization, and that of the Bella Coola has been entirely 182
unable to adjust itself to the new conditions. The young people, having lost respect for their elders, are deprived of the advice and support essential to the continuity of culture. They ape the white man's dress; they want his mechanical devices, but have failed to assimilate them. For example, a gramophone in a Bella Coola house is an anachronism, while several similar articles spoil the old picture but do not provide a new one. Seeking to copy the new ways thrown open to them, they have achieved the outward show but not the substance, and in so doing have destroyed their own culture. In the old days they were ambitious to hold potlatches and willing to work steadily towards that goal; now, new desires have not kept pace with

177 182 their earning ability and a man can satisfy his wants by working for a few months each summer. The decline of ceremonials has left a blank in their lives, too easily filled, alas, with drinking, idleness, and vice. It is inevitable that the old rites and old ambitions should pass, but the prohibition of these before new ones had taken their place, has been disastrous. The Bella Coola have lost their pride, a calamity as fatal to a people as to an individual.

They have shown undoubted ability in developing such of their own talents to fit the needs and requirements of the white man. Expert carpenters for generations, they have readily [322] learnt the use of new tools and now build houses and boats of considerable constructional skill. They have proved them- [464] selves valuable employees of the canneries which rely to a large extent upon Indian labour. Under instruction from a [535] white teacher, a number of the younger men have formed a band which gives creditable performances with wind and percussion instruments. One can only deplore the fact that the skill of the Bella Coola in carving, painting, acting, singing, composing, and story-telling could not have been guided into channels where it would have developed and added lustre to the new world in which they find themselves.

The white man's civilization presses forward as an overwhelming flood, blotting out the cultures of lesser peoples in all parts of the world. This is inevitable, probably it is well that it should be so, but it offers little consolation to a tribe like the Bella Coola. Their life has been destroyed; and, uncomplainingly, half-proudly, half-plaintively, the survivors watch the downfall of all that their ancestors cherished. Too often the white man fails to understand this; too often he fails to realize that progress, as he sees it, is wiping out valuable elements of civilizations other than his own instead of seeking the good in them and preserving it for the benefit of himself and the natives alike. The Bella Coola culture is dying, and with it will pass forever something created by a Canadian people, not great perhaps, but ineffably stamped with their personality.

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PLATE 21

Photograph by the author

River canoe

[p 532 (A)]

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PLATE 22

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Chinook canoe

[φ532 (B)]

[p 593]
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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX [illegible]

MECHANICAL PROCESSES

No attempt was made to study either the material culture of the Bella Coola, or their methods of manufacturing, but information on some points was obtained incidentally. All sociological and religious features connected therewith have already been described. 121

THE TAKING AND PREPARATION OF OLACHEN

[illegible] as many 227
[illegible] taught out [226]
[illegible] examined, [221]
[illegible] out of
[illegible] By rolling [289]
[illegible] of the
[illegible] great [462]
[illegible] and at the
[illegible] employed, [286]
[illegible] wider end
[illegible] The total
[illegible] eight feet,
[illegible] a mixture [286]
[illegible] solution of
[illegible]

[illegible] 226
[illegible] [476]
[illegible] [423]
[illegible] [178]
[illegible] [412]
[illegible]

226 about a foot of the surface. In the same slow manner a second stake is driven in, about ten feet from the first, and in such a position that the main force of the current would strike at right angles a line drawn between the two. Then two more stakes are placed in position, slightly below the first pair, and nearer together, as shown in the diagram (Figure 2). The posts are often driven before the main run of the fish, and the fixing of the net delayed until that time. It is fastened to the four stakes, with its open end, which faces upstream, forming a rough oval, ten feet wide, of which the lower side rests on the bottom and the upper is at the surface. The outer stakes hold the upper edge, the inner ones secure the lower brim. The olachen are slow-swimming fish which work their way upstream with the rising tide, and, when it turns, drift back into the net. Once within the opening, they lack strength to drive forward against current and tide, and are forced into the closed bottom, floating downstream, in thousands. At the peak of the season, a net is often extended to its full dimensions with a solid mass of fish, throwing a tremendous strain on supports and mesh-work alike. During the day, the mouth is closed with a cross-piece, customarily, to prevent floating objects from drifting within and damaging it, and opened during the night at whatever hour the tide turns.

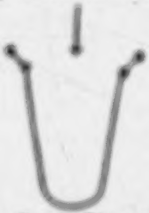

FIG. 2. Diagram showing position of the stakes supporting an olachen net.

Early in the morning begins the landing of the fish. The partners paddle out to the bottom of their net and, with considerable exertion, lift it into the canoe. A cord is tied around the bellied mass, cutting off a section, and the end is opened so that the fish from it fall into the bottom of the craft. Another part is dealt with in the same manner, then a third, and so in succession until the glistening olachen are piled so deeply that no more can be loaded with safety. Sometimes two or three loads, each of many thousands, are taken from a single net. The partners slowly pole to the shore where, at the present time, their wives and children wait to unload the canoe. The fish are packed into baskets, carried on the back
412 with the aid of a tump-line, and taken to pits which have been prepared ten to fifteen feet from the bank. These are three or four feet deep, lined
226 with planks, and with their bottoms covered with evergreen boughs. The
251 olachen are emptied into these holes, which are covered with more planks when full. If more fish are landed than can be handled conveniently in this manner, they are laid on branches spread on the ground, and a low wall of planks built up around them. Although the main run lasts for only three or four days, the olachen are so numerous that each group of partners is able to fill several of these storage pits.

252 Though most of the catch is thus disposed of, there is always enough

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

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for treatment in other ways. Some are fried immediately, but the Bella Coola think they lack flavour, although most white men regard them as delicious. Many hundreds are dried for winter use in one of the following methods: 252 251

(A) Cedar-sticks, each about three feet in length, are split from the solid trunk and smoothed down to a diameter of about one-half inch. One of these is passed through the gills and mouth of one fish after another until the rod is filled with a row of olachen, their tails hanging downwards. Dozens of these sticks are suspended horizontally over the central fire in a house, or, in brilliant sunshine, hung in the open. When dried to a certain extent, they are stored in the upper parts of the houses where the process continues whenever a fire is lit. When so treated they keep almost indefinitely.

(B) Narrow strips, each four to five feet in length, of flexible cedar-bark, are prepared by the women. The fisherman takes the ends of two of these, ties one around a fish's head, and the other around its tail. Another olachen is tied parallel to the first, and then others, until the two cords are supporting thirty to forty fish, each separated by about one inch. The middle of the strings is laid across a horizontal bar above a fire or in the open, and the process of drying continues as in the last method. The fish not infrequently catch fire if a large blaze is built up in a house, so careful people remove their olachen before a feast or other celebration.

Though dried olachen provide a useful article for winter diet, the fish are chiefly valued for their grease, *tlak'*, which is used as a condiment with all kinds of berries. It is sometimes extracted from the fresh fish, but the Bella Coola consider this to be tasteless and prefer to wait until the olachen have remained in the pits for ten days to two weeks. Warm weather hastens the process, but in any case nothing is done until the disgusting smell has penetrated for miles, proving that putrefaction is well advanced. In former times, all boiling was done with hot stones, but at present boxes with iron bottoms are used as kettles. These are of various shapes and sizes, an average being, perhaps, four feet long, three feet wide, and eighteen inches deep. These are set on fireplaces which vary according to the ingenuity of the maker. Some are excavated in the river bank, lined with stones set in clay, and fitted at the inner end with an old stovepipe to provide draught for the miniature furnace. The box-kettle is placed on the ground over the excavation and the cook pours in water. Then his wife, children, and friends bring the putrid fish, which they ladle in until only a few inches of water are visible. A slow fire is built beneath, and, as the mixture begins to boil, the cook stirs it with a five-foot stick having a slightly flattened blade. Presently the grease begins to rise to the surface whence it is skimmed off and placed in recep-

258
[262]
[263]
[252]
[415]
[254]
[415]

251 tacles; metal coal-oil cans are found convenient for this purpose and have
almost replaced watertight boxes. After repeated stirrings and skim-
[415] mings, all that remains is a mass of putrid flesh, bearing no resemblance
whatever to the fish from which it came. The Kitlope are said to com-
[171] press this into cakes for eating, but the Bella Coola throw it away. Some
cooks bail out the dregs by hand, but many of the box-kettles have a
[415] bung-hole at the bottom which, when opened, allows the semi-liquid
contents to flow out into a rough trough leading to the river. As soon as
one batch of olachen has thus been disposed of, another is boiled and
refined in the same way. The grease keeps indefinitely and is a useful
[431] article of barter with the Carriers as well as a staple of Bella Coola diet.
[262] Although the preparation removes much of its offensive odour, olachen
grease has an unpleasant taste to the white man.

During the boiling, all other activities are suspended and the people
251 spend practically all their time on the river bank. If the fish are allowed
476 to rot too long, much of the grease is lost, so men, women, and children
are pressed into service to make the most of the short period. The men rise at dawn to start the fires on the bank, the women and children follow with food, and for several days the whole village camps, as if on a picnic, amid an indescribably foul smell that almost sickens anyone passing within hundreds of yards. There are tasks for everyone; the fish must be carried from the pits to the furnaces, wood must be brought, the fires stoked, the kettles stirred, the grease carried away, the fireplaces repaired, food cooked, and a hundred other chores. It is a scene of great activity, carried on with good humour and merriment, for the Bella Coola realize that they are storing up luxuries for the following winter. Even the dogs seem to share the general excitement, and do not disdain to eat the dregs from the kettles, which, when emptied into the river, attract numerous crows and gulls, to the joy of small boys with hunting desires.

BELLA COOLA CANOES

501 Although travel and transport by water is still as vital to the Bella
[503] Coola as it was to their fathers, the motor-boat is fast replacing the canoe,
and the science of manufacturing their own craft is being lost. In former
times several types were constructed, but only one of these is still employed
—the spoon canoe, [illegible], used on rivers (see Plate 21). These vary
from twenty to thirty feet or more in length, and are about four feet wide;
they are without keels, and there is no difference between the bow and
stern. Although one man can handle such a craft in smooth water, at
502 least two are required for a journey of any length, and four is the usual
crew. The captain, who is either the best waterman or the one most
familiar with the route, stands in the stern, the second in command in

the bow. The crew take their places at equal intervals between, each 502
ready to work on the opposite side from the man in front. Each is provided with a ten-foot pole and also a paddle for use in spots where the river is too deep for poling. The rivers of central British Columbia are shallow, but swift, and their navigation requires considerable skill. Going upstream, the captain constantly seeks the smoothest water, where he knows the current will be least strong, and uses his pole to keep the craft headed in the right direction. Should it be caught in a violent eddy, he exerts his full strength, and it is his voice that rallies the crew for a final exertion to shoot the canoe through. Coming downstream is more dangerous though less wearying. The water is so cold and the current so swift that a capsizing usually causes the drowning of one or more of the occupants, and the captain must never relax. Spoon canoes are very [501]
stable, and cannot be upset by a faulty distribution of weight. This is essential in view of the rapids, but they are heavy and cumbersome, unsuited to carrying large loads.

When a carpenter wishes to make a canoe, he fells a cedar of suitable 396
size and trims off bark and branches to leave the central stem available. [412]
Slowly and laboriously he chips with his adze until he has hollowed out the trunk to the proper shape, and at the same time has smoothed away the outer surface. Sometimes a small fire is built on the trunk so that it will char the wood beneath and make it easier to remove, but the carpenter must be careful that the flames do not spread too far. Finally, as his work reaches completion, he becomes even more painstaking than before. The sides and bottom are whittled to a thickness of no more than three inches, and at this stage a faulty stroke may pierce the shell and ruin the toil of weeks. When completed, it is necessary to widen and harden the canoe. A fire is built beside it and stones thrown into the flames to heat; then lifted out and dropped into the water with which the craft has been partly filled. Steam rises, and the carpenter confines it by covering the canoe with matting, at the same time endeavouring to pull and force the sides apart. Sometimes he can do so by mere muscular effort, more often it is necessary to lay transverse thwarts within and, by pounding them downwards, extend the sides. No great extension is possible, nor is it required, but the steaming process is considered to harden the wood as well as widen the canoe.

Until five or six years ago, the Bella Coola made another type of 501
canoe, [illegible], for use on the ocean. A few examples of this style are still in existence (see Plate 22). Though approximately the same length as river canoes, they are proportionately much deeper and narrower, and an extension downwards near the stern serves in place of a keel. These craft are sufficiently sea-worthy to weather any ordinary storm. Several

501 of the older people remember seeing in their youth another type, *iakan*, with a high raised prow; this may have been identical with the *milka* which others describe as having an elevated bow and a low stern. An entirely different craft was the *tamkwal·i*, named from one of the geese, [925] probably the white-fronted goose. A strip of maple fastened along each side caught the water in moving, with a sound like that of the peculiar rustling flight of the bird. The bow was often carved in the form of a [532] bird's head and the stern in that of a tail to further the resemblance. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of these canoes, though some had heard of them from their grandparents. The large, open type of canoe made by the Haida was known to the Bella Coola, but not constructed by them. Sails were used on all ocean-going canoes; they were usually of matting, though skins sewn together were occasionally employed.

Canoes are occasionally lashed together. In several *kusiut* dances a 501 wide platform for dancing is required, and the need is met by lashing 535 planks crosswise over two canoes, near the bow and stern, thus fastening them together. Planking is laid on the two supports and a platform so constructed. Careful inquiries showed that this fastening was merely a temporary arrangement; the booms were not bound in any particular manner, nor was there any fixed distance between the craft. Sometimes 501 the same expedient was used for transport when the load was too heavy [171] for two canoes separately, a device which is said to have been used more commonly by the tribes of the outer coast than the Bella Coola. Canoes lashed together are termed *ds·awandx*.

Rafts, *satskwal·a*, consisting of rough logs fastened together with cross-pieces, were commonly used on the lakes of the interior, and occasionally for river work when canoes were unavailable and there was no time to make them. Another expedient in similar emergencies was to [177] make bark canoes, such as are still constructed by the Carriers. The Bella Coola regard the construction of these as definite copying, and do not profess to have as much skill as their teachers whose canoes, it is said, can be folded for portaging. There is a tradition that, many generations ago, a few clever Bella Coola knew how to make skin canoes.

THE PREPARATION OF CEDAR-BARK

314 Early spring is the time to *susukmls*, that is, to gather the inner bark of the cedar. Men occasionally assist in the task, though this is really [221] woman's work. The worker selects a small cedar, choosing one about six inches in diameter, with smooth trunk and relatively free from knots. [462] With a knife she makes a horizontal incision in the bark, two or three feet [412] from the ground, sometimes girdling the sapling. Then she inserts her

lata, a tool consisting of a slightly bent stick with sharpened point, into the cut, and runs it upwards to make a vertical incision as high as she can reach. Going around to the other side of the tree, the woman makes another cutting of the same kind. Finally, she inserts her fingers at the bottom and pulls gently outwards, so that the bark is drawn off in a long streamer which tapers to a point at the top. The other half section of the tree is similarly stripped; this treatment frequently kills saplings which can then be used for fire-wood. Although small trees are preferred, a woman sometimes collects her bark from a large one by means of many vertical incisions. 3/14 [412]

The bark is taken home without further preparation. The woman carefully peels off and throws away the rough outer bark, leaving the smooth inner covering, *lupai*, which alone is valuable. If the weather is fine, this is dried in the sun for two or three days; otherwise, it is placed over a fire within the house. When all moisture has been removed, it is rolled up and kept for future use. The bark can be used for making baskets with no further treatment except splitting into bands of the proper width. [285]

When pounded bark, such as is widely used for ceremonial purposes, is required, the woman prepares the necessary tools. Two small sticks, each about six inches in length and one-half inch in diameter, are used as tweezers, *kipla*, though the bark can, if necessary, be held in the hand. Two beating sticks are required, each about two feet in length, six inches wide, and half an inch thick; one edge of each is rounded off, though one sharpened to a cutting surface. When all is ready, the woman crouches on the floor, with the lower beater, *lpanq*, held stationary before her on a box or other raised rest, and lays an end of the bark over the rounded edge. Taking the other, the upper beater, *tpiloa*, in her right hand, she strikes downwards so that its edge slides down the side of the stationary stick, bruising the fragment of bark. With her left hand she pushes the piece slightly further over the edge, and again the upper beater falls. This is repeated time after time until the whole length is pulverized and softened. It is tiring work, but a woman accomplishes more in an hour than seems possible as her muscles become accustomed to the shearing motion. The bark becomes broken and frayed but its tensile strength is sufficient to prevent it from falling apart. Then the woman brushes it with shavings to remove loose fragments and the work is done. This type of pounded cedar-bark is called *ilw'*. 287

Ilw' is usually dyed red before being used for ceremonial purposes and is then termed *mal'*. In winter the dye is made from alder-bark with pieces of the wood attached, but in summer only scrapings from the inner bark are used. Water is placed in a vessel, urine added, pieces of alder 287 286 [224]

287
316 thrown in, and hot stones lifted in to heat the mixture. Even at the present time this is never made on a stove, as it is thought that the gradual heating by means of stones is essential. As it becomes warm, the woman thoroughly stirs the ingredients with her hands, then, when it boils, some of the bark is lifted out and more added. This process is continued until the brew is deep red in colour. It is allowed to stand for a few minutes before the pounded cedar-bark is placed in it. The operator gently works it around until it is saturated, then lifts it out and hangs it up to dry. Several pieces of bark can be dyed in one solution, though it is necessary to add more alder-bark and more stones to maintain the proper strength and heat.

[286
177] Although red cedar-bark is the kind most commonly used, the Bella Coola sometimes use the yellow cedar for mats and blankets, an art learnt from the Bella Bella.

THE MANUFACTURE OF PAINT

316
[302
537
317] Paint, such as was used both for decorating the body and for portraying designs on wood, was obtained from a kind of rock found near the head of a creek entering the Bella Coola from the south near [illegible]. Fragments of the red stone were broken off, thrown into a vessel containing water, and brought to a boil by the insertion of hot stones. Under the action of heat the rock became soft so that the manufacturer was able to pulverize it and run off the semi-liquid mixture into a small box. He would then chew cedar-bark and salmon roe, and spit into the paint, thoroughly mixing his saliva with it. When dry, the mixture was ready for use, and could be kept indefinitely.

[538
177] Anyone could paint who had the artistic skill, and it was chiefly women who used to make this kind of paint. Since the introduction of the white man's brilliant colours, there has been no demand for the duller native shade, and the making of paint has been discontinued.

[illegible]

STRING FIGURES

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

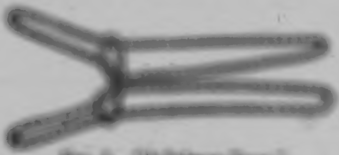
[illegible]

[illegible]

[String figures]

[illegible]

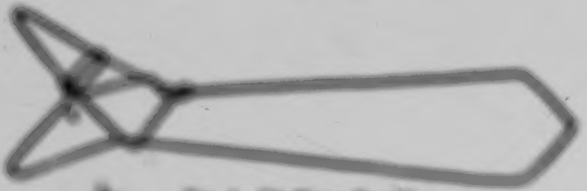
[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Put index fingers together, tip to tip, and transfer right index finger loop to left index finger, and left index finger loop to right index finger over the just transferred.

Release middle fingers.

Insert middle fingers into index finger loops from proximal side.

Bend middle and index fingers towards the manipulator, passing index fingers to distal side of radial thumb string, and middle fingers to proximal side of radial thumb string, grasping this string between tips of these fingers.

Return through index finger loop, allowing this loop to slip off. The string formerly held between tips of fingers is now wrapped around tips of said fingers.

Release thumbs.

This represents the corpse resting on a framework (Figure 7).

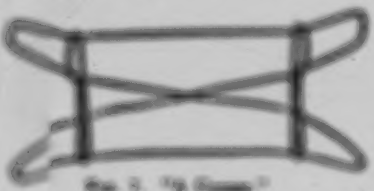


FIG. 7. "A Corpse."

Pass thumbs away from manipulator into the lower section of the central rectangle.

Release ring and little fingers.

Gently extend, and the figure becomes two arms.

(9). TWO BOYS

Place loop over thumbs, which should be about four inches apart, with straight string between their radial sides, and the long pendant string hanging down from ulnar sides of thumbs on palmar aspects of hands.

Both index fingers take up radial thumb strings from proximal side.

Left thumb take up right radial thumb string from proximal side.

Release right thumb.

Put right thumb into left thumb loops from proximal side and take out loops.

Extend figure.

Put thumbs proximally to ulnar side of index finger loops, and take up index finger string on their backs.

Release index fingers.

There are now three loops on the thumbs which should be kept in their original order.

Put index fingers through the three thumb loops from proximal side, and draw them down and away from manipulator to ulnar side of distal

524

and middle ulnar thumb strings, and to the proximal side of the proximal ulnar thumb string, by twisting the index fingers hook this string down, with the index fingers, through thumb loops.

With little fingers hook down the strings hooked down by index fingers.

Release index fingers.

Release the two straight radial thumb strings.

Second figure.

This complicated figure shows two boys, the loops passing from radial thumb string to ulnar little finger string, playing a game which resembles hide-and-seek (Figure 8).

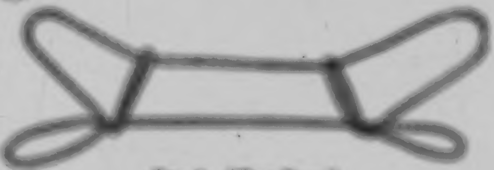


FIG. 8. "Two Boys."

The left hand boy hides: hook down the boy with left index finger.

The right hand boy runs to try to find him: insert left thumb into right thumb loop from proximal side, release right thumb, and extend. This shows the right hand boy near the left hand, but he cannot see the left hand boy, who is concealed.

Sing: '[illegible]' (?). Where is he?'

The right hand boy returns to his station.

Insert right thumb into left distal thumb loop from proximal side and lift off this loop.

Extend.

The left hand boy emerges from his hiding place.

Release left index finger.

Sing: '[illegible] gi'lai. Here he is.'

The process of hiding and running to find can be repeated indefinitely, and with either boy.

9. A RABBIT

Bella Coola opening.

Insert middle, ring, and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side, and hook down radial index finger strings.

Bend index and middle fingers towards manipulator, to distal side of ulnar thumb string, passing index fingers to distal side of radial thumb string, and middle fingers to proximal side of radial thumb string, holding this string between tips of fingers.

Bend index and middle fingers up and away from manipulator, thus

524 wrapping radial thumb string around tips of index fingers, and allowing original index finger loops to slip off.

Release thumbs.

There is now a St. Andrew's Cross in the centre of the figure. With each thumb take up the upper arm of the cross nearest to it from the proximal side.

Release index fingers.

Transfer loop hooked down by ring and little fingers of each hand to little fingers of each hand, without altering direction of loop.

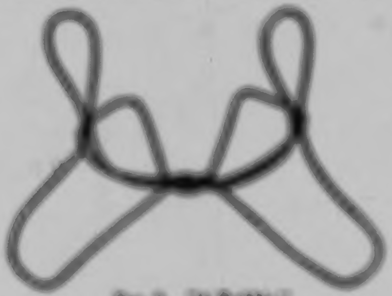


FIG. 9. "A Rabbit."

Insert index fingers into little finger loops from distal side, hold them towards [illegible] to proximal side of radial little finger strings, [illegible] thumb strings, and radial thumb strings; then hook them up and away from [illegible] to distal side of radial thumb string, and to proximal side of the straight string which crosses the figure forming a loop between ulnar thumb string and radial little finger string of each hand. Hook this string on index fingers and return, taking it up on the dorsal aspect of index fingers.

Release thumbs.

[205] The loops just released represent the ears of the rabbit. With thumbs press the ears through little finger loops and [illegible] with middle fingers, thereby making the figure appear more life-like (Figure 9).

[illegible]. THREE LITTLE [illegible] OF [illegible]

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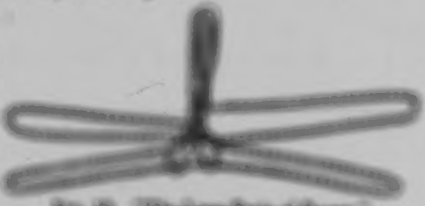
631
Bella Coola opening.

Insert middle, ring and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down radial index finger strings.

With thumbs take up radial index finger strings from proximal side and return through thumb loops, allowing original thumb loops to slip off.

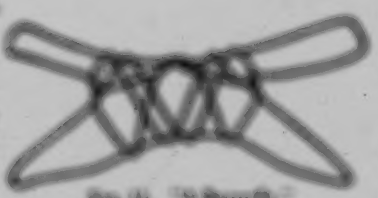
Insert middle fingers into thumb loops from proximal side and take up on the backs of middle fingers the strings passing across the palmar aspect of thumbs, returning them to normal position.

With back of left middle finger grip right middle finger loop and release right middle finger.



[illegible]

[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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Fire-Demon: "What do you want?"

Grouse-girl: "I want some embers, please; my fire has gone out."

F.D.: "All right. Go and bring whatever you usually use for carrying coals."

Grouse-girl is absent for a long time and returns with the fingers and mouth smeared with grease. The narrator should [illegible] finger to [illegible] in the figure.

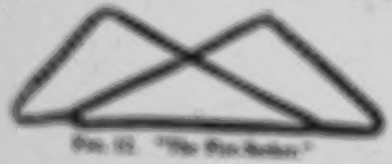

Fig. 32. "The Fire-Seeker."

Fire-Demon: "Why have you been so long?"

Grouse-girl: "I was given some food by the people in that house over there."

F.D.: "What did you eat?"

G.: "I ate [illegible]."

F.D.: "What did you eat it with?"

G.: "A [illegible]."

F.D.: "What kind of dish was it served in?"

G.: "A [illegible]."

F.D.: "What did you use as a [illegible]?"

G.: "A [illegible] from a [illegible] in a coffin."

F.D.: "What did you use as a [illegible]?"

G.: "A [illegible] pulled from a corpse."

F.D.: "Ugh! You [illegible]."

[illegible] and the triangle [illegible] to the [illegible] of the figure, [illegible] finger.

[illegible] the Bella Coola equivalent for "Oh dear!" [illegible] or any other such ejaculation, and [illegible] the [illegible].

This string figure illustrates an incident that took place long ago.

15. [illegible] WITH A [illegible]

Place string over index, middle, and ring fingers.

With thumb fingers take up radial index finger string and ulnar ring finger string from proximal side.

With right middle finger take up left palmar string from proximal side, and with left middle finger take up right palmar string, as in Opening A.

[illegible] thumbs to distal side of radial index finger string, and to proximal side of all other strings, taking up proximal ulnar little finger string, which passes across the dorsal aspect of the hand, from proximal side.

Lift each dorsal string on to the palmar aspect of the hand.

Slowly extend, without pulling tight.

524 Two loops now pass around ulnar little finger string, radial little finger string, and ulnar middle finger string of each hand, with the "apex" of each loop at the angle formed by the crossing of radial middle finger string and ulnar thumb string. In each case the apex aspect of the loop is parallel to the palmar aspect of the hand. With the mouth, or the help of an assistant, insert a thin stick, about six inches in length, between the right middle and ring fingers from the dorsal aspect of the hand, through the loop nearest the right hand, then through the other loop, and out between the middle and ring fingers of the left hand. The stick should project an equal distance behind the dorsal aspect of each hand.

Release middle fingers.

Gently extend.

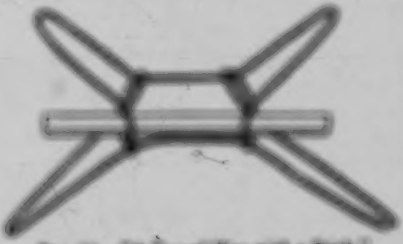

FIG. 12. "A Tug-of-War with a Stick."

The two loops tighten on the stick (Figure 12), and as the hands are separated the two "boys," that is, the loops extending from the radial thumb string to ulnar little finger string, are seen tugging at the stick. Continue separating the hands, and the victor draws the stick from his opponent's grasp and carries it away either to the right or to the left.

6. A MAN AND A WOMAN

524 531 Form the string into a double loop, so that each string or loop actually ought to be double; such a string or loop will be described as single throughout. The figure can be done equally well with a string of half the ordinary length.

Bella Coola opening.

Insert middle, ring, and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down radial index finger strings.

Pass left index finger to ulnar side of right ulnar index finger string and hook down right ulnar index finger string.

Release right index finger, but do not draw tight.

Pass right index finger to ulnar side of left ulnar index finger strings and hook down the two left ulnar index finger strings, but do not draw tight.

Each index finger is now holding down two strings.

Pass index fingers to palmar side of ulnar thumb string, and by hooking index fingers outwards, take up this string on the dorsal aspect of each, allowing the two strings hooked down by index fingers to slip off.

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Extend.

Insert middle fingers into index finger loops from proximal side. 524

[illegible]

Release middle fingers.

Release thumbs.

[illegible]

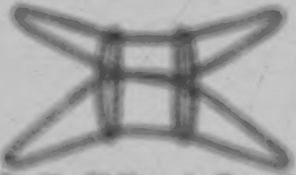


Fig. 10. [illegible]

[illegible] 524

Bella Coola opening.

[illegible]

Release index fingers.

[illegible]

Release thumbs.

[illegible]

Extend with backs of hands towards manipulator.

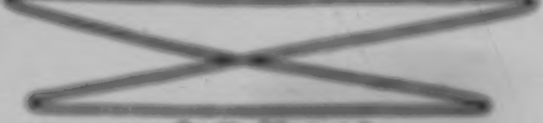


Fig. 11. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] This shows one stage of [illegible] (Figure [illegible]).

(1) Pass thumbs proximal to index finger loops and take up ulnar index finger strings on their backs.

Release index fingers.

With middle, ring, and little fingers hook down distal ulnar thumb strings.

Insert index fingers into thumb loops from distal side and take up proximal ulnar thumb string from distal side.

Release thumbs.

Pass thumbs into loops hooked down by middle, ring, and little fingers from the distal side, and transfer this loop to the thumbs.(2)

This shows the figure in the same form as previously obtained. The movements from (1) to (2) can be repeated indefinitely, and should be done a number of times while the manipulator says, "[illegible], [illegible]." With a little practice the movements from (1) to (2) can be made almost as fast as the word can be said.

Another form of [illegible] is usually made from this point by repeating from [illegible] to [illegible].

This figure, the second form of [illegible], cannot be repeated.

[illegible] *[illegible]*, [illegible]

Bella Coola opening.

Pass the middle, ring, and little fingers into index finger loops from the proximal side and hook down radial index finger strings.

Bend index and middle fingers towards manipulator, passing index fingers to distal side of radial thumb string and middle fingers to proximal side of radial thumb string, holding this string between tips of fingers.

Raise index and middle fingers up away from manipulator, taking up radial thumb string on dorsal aspect of the tips of index fingers, and allowing the original loop to slip off index fingers.

Release thumbs.

Take up with teeth the straight radial index finger string in the centre of the figure.

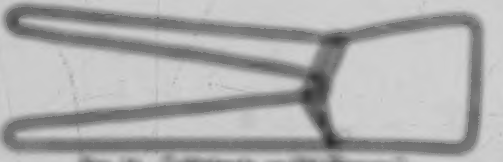
Release ring and little fingers.

Draw apart the hands, causing the network of strings in the centre of the figure to work up to the mouth.

Grip this series of intertwined strings with the lips.

Bring right index finger, tip to tip, with left little finger, and transfer index finger loop to little finger.

[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible] (1923-1924) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] With middle fingers take up ulnar thumb string from proximal side and return through index finger loops.

Insert ring fingers into middle finger loops from proximal side.

Bend middle and ring fingers towards [illegible], [illegible] dorsal side of index finger loops, passing middle fingers to distal side of radial thumb string, and ring fingers to proximal side of radial thumb string. Grasp radial thumb string between tips of these fingers and return through middle finger loops, thus wrapping the string [illegible] round the tips of middle fingers.

Release index fingers.

Release little fingers.

Bring thumbs together, tip to tip, and transfer right-thumb loop to left thumb.

Insert right index finger into right middle finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop, releasing middle finger.

Rotate right hand clockwise through 180 degrees, so that the loop formerly held on index finger is now held on back of [illegible], but [illegible].

With right middle finger hook down, [illegible], the string which passes from ulnar side of right index finger to radial side of left middle finger.

With right ring finger hook down left radial middle finger string.

Release left middle finger.

Pass left index, ring, and middle fingers into left thumb loops from proximal side and hook down these loops.

Release left thumb.

You obtain the "Toad" [illegible] left, ready to [illegible] jump (Figure 77).

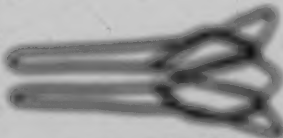


Fig. 77. "A Toad."

Pass left thumb into [illegible] hooked down by left index, ring and middle fingers from distal side.

The left thumb represents a stick.

The [illegible] then carries on the following dialogue with [illegible]:

"[illegible]! Where is you going?" (addressed to the toad).

"O [illegible], I am going to get some [illegible]."

"[illegible]! But how will you be able to reach up to there?"

"[illegible], I can jump."

"[illegible] [illegible]."

As the manipulator says "Go ahead!" release right index and ring fingers and with a swinging motion the "toad" can be made to jump towards the left, over the left thumb. 524 [525]

6. TOAD

(Second method of construction)

Bella Coola opening.

Insert middle, ring, and little fingers of each hand into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down radial index finger strings.

With middle fingers take up ulnar thumb strings from proximal side.

With middle fingers hook down ulnar index finger strings, allowing loops just taken up to slip off. The strings formerly hooked down by middle, ring, and little fingers are now held down by ring and little fingers.

Release index fingers.

Each ulnar thumb string is held down by a loop. With index fingers take up ulnar thumb strings from proximal side between loop and centre of figure.

With index fingers take up radial thumb strings from distal side and centre, allowing original index finger loops to slip off.

Release middle, ring, and little fingers.

Take up with mouth the straight radial index finger string in centre of figure.

Bring thumbs together, tip to tip, and transfer right thumb loop to left thumb, releasing right thumb.

Transfer right index finger loop to back of right index by rotating finger without removing string, which throws original radial string on to ulnar side.

With right middle finger hook down string passing from mouth to left index finger between the mouth and the point where other strings cross.

Release mouth.

With right ring finger hook down left radial index finger string which runs straight across to right hand.

Release left index finger.

Insert left index, middle, and ring fingers into hooked down loop of left thumb.

Release left thumb.

Gently extend the figure by spreading the loop held on backs of left fingers, at the same time manipulating it so that the loops held by right index, middle, and ring fingers are of approximately the same length. It is sometimes difficult to get a satisfactory figure.

The completed figure (Figure 17) represents a toad squatting pre- [525]

624 [625] preparatory to jumping. Release right index and ring fingers, and by means of a swinging movement with both hands the toad can be made to jump to the left, over the left thumb, which should be inserted into hooked down loops of left index, middle, and ring fingers from distal side.

XIV. CROSSING A RIVER

Place string as a simple loop over thumbs and index fingers.

With middle, ring, and little fingers hook down radial thumb string and ulnar index finger string.

With right index finger take up string passing dorsally across left thumb and index finger from proximal side.

With left index finger take up string passing dorsally across right thumb and index finger from distal side.

Extend, at the same time releasing middle, ring, and little fingers.

Pass left middle, ring, and little fingers proximal to left proximal index finger loop, and hook down left distal radial index finger string.

Pass right middle, ring, and little fingers proximal to both right index finger loops and hook down right ulnar thumb string—which is the same string as just hooked down by left middle, ring, and little fingers.

Pass left middle finger into left index finger loops from proximal side and hook down proximal radial index finger string.

Pass right middle finger into right index finger loops from proximal side and hook down both radial index finger strings.

Bend towards manipulators middle and index fingers of each hand, passing middle fingers to proximal side of the straight radial thumb string, and index fingers to distal side of same string. Grip this straight string between tips of middle and index fingers.

Turn middle and index fingers down and up away from manipulators, taking up radial thumb string on dorsal aspect of index fingers, and allowing original strings to slip off.

Release thumbs.

Extend gently.

* * * * A loop now crosses the centre of the figure from the angle formed by the junction of left ulnar index finger string with left radial little finger string, to the right palmar string. With right thumb take up the radial string of this loop from distal side.

Insert left thumb into right thumb loop from proximal side and extend this loop on both thumbs.

With thumbs take up radial index finger strings from proximal side.

Navaho thumbs.

Release index fingers. * * * *

J.McIlwraith E-1 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

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Insert index fingers into thumb loops from proximal side and transfer these loops to index fingers.

Repeat from * * * * to * * * * with the double loop which now crosses the figure in the same position as the single loop previously described.

This completed figure (Figure 18) shows a woman, the closely pressed strings running horizontally in the centre of the figure, who wishes to cross a river.

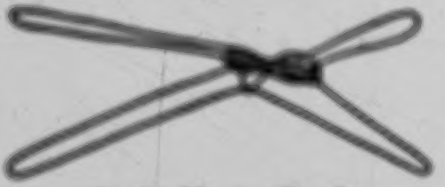

FIG. 18. "Crossing a River."

The manipulator sings, as if the woman were speaking,

[illegible]	[illegible]'
Come to fetch me	across the river.

One of those who hear her from the village on the opposite shore answers;

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Go higher up	to	(a place where there are) projecting stones that make a causeway.

The woman does so. Release right index finger and she raises her clothing above her knees. By separating hands she can be made to move to the left across the river.

Another explanation of this figure is that it represents a man with a short leg who wishes to cross a river. As he hesitates, fearing lest he be swept away, his associates make fun of his deformity; he lengthens his leg, presumably by magical means, and confounds them by crossing with ease.

XV. A PORCUPINE

Opening A with middle fingers.

Bring middle fingers together, tip to tip, and transfer right middle finger loop to left middle finger, and left middle finger loop to right middle finger, over the loop just transferred.

Insert left thumb into left middle finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop to thumb, keeping it distal to loop already held, and releasing left middle finger.

Insert left thumb into left little finger loop from proximal side, and transfer this loop to thumb, keeping it distal to the two loops already held, and releasing left little finger.

Insert left little finger into left thumb loops from proximal side, passing to radial side of the two proximal ulnar thumb strings, and to

524 ulnar side of distal ulnar thumb string; hook down this string through thumb loops.

Insert left index finger into left thumb loops from distal side, passing to ulnar side of the two distal radial index finger strings, and to radial side of proximal radial thumb string; bend index finger upwards and away from manipulator, taking up this proximal radial thumb string on dorsal aspect of index finger.

Release left thumb and extend.

There is now a diamond-shaped figure of two strands near the left hand; pass left thumb into this diamond away from manipulator and take up on its back the two strings forming the right lower side of the diamond.

Insert left index finger, with its loop, into left thumb loops from proximal side.

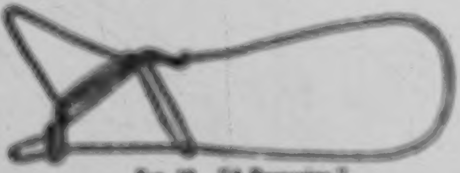

Fig. 19. "A Porcupine."

With tips of right thumb and index finger lift loop from left index finger, drawing this loop through left thumb loops.

Release left thumb and index finger.

Replace loop held between tips of right thumb and index finger on left thumb, without twisting.

Release right thumb and little finger.

Extend right middle finger loop by passing into it, from proximal side, all the digits of the right hand.

[525] Extend and the porcupine appears (Figure 19). Its head is bent downwards near the left hand, and its tail is the loop around the right radial thumb string.

The manipulator sings:[1]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Don't hurry away,	go easily,[2]	when you go	to your house,

[illegible]
O porcupine!

XVI. AN EAGLE'S NEST

Opening A with middle fingers.

Insert thumbs into middle finger loops from proximal side and transfer these loops to thumbs, keeping them distal, and at the same time releasing middle fingers.

---

[126]
[148]

[1] Recorded as song VII D 165, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

[2] A form indicating address to a feminine creature.

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Insert thumbs into little finger loops from proximal side and transfer these loops to thumbs, keeping the three loops in their proper order, and at the same time releasing little fingers.

Insert little fingers into thumb loops from proximal side, passing to radial side of proximal and middle ulnar thumb strings, and to ulnar side of distal ulnar thumb string, and hook down this string through thumb loops.

Insert index fingers into thumb loops from the distal side, passing to ulnar side of distal and middle proximal thumb strings, and to radial side of proximal radial thumb string; turn fingers up away from manipulator, taking up this string on tips of index fingers.

Release thumbs.

Each index finger loop is now crossed by two strings; one of these passes as a simple loop around the ulnar index finger string, whereas the other is wrapped around the same string; with the backs of thumbs take up the former string from the proximal side.

With right thumb take up left radial thumb string from proximal side.

Release left thumb.

With left thumb take up both right radial thumb strings from proximal side.

Pass thumbs into index finger loops from proximal side.

Navaho both thumb strings.

Release index fingers.

Insert index fingers into thumb loops from proximal side, taking up these loops.

Release thumbs.

The figure now consists of two straight lines with two triangles between them, the base of each triangle (consisting of two strings) being vertical and parallel to the other; pass thumbs into their respective triangles, away from manipulator, and take up the bases on the backs of thumbs.

Bring thumbs together, tip to tip, and transfer right thumb loop to left thumb, and left thumb loop to right thumb, over the loop just transferred.

With the tips of right thumb and middle finger grasp the left double thumb loop, remove from left thumb, rotate through 180 degrees anti-clockwise, and replace on left thumb.

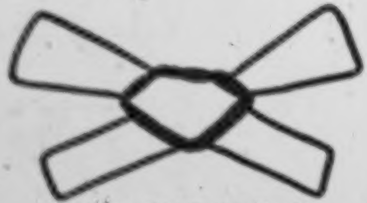

Fig. 20. "An Eagle's Nest."

[825]

Repeat for right double thumb loop.

524 Pass thumbs into index finger loops from proximal side.
Navaho both proximal thumb strings.
Release index fingers.
[825] Extend, and the Eagle's Nest appears (Figure 20).

XVII. THE CRIPPLE

Opening A with middle fingers.

Pass thumbs proximal to middle finger loops and take up radial little finger strings from proximal side.

With little fingers hook down ulnar middle finger strings, allowing original little finger loops to slip off.

Release middle fingers.

Extend loop hooked down on little fingers by passing into each the hooks of the ring and middle fingers.

With middle fingers hook down proximal ulnar thumb string, allowing the loop hooked down on middle, ring, and little fingers to slip off.

Transfer loop hooked down by middle fingers to hooks of little fingers, without twisting.

Insert index and middle fingers into both thumb loops from the distal side and grasp the proximal radial thumb string between the tips of these fingers; bend upwards and away from manipulator taking up this string on tips of index fingers.

Release middle fingers.

Release thumbs.

A straight string now passes on the ulnar side of the central figure from one palmar string to the other; with thumbs take up this string from proximal side near each palmar string.

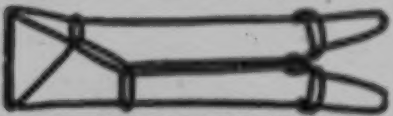

FIG. 21. "The Cripple."

With middle fingers hook down index finger loops, without releasing index fingers.

Place thumbs, tip to tip, with index fingers, and transfer each thumb loop to its respective index finger, passing over the loop originally on the index fingers, that is, so that each original thumb loop is now a proximal index finger loop.

With thumbs take up distal radial index finger string from proximal side.

Release middle fingers.

Release index fingers.

Extend hooked down loop of left little finger by passing into it the hooks of left index, middle, and ring fingers.

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With left index, middle, ring, and little fingers hook down from proximal side the right ulnar little finger string.

Release right little finger.

With right little finger hook down right ulnar thumb string.

Release right thumb.

With right index finger hook down left radial thumb string.

Release left thumb.

By extending gently the figure appears. The crouched figure near the left hand represents the cripple, the upright figure near the right hand with projecting centre represents a man with umbilical hernia (Figure 21).

The following dialogue in song accompanies this figure.[7]

The man with hernia sings:

Ani, ani, ani,	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
Oh! Oh! Oh!	Hurry up,	you cripple.[8]

The cripple answers:

[illegible]	*[illegible]*	*ani, ani, ani*
Don't say that	you man with umbilical hernia.	Oh! Oh! Oh!

XVIII. THE *[illegible]*

Bella Coola opening.

Pass middle, ring, and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side, and hook down radial index finger string.

With thumbs take up radial index finger string from proximal side, keeping this string distal.

Bring hands together; insert left thumb into right distal thumb and index finger loop from proximal side; lift this loop from thumb, but not from the index finger, without extending.

Insert right thumb into left middle thumb and index finger loop from proximal side and lift this loop from left thumb, but not from index finger.

Extend.

There are now two loops on each thumb and one on each index finger.

Pass middle fingers into loops hooked down by ring and little fingers from proximal side.

Each loop hooked down by the middle, ring, and little fingers is crossed by the proximal ulnar thumb string; with backs of middle fingers take up this string where it crosses the hooked down loop.

Pass middle fingers, still carrying on their backs the string just picked up, through index finger loops from proximal side, and into both thumb loops from distal side.

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[7] Recorded as song VII D 4a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

[8] The form indicates that a masculine cripple is indicated.

[126]
[193]

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Release index fingers; the index finger loop is now held on the backs of the middle fingers.

Lift distal thumb loop from thumbs; this loop is now held on backs of middle fingers.

Pass index fingers into the three loops hooked down on middle fingers from proximal side.

Pass index fingers distal to radial thumb string, and middle fingers proximal to radial thumb string, clutching this string between tips of fingers, bend fingers upwards and away from manipulator, taking up this string on tips of index fingers.

Release middle fingers.

Release thumbs.

Gently extend.

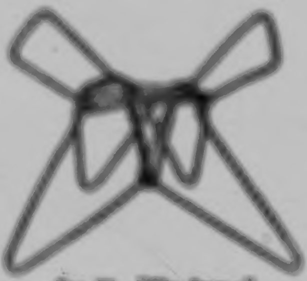

FIG. 22. "The [illegible]."

This shows the *[illegible]*; with thumbs gently depress the two pendant loops in the centre and the eyes become evident (Figure 22).

The manipulator sings:[26]

[illegible]	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
Reverse your eyeballs,[27]	it is too dangerous,	O, dreaded and powerful one!

Pass thumbs from distal side into the loops hooked down on ring and little fingers.

Bend index fingers downwards and away from manipulator, and upwards towards manipulator through the loop hooked down on ring and little fingers, and tip to tip with thumbs, releasing thumbs when complete.

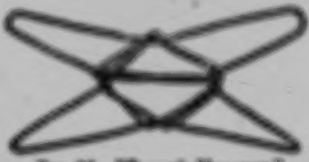

FIG. 23. "Raven's Hammer."

Pass thumbs into distal index finger loops from proximal side and transfer each loop to its respective thumb.

Release index fingers.

This shows the *[illegible]* with eyeballs reversed, appearing as a hammer (Figure 23).[28]

As the figure appears the manipulator sings:

[illegible]	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
The hammer of	Raven	long, long ago.

---

[126]
[26] The song accompanying the whole figure was recorded as song VII D 126, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

[992]
[27] This refers to the belief that the [illegible] projects death-dealing rays from its eyes.

[28] No explanation is offered for the association between a [illegible] and Raven's hammer.

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There is now a diamond in the centre of the figure, divided into two triangles by a double horizontal string.

Pass index fingers towards [illegible] through the upper diamond and hook down the double string that crosses the thumb loop, keeping them [illegible] strings to ulnar side of thumb loop.

Pass index fingers to distal side of thumb loops, hook down, then upwards and away from [illegible], taking up the radial thumb string on the tips of the index fingers, and allowing the two strings previously held to slip off.

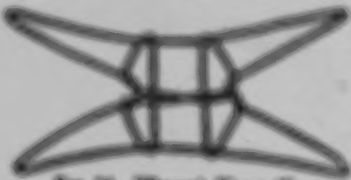

Fig. 34. "Raven's [illegible]"

Release thumbs.

This shows (Figure 34) the [illegible] of Raven, long, long ago. The song which accompanies this figure is in archaic [illegible] and the meaning of the word [illegible] is not now known. One informant hazarded the opinion that it might be connected with a similar word meaning [illegible].

Song:

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
The [illegible] of	Raven	long, long ago.

The string passing from the ulnar side of the index fingers to the radial side of the little fingers is crossed by two strings, each of which forms a loop around it; with thumbs hook down this string between the two loops.

Release index fingers.

Transfer loops from backs of thumbs to backs of thumbs by [illegible].

This shows the whiskers of Raven, long, long ago (Figure 35).

Song:

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
The whiskers of	Raven	long, long ago.

Place index and middle fingers tip to tip with thumbs, and transfer thumb loops to index and middle fingers.

Place right index and middle fingers tip to tip with left index and middle fingers and transfer loop from the former to the latter.

Place little fingers together tip to tip and transfer right little finger loop to left little finger.

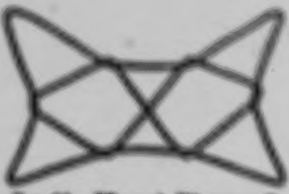

Fig. 35. "Raven's Whiskers."

[illegible]

534 With right index, middle, ring, and little fingers hook down both left ulnar index finger strings.

Release left index and middle fingers.

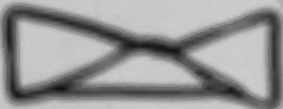

Fig. 36. "Raven's Fire-Bringer."

Widen left little finger hooked down loop by passing into it from proximal side left index, middle, and ring fingers.

This shows the Fire Bringer (one who brings embers to light a fire) of Raven, long, long ago (Figure 36).

Song:

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
The fire-bringer of	Raven,	long, long ago.

Release index fingers.

Pass thumbs and index fingers from below between the two radial middle finger strings, taking up one string on the backs of the thumbs and one on the backs of the index fingers, thus widening the preceding figure.

This shows the box of Raven, long, long ago.

Song:

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
The box [an archaic word of]	Raven	long, long ago.

Release thumbs, allowing the loop just dropped to be caught on backs of index fingers; the figure has now returned to the Fire Bringer of Raven.

There is now a two-stringed triangle in the centre of the figure; pass left middle finger through this triangle towards manipulator and hook down the double strings forming the base of the triangle.

Release left index, ring, and little fingers.

Pass backs of left index, ring, and little fingers into loop hooked down on left middle finger, thus widening this loop.

This shows the upright house-post of Raven, long, long ago (Figure 37).

Song:

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
The house post of	Raven,	long, long ago.

Release index fingers.

Pass thumbs and index fingers from below between the two radial middle finger strings, and take up one string on the backs of the thumbs and one on the backs of the index fingers, thus widening the preceding figure.

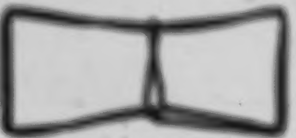

Fig. 37. "Raven's House Post."

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This shows the toilet[a] of Raven, long, long ago.
Sing:

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
The toilet of	Raven,	long, long ago.

Release middle, ring, and little fingers.
With little fingers hook down radial thumb strings.
Release thumbs.
Pass left middle finger through left index finger loop from proximal side.

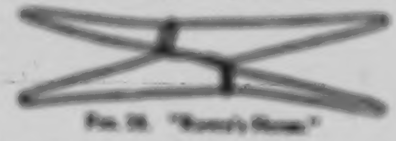
FIG. 28. "Raven's House."

Place right index finger tip to tip with left middle finger and transfer right index finger loop to left middle finger.

Place right index finger tip to tip with left index finger and transfer left index finger loop to right index finger.

Pass left index finger into left middle finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop.

This shows the house of Raven, long, long ago (Figure 28).
Sing:

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
The house of	Raven,	long, long ago.

Release right index finger.
This shows the dog of Raven, long, long ago.
Sing:

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
The dog [an archaic word] of	Raven	long, long ago.

STRING TRICKS

1. A CUTTING

Place string over left little finger as a simple loop, holding it with right hand at a distance of about six inches from left hand; this distance should be maintained throughout the movements by allowing more string to pass through right hand.

Pass left ring finger distal to radial little finger string and take up ulnar little finger string from proximal side.

---

[a] The aperture in the horizontal staging in front of the houses which serves as toilet.

[514]

Pass left middle finger distal to radial ring finger string and take up radial little finger string from proximal side.

Pass left index finger distal to radial middle finger string and take up radial ring finger string from proximal side.

With left thumb take up radial index finger string and radial middle finger string from proximal side, keeping the former distal.

With left index finger take up distal radial thumb string from proximal side.

Pass left middle finger distal to distal ulnar index finger string and take up proximal radial thumb string from proximal side.

Pass left ring finger distal to distal ulnar middle finger string and take up distal ulnar index finger string from proximal side.

Pass left little finger distal to distal ulnar ring finger string and take up distal ulnar middle finger string from proximal side.

Release thumb, at the same time pulling with the right hand and the figure disappears. There appears to be no story attached to this figure.

21. THE FASTENINGS OF RAVEN'S PLUMAGE[*]

Place string as a simple loop over left thumb with long, pendant loops hanging down on palmar aspect of left hand.

Pass right thumb and index finger from distal side into left thumb loop, at the same time hooking down the two pendant strings with right middle, ring, and little fingers.

Separate right thumb and index finger; turn right hand upwards, and clockwise, without releasing strings hooked down by right fingers. The left radial thumb string should now run straight across to ulnar side of right thumb, and thence across its dorsal aspect to radial side of thumb, from where it is hooked down by the three fingers of the right hand. The left ulnar thumb string should run straight across to ulnar side of right index finger, from where it is hooked down by the three fingers of the right hand. The distance between the hands should be about three inches; this must be maintained throughout the figure by allowing more string to pass through the hooked-down fingers of the right hand, as required.

[773
825]

[*] As already described, in the beginning of time many of the first-comers to earth floated down from above as ravens. It is assumed that the plumage of these birds must have been attached to the wearers in some way, the "fastenings" illustrated in this figure. On reaching earth, these coverings were taken off without difficulty, an action represented in this design by the facile loosening of the complicated meshwork of strings. This figure was collected from a man whose first ancestor came to earth as a raven; his descendant consequently stated that the pattern represented the specific fastenings of his own forefather's plumage.

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With left little finger take up right ulnar thumb string from distal side.

Rotate right hand anti-clockwise through 180 degrees; with left index finger take up right radial index finger string from distal side.

Rotate right hand clockwise through 180 degrees; with left ring finger take up right ulnar thumb string from distal side.

Rotate right hand anti-clockwise through 180 degrees; with left middle finger take up right radial index finger string from distal side.

Rotate right hand clockwise through 180 degrees; with left ring finger take up right ulnar thumb string from proximal side.

Rotate right hand anti-clockwise through 180 degrees; with left index finger take up right radial index finger string from proximal side.

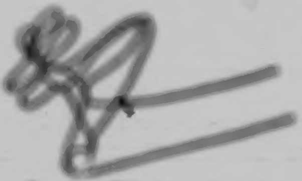

FIG. 20. "The Fastenings of [illegible] Plumage."

Rotate right hand clockwise through 180 degrees; with left little finger take up right ulnar thumb string from proximal side.

Rotate right hand anti-clockwise through 180 degrees; with left thumb take up right radial index finger string from proximal side.

Release right hand.

This shows the fastenings of [illegible] plumage (figure 20).

Lift loop from left middle finger, pull the pendant strings and the figure disappears.

[illegible] McIlwraith T. F. (1899-1964) 1948
[illegible] Bella-coola [illegible]

APPENDIX [illegible]

GLOSSARY OF FLORA AND FAUNA

824 825 826 THIS glossary does not give the scientific names of all the flora and fauna known to the Bella Coola, or even of all mentioned in this monograph, but only those of which the usual designations are ambiguous. In cases of the common mammals, no scientific terminology has been attempted, since the multiplicity of sub-species renders identification almost impossible, and the popular name is sufficient for general purposes. In regard to plants, a difficulty lies in the fact that Bella Coola nomenclature is not always strictly accurate botanically. Two or more distinct forms, for example, may be grouped together on account of their similarity as food, and one name applied to them indiscriminately. Conversely, different terms are sometimes given to various parts of the same tree, the roots, the bark, the leaves, and so on. These factors combine to complicate the study of either ethno-botany or ethno-zoology, and necessitate the collection of a large number of specimens. The late Mr. H. I. Smith has done so, and this glossary could not have been compiled without his assistance, though the writer is responsible for any errors in it.

824 825

Alder	*Alnus rubra* Bong.
Aspen, American	*Populus tremuloides* Michx.
Bearberry, Red	*Arctostaphylos Uva-ursi* (L.) Spreng.
Bilberry, Dwarf	*Vaccinium caespitosum* Michx.
Bilberry, Tall	*Vaccinium ovalifolium* Smith.
Bilberry, Thin-leaved	*Vaccinium membranaceum* Dougl.
Birch	*Betula* sp.
Blackberry	*Rubus spectabilis* Pursh.
Blackfish—See Killer Whale.	
Blueberry	*Vaccinium parvifolium* Smith.
Bracken	*Pteris aquilina* (L.) var. *lanuginosa* Bong.
Buffaloberry, Canadian	*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt.
Bunch-berry	*Cornus canadensis*, L.
Cedar, Red	*Thuja gigantea* Nutt.
Cedar, Yellow	*Chamaecyparis nootkatensis* (Lamb.) Spach.
Clover, Perennial	*Trifolium fimbriatum* Lindl.
Cod, Black	*Anoplopoma fimbria* Pallas.
Cod, Red Rock	*Sebastodes ruberrimus* Cramer.
Cormorant	*Phalacrocorax* sp.
Cottonwood, Black	*Populus trichocarpa* T. and G.
Cow Parsnip	*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.
Crabapple	*Pyrus diversifolia* Bong.
Cranberry	*Viburnum pauciflorum* Raf.

[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Duck, Wood	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Duck, Harlequin	Histrionicus histrionicus
Duck, Mallard	Anas platyrhynchos
Eagle, Bald	Haliaeetus leucocephalus
Eagle, Golden	Aquila chrysaetos
Elderberry, Red	Sambucus racemosa L.
Fern, sp.	[illegible]
Fir	Pseudotsuga taxifolia [illegible]
Fir, White	Abies grandis Lindl.
[illegible]	[illegible]
Goose, Canada	Branta canadensis canadensis
Goose, White-fronted	Anser albifrons
Gooseberry	Ribes [illegible]
Gooseberry, Swamp	Ribes [illegible]
Gooseberry, Wild	Ribes [illegible]
Grouse, Blue	Dendragapus obscurus
Grouse, Spruce	Canachites canadensis
Gull	Larus sp.
Halibut	Hippoglossus hippoglossus Linn.
Hawthorn, Black	Crataegus douglasii Lindl.
Hellebore, False	Veratrum viride Ait.
Hemlock	Tsuga heterophylla (Raf.) Sarg.
Heron, Great Blue	Ardea herodias
Herring	Clupea pallasii C. and V.
Huckleberry, Black	[illegible]
Hummingbird, Rufous	Selasphorus rufus
Huckleberry	Vaccinium sp.
Jay, Rocky Mountain	Perisoreus canadensis capitalis
Jay, Steller's	Cyanocitta stelleri
Juneberry, Flowering	Amelanchier florida Lindl.
Killer Whale	Orca gladiator
Kingfisher, Belted	Ceryle alcyon
Loon	Gavia sp.
Maple, Rocky Mountain	Acer glabrum Torr.
Merganser	Mergus americanus
Merganser, Red-breasted	Mergus serrator
Mosquito	Culicidae sp.
Mussel, Fresh-water	Margaritana margaritifera*
Nettle	Urtica Lyallii Wats.
Oolachan	Thaleichthys pacificus Richardson
Owl, Horned	Bubo virginianus
Parsley	Umbelliferae sp.

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*For the identification of this species the author is indebted to the late Judge Latchford, of the Ontario Supreme Court.

D: McIlwraith B-5 (1922-1924) 1948

[illegible] Bellacoola [illegible]

Pine	*Pinus contorta* Dougl.
Porpoise	*Phocaena vomerina*
Puffin	*Lunda cirrhata* or *Fratercula corniculata*
Raspberry, Black	*Rubus leucodermis* Dougl.
Raspberry, Wild Red	*Rubus strigosus* Michx.
Raven	*Corvus corax sinuatus*
Robin	*Planesticus migratorius propinquus*
Rose, Wild	*Rosa nutkana* Presl.
Salal-berry	*Gaultheria Shallon* Pursh.
Salmon, Coho	*Oncorhynchus kisutch* Walbaum
Salmon, Dog	*Oncorhynchus keta* Walbaum
Salmon, Humpback	*Oncorhynchus gorbuscha* Walbaum
Salmon, Sockeye	*Oncorhynchus nerka* Walbaum
Salmon, Spring	*Oncorhynchus tschawytscha* Walbaum
Salmon, Steelhead	*Salmo gairdneri* Richardson
Salmon-berry	*Rubus parviflorus* Nutt.
Sardine	*Sardina caerulea*
Skunk cabbage, Western	*Lysichiton kamtschatcense* (L.) Schott.
Slug	*Ariolimax columbianus*
Snowberry	*Symphoricarpos racemosus* Michx.
Spruce	*Picea sitchensis* (Bong.) Carr.
Spruce, Black	*Picea mariana* (Mill.) B.S.P.
Strawberry, Wild	*Fragaria* sp.
Stonecrop	*Sedum spathulifolium* Hook.
[illegible]	*Ulva* sp.
Thrush, Varied	*Ixoreus naevius*
Toad	*Bufo boreas boreas*
Water-lily	*Nymphaea polysepala* (Engelm.) Greene
Water Ouzel	*Cinclus mexicanus*
Willow	*Salix* sp.
Wren, Winter	*Nannus hiemalis pacificus*

2-McIlwraith, B-1 (1922-1924) 1948
[illegible] Bellacoola [illegible]

APPENDIX B

BELLA COOLA-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

DURING the period in the field, the writer's attention was devoted entirely to sociological and religious investigation, and no attempt was made either to analyse the intricacies of the Bella Coola language or to record texts. This part of the monograph consists only of words which were collected fortuitously, and no effort was made to compile an exhaustive list, or even a representative one. This explains the preponderance of proper names, and the large number of terms connected with rituals of all kinds, some of which are rapidly disappearing from common usage. Many of these were used by the writer continually in gathering technical data, and their interpretation is unquestionably correct. A few words, however, were not rechecked on different occasions, or from different informants, so that some errors may have crept in, either in translation or in recording. No terms have been employed of which the writer has any real doubt, but the same accuracy is not claimed for this vocabulary as for the monograph as a whole. Lack of knowledge of Bella Coola grammar made it impracticable to utilize the words recorded in the songs, since many of them include affixes and other structural elements that affect the root. 128 1925 [114] [145]

In listing the words alphabetically, the following arbitrary system of letter order has been followed and all symbols have been disregarded, for example, *a* and *ä* are not separated.

ɑ follows a.
ɛ follows a.
ə follows e.
ı follows i.
ł follows l.
ɔ follows o.

A

a'alk: 1—Loosely organized society of which the members can perform four types of dance. 192* [575]
2—Member of the society.
Abaklia: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Abolkia: Chief of sea-lions in the beginning of time.
äkwah, vocative, *äkwalh*: Residence.

[illegible]

[illegible]

192

[426] [illegible]: Excess of amount returned over that previously received as an investment present.

[illegible]: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

[illegible]: 1—Supernatural beings who dwell in the sun house.
2—Voice of the supernatural woman, [illegible] (the term is occasionally applied to the living bird). The sound is produced by [illegible] whistles.

[illegible]: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

[illegible]: "The Coming of Foul Weather," in the language of supernatural beings. The phenomenon is semi-anthropomorphized.

[illegible]: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2—Ancient chief from whom the village is supposedly named.

[illegible]: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.

[821] [illegible]: Supernatural beings who blacken the face of the moon at eclipses.

[illegible]: 1—One of the first women to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of an [illegible] chief mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: 1—One of the designations of [illegible], the mysterious supernatural woman.
2—[illegible], awe-inspiring, adorable.

[326] [illegible]: Swing consisting of two long ropes with cross-seat.

[824] [illegible]: Spruce [illegible].

[illegible]: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: Label.

[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at Calvert Island in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Stake supporting [illegible] net.

[796] [illegible]: Ritual repeated at intervals between the allotment of tasks for a potlatch, and the coming of a supernatural being to the first [illegible] initiate.

[illegible], plural, [illegible]: Herald.

[illegible]: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

[599] [illegible]: Third part of song.

[illegible]: Pleasure expedition of boys and girls to the forest.

[517] [illegible]: Name of an isolated tree.

[821] [illegible]: Supernatural man-eater, patron of Cannibals.

[illegible]: Stick decorated with abalone shell used by one of the settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Supernatural female berry-picker resident in the land of the dead.

[illegible]: [illegible].

[illegible]: Bay of the Thousand Islands near Namu.

[illegible]: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: Cannibal.

[387] [illegible]: Marriage with sister of a deceased wife; the word is undoubtedly connected with the verb, to [illegible].

[illegible]: Supernatural creature similar to a human being.

[illegible]: Supernatural woman, wife of Cold Wind and mother of Ice.

[illegible]: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.

[425] [553] [584] [illegible]: The transference of a name, during the period of engagement, from the father of the future bridegroom to the father of the future bride.

[illegible]

[illegible]

192ª

[illegible]: Supernatural being sent by [illegible] to assist [illegible].

[illegible], "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will eventually give a potlatch to assist him on the path to social importance though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served ceremonially at others' feasts. [356]

[illegible]: [illegible] carved stick used by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Word of uncertain meaning often appended to [illegible] as complete term for the first night of a Kusiut dance. [375]

[illegible], "A Dragging Across" (as one does with a heavy log): The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being repurchased. [425] [333]

[illegible]: Toasted food of any kind. [262]

[illegible]: Ancestral name of a [illegible] man.

[illegible]: Perforated, adjective. [252]

[illegible]: Those who perform at some marriage dances.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible], "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and hers prior to entering her house. [375] [431]

[illegible]: Gifts given in return, soon after betrothal, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride. [514]

[illegible]: [illegible]

[illegible]: Immortal supernatural woman, synonym for [illegible].

[illegible]: One of the men who came to earth at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Totem pole erected by the first settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower. [516]

[illegible]: *Kusiut* song in fast time.

[illegible]: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [538] [535]

[illegible]: Daughter of the first settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.

[illegible]: Synonym for [illegible], one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the deceased. [556]

[illegible]: 1—Night-time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.

[illegible]: Come, imperative singular.

[illegible]: 1—One of [illegible]'s sons in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first women to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Central seat behind the fire.

[illegible]: Hammer with handle for pounding stakes for fish-weir. [412]

[illegible]: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola.

[illegible]: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun. [605]

[illegible], "The Devourer of Meat Killed by Another": Term used by hunters to Wolf. [625]

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[illegible]: [illegible] village.
[illegible], "[illegible] of the [illegible]": Name given to a [illegible] whose [illegible] are [illegible] in history.
[426] [illegible]: Refusal to lend to an outsider a family prerogative such as the [illegible] of marriage [illegible].
[376] [illegible]: Meal served when a chief's fellow villagers are called in preparatory to the commencement of the coming potlatch.
[illegible]: Name of a female [illegible].
[illegible], "The Opening of the Sky":
1—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
3—Name of a [illegible] chief.
[illegible]: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[375] [illegible]: Kusiut having the ability to enter the back-room and [illegible] concealed there. The function probably necessitates the employment of [illegible].
[393] [illegible]: Hidden, supernatural beings who [illegible] supernatural Cannibals.
[illegible]: [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible].
[illegible]: Wife of [illegible], the supernatural hunter.
[illegible]: Supernatural [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible]: Husband of [illegible], he is known only in Kimsquit.
[372] [illegible]: Kusiut dance of mystery.
[374] [illegible]: Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a mourning ceremony.
[illegible]: Call used by heralds when announcing to a mourning ceremony.
[425] [illegible]: The "Dragging [illegible]" of a name, crest, or other intangible prerogative from wife to husband either at marriage or later at a [illegible] of the wife.
[374] [illegible]: To drag a heavy burden.
[662] [illegible]: [illegible] [illegible] with [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible]: Visit to his [illegible] by a Kusiut initiate.
[821] [illegible], "Facing Both Ways": Second name after the [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible], "The [illegible] Time": [illegible] [illegible] of the Kusiut after departure of a Cannibal.
[541] [illegible]: Adoption of a person resembling the deceased to replace the latter.
[illegible]: 1—Supernatural being who revives [illegible].
2—Name received by a shaman from this being.

[illegible]: Food.
[425] [illegible], "Food Supplies": The term applied to the giving of the use of land at marriage.
[illegible], "Secluded": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[156] [illegible]: Shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in alternate strands.
[382] [illegible]: Guarded, term applied to a girl secluded at adolescence.
[825] [illegible]: Supernatural name of slaves, applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
[illegible], "A Glance Downwards": Name given to an [illegible] man in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Something long sought for on account of its especial desirability, such as [illegible].

[illegible]: Child whose parents were long engaged and who is accordingly regarded as being well prepared for. [554]

[illegible]: Small canoes assembled within the feast room.

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle in Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Guests at a potlatch.

[illegible], "The Shiverer": Name assumed by [illegible] in the legendary time.

[illegible], "What Has Been Broken Off": Term applied to presents distributed when a canoe has been carried through the roof. The implication is that they are then [illegible] from the fingers of the [illegible]. [431] [764]

[illegible]: 1—The supreme god.
2—One of the first men to settle on the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
4—Pole of a [illegible] repository.

[illegible]: 1—Mountain on the north side of the lower Bella Coola.
2—Name assumed by one of the first settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for direct address. [601]

[illegible]: Supernatural artisans who made mankind in the beginning of time. [576]

[illegible]: Presents given to validate the initiation of a dancer. [331]

[illegible]: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [463]

[illegible]: Professional mourner.

[illegible]: Professional drummer at marriages.

[illegible]: Professional hunter.

[illegible]: Professional warrior.

[illegible]: Kimsquit fisherman living in the last century.

[illegible]: Chicken pox.

[illegible]: Celebrated hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: Second eldest sibling. [601]

[illegible]: Repository of a Kimsquit Cannibal where corpses are [illegible].

[illegible]: Professional warrior. [463]

[illegible]: Professional [illegible] guard.

[illegible]: Mountain near mouth of the Kimsquit River.

[illegible]: Slaves.

[illegible]: 1—Meeting of those who have given potlatches. [753]
2—Undescribed disease said to attack only chiefs.

[illegible]: Marriage associates, i.e. those who, not being relatives, wish to associate themselves with the bride's family in the financial transactions of a marriage.

[illegible]: Name applied to the supernatural artisans with reference to their construction of everything used by mankind.

[illegible], "Cloud-Covered": Name applied to the supernatural being [illegible] with reference to his frequent invisibility.

[illegible], "The Highest of All Chiefs' Sons:" Name of [illegible]'s son in the beginning of time.

[illegible], "Falling Star-Fish": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

[illegible], "The Roof-Maker": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

[illegible]: One who has received a commission for carpentry work in preparation for a potlatch. [465]

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[illegible], "Left Foot": Shaman's repository named from part of a supernatural creature.

[illegible]: Kimsquit hunter living in the last century.

[825] *[illegible]*: Dentalium-shell.

[illegible], "Not Finished": Said concerning a *kusiut* who dies between initiation and his first complete dance.

[292] *[illegible]*: Skull cap of grass and dentalium-shells worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.

[881] *[illegible]*: Guest, especially from afar, to a *kusiut* dance.

[illegible]: 1—Supernatural herald.
2—Assemblage of the people for ceremonies of different kinds, especially shamans' dances and guessing competitions in connection with the Mystery dance.
3—Kimsquit term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance.

[illegible], "A Surpassing": Said of cases where a wife's relatives have given more presents to the husband's than they have received in return.

[576] *[illegible]*: Place of concealment of a Mystery dancer's power.

[601] *[illegible]*: Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for indirect address.

[illegible]: Rightful location, especially the validated position of a chief in a house.

[415] *[illegible]*: Dishes carved with ancestral crest.

[illegible]: 1—Mouse.
2—Daughter of the first settlers at *[illegible]*.

[825] *[illegible]*: Spring salmon.

[illegible]: Spring salmon house.

[illegible]: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.

[illegible]: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of the Bella Coola River.

[illegible]: 1—The allotment of work to *kukusiut* in the manufacture of masks and other requirements.
2—Hence, the time when such tasks are assigned, the second evening of a *kusiut* dance.

[illegible], "The Resident Maker": Name given to the daughter of the first settlers at *[illegible]*.

[575] *[illegible]* or *[illegible]*: That which serves as pattern, picture, or model for a *kusiut* ritual.

[illegible]: Second night of a potlatch.

[226] *[illegible]*: Artificial, pier-like structure built into a river for use in hand-net fishing.

[illegible], "Where People Go": A reflecting pool created by Raven at Kimsquit.

[illegible]: Cave near Dean Channel.

[illegible], "The Dancer Whose Only Noise-Making Instrument Is His Body": One of *[illegible]*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

[illegible]: Supernatural woman who guards repositories.

[illegible]: 1—"The Open-Mouthed" (in the sense of open to suck forth sickness): One of *[illegible]*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
[756] 2—Name of a shaman whose powers are said to have been derived from ghosts.

[823] *[illegible]*: Swift running water.

[illegible]: 1—Ranks of ordinary inidviduals; this term is used to distinguish those who are being initiated into the *[illegible]* society.
2—Something supernatural seen when awake.

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[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.

[illegible], "This Is to Make Straight Your Road": Said when a call is returned, or food thrown upon a fire for the dead.

[illegible], "Place of Big Stones in the River": Village at Kwatna.

[illegible]: Woman immolated in a repository and hence became supernatural.

[illegible]: Rainbow-coloured nose-ring worn by Death.

[illegible]: Supernatural name of Death. [825]

[illegible]: Short cord by which the tongue is held during the [illegible] dance.

[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible], "The One that Fills the Rivers": Supernatural name of hump-back salmon.

[illegible]: Nose-ring. [301]

[illegible]: Mourning song composed for a chief and, apparently, the singing of one. [593]

[illegible]: Place on the north-west side of Dean Channel, about nine miles from its head, where curative power is procured. [778]

[illegible]: Supernatural beings who remind the supreme god of his *kusiut* duties.

[illegible]: Supernatural being who restores those killed by the receipt of too much power from [illegible].

[illegible]: Meeting of chiefs, archaic.

[illegible]: Person who catches early oolachen in a hand-net. [226]

[illegible]: Buoyant stones such as are found in a lake near the headwaters of the Bella Coola. [829]

[illegible]: Supernatural being who regulates the height of tides in rivers.

[illegible]: To await, especially a supernatural being.

[illegible]: Son of the first settlers at [illegible].

[illegible], "What Fills People": Name created by [illegible] in the beginning of time with reference to his stores of salmon.

[illegible]: Silent waiting in darkness before a [illegible] dance.

[illegible]: Supernatural being who gives inspiration.

[illegible]: 1—Supernatural name of [illegible].
2—Method of killing practised by [illegible].

[illegible]: Name of a Bella Coola shaman.

[illegible]: Name of a Kimsquit woman.

[illegible]: The rare prerogative of changing from *kusiut* to [illegible] rites on alternate nights. [424]

[illegible], "The Saviour": One of [illegible]'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Peculiar cry uttered by a *kusiut* scratcher.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.

[illegible]: Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

[illegible], "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts: Identical with [illegible], q.v. [198]

[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

[illegible]: 1—Excavated house furnished with stepped platforms for guests. [342]
2—Village at Kwatna.

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[illegible]: Village near mouth of the Dean River.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible], "Labretted": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Name obtained by an *[illegible]* man in the beginning of time.
[illegible], "Quivering To and Fro": One of *[illegible]*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: 1—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
431 2—"Left Hand": *Staa* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
426 [illegible]: Term applied to the giving of a supper, indicating that 100 per cent interest is expected in return.
[illegible]: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
463 [illegible]: *Kusiut* prerogative, at Kimsquit only, of throwing masks on the fire.
[illegible], "The Moving House": One of the names of the supreme god's dwelling.
[illegible]: 1—Owner of a puppet-patron.
2—Synonym for *[illegible]*, q.v.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who robs *kukusiut* of their thoughts at the Mystery dance.
[illegible]: 1—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Bella chief.
[illegible]: Excreta.
[illegible], "The Privy One": Name taken by a chief for himself in virtue of the remarks made about his habits.
[illegible]: *[illegible]* name of a Kimsquit man.
825 [illegible]: Herring eggs.
824 [illegible]: Cottonwood.
[illegible]: Type of sea-going canoe.
825 [illegible]: Harlequin duck.
[illegible], "The Constant Eater": Term used by hunters to Eagle.
[illegible], "Concave Town": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Canoes lashed together.
[illegible]: Locality on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head, including the area beneath the surface of the water.
601 [illegible]: 1—Second oldest sibling.
2—Second part of song.
775 [illegible]: 1—"They Who Have Become Supernatural": Title preferred by ghosts.
2—Woman living in the moon.
[illegible]: Inhabitants of the village of *[illegible]*.
424 [illegible]: Person with good memory commissioned to remember family prerogatives.
[illegible], "At the Head": Village southeast of the head of South Bentinck Arm.
[illegible]: Totem-pole, *literally*, "Outside Post."
752 [illegible]: Shaman with power derived from ghosts.
[illegible]: Ceremonial bathing at dawn.
515 [illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

192*

[illegible]: Village at Salmon House, on the upper Dean River.
[illegible]: Position between two fires.
[illegible]: 1—Raised bed behind the fire used by a person seeking power, or by one who has been in contact with the supernatural.
2—Waterfall.[1] [823]
[illegible]: To teach.
[illegible]: Hereditary law handed down secretly in a family. [424]
[illegible]: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
[illegible]: [illegible] song in slow time. [583]
[illegible]: 1—Box, archaic; hence, seat.
2—One of the nights of a potlatch, probably that on which a representation of the deceased appears.
[illegible]: Rocky Mountain jay. [825]
[illegible]: Carved house post.
[illegible]: Wife of [illegible]; both were changed to stone in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: That part of a house between fire and doorway.
[illegible]: Expedition of the supernatural being [illegible] against berries and fish.
[illegible]: [illegible]'s fish-dam in the beginning of time; the name has since been used by his descendants.
[illegible]: Only sister in a family of several brothers. [601]
[illegible]: Seals.
[illegible]: Steeping in medicinal smoke as a curative measure. [825]
[illegible]: Fir.
[illegible]: Evil male supernatural being. [955]
[illegible]: 1—Death, not anthropomorphized. [824]
2—Dead.
[illegible]: Kingfisher. [825]
[illegible]: Fish-hook.
[illegible], "They of the Huge Jaws": Supernatural beings resident in the land above. [227]
[illegible]: *Kusiut* spy.
[illegible]: plural, [illegible]; neutral plural, [illegible]:
1—Person who has not given a potlatch, a commoner.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
[illegible]: [illegible] village.
[illegible]: [illegible] man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible], "He Urinates Over Himself." The implication is that this is an indication of misfortune, hence the word really means omen. It is the Kimsquit variant of [illegible]. [787]
[illegible]: Omen of death.
[illegible], "Occupied Mound": 1—Village at Kwatna.
2—Artificial mound at [illegible].
3—Village on the Kimsquit River.
4—Island near Ocean Falls.
[illegible], "Place of Dogs": Locality near Ocean Falls where the dogs came to earth in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Varied thrush. [825]

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[1] The latter is a favourite place for obtaining power, the probable reason for the identity of the two terms.

192 *[illegible]*: Locality near *Stuie* where berries are plentiful.
[illegible]: Chief living at *Tal'io* in the beginning of time.

a

[illegible]: One of the [illegible] dances.
[illegible]: I, first person singular.
[262] [illegible]: Herring eggs when brought into house ready for preparation as food.[a]

B

[illegible]: Supernatural animal.
[illegible]: One of the first women sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: To guess, as done by the uninitiated at a Mystery dance.
[illegible] or *[illegible]*: Kwakiutl supernatural being.
[825] [illegible]: Lamprey.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a *Talio* man.
[illegible]: Abalone shell.
[illegible]: Influential Kwatna woman who died about 1870.
[292] [illegible]: Ball-topped hat worn by chiefs.
[622] *[illegible]*: A Kimsquit composer.
[illegible]: *Stuie* man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Supernatural, man-like creature.

D

[821]
[772] [illegible]: The sky, regarded as the lower side of a land inhabited by supernatural beings.
[illegible]: 1—"The Comer," synonym for *Nusk'yum*.
2—The *kusiut* prerogative of using *Nusk'yum*.
[illegible], "The Ever-Comer": Synonym for *Nusk'yum*.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who awaits *Nusk'yum*.
[illegible]: Supernatural dog salmon resident in the land above.
[601] [illegible]: Niece's husband.
[illegible]: Aunt's husband.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Archaic term for *kusiut* Breaker.[b]
[824] [illegible]: Frayed cedar-wood, as used for tinder.
[392] [illegible], plural, [illegible]: Son; term used in direct address for an adult.
[601] *[illegible]*: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible], "The Slave Owner": Designation of the supernatural woman *[illegible]*.
[101] *[illegible]*: Collective term applied to the Kwakiutl-speaking peoples of the mainland.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Chief of abalone-shell people on the lower Fraser in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at *Tal'io* in the beginning of time.

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[a] This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.
[b] This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.

1924

E

[illegible] or [illegible]: Medicine; generic term for all remedies of a magical or medicinal nature. [278]
[illegible]: Cotton, term in common usage.
[illegible]: Nephew or niece. [601]

[illegible]

[illegible]: Ancestral name of a *[illegible]* man.
[illegible]: Daughter of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Moon, semi-anthropomorphized.

H

[illegible]: 1—Bella Bella term, commonly used in Bella Coola, for council official
2—Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: Type of sea-going canoe used by the Haida; the word may be a corruption from English.
[illegible]: Man who descended to the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Mythical, supernatural bird. [825]
[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Penis.
[illegible]: Call used by members of the *Kusiut* society to strengthen their fellow members.

I

[824]

[illegible]: Pounded cedar-bark, undyed.
[illegible]: Zigzag course up or down a mountain slope.
[illegible]: [illegible]'s dog.
[illegible]: One of the first women sent down east of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Bandage of undyed cedar-bark placed around an infant's head to produce cranial deformation. [856]
[illegible], Bandages: Term applied to presents distributed as validation for the bitings of a self-Cannibal. [491]
[illegible]: One of the *[illegible]*.
[illegible]: Abbreviated rite of *[illegible]* dance.
[illegible]: Nest.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
[illegible], "The Mouse": Male supernatural child who [illegible] *[illegible]'s* work.
[illegible], "Hold Him Down": Cry used in Cannibal dances.
[illegible], "Swings": Said to spring salmon during the ritual connected with the first taking of these fish. [226]
[illegible]: Alleged singing of a novel initiate's song by the supernatural being, *[illegible]*.
[illegible]: Reduction of the value of an investment-present by immediate return of part of it. [496]
[illegible]: Sling. [824]
[illegible]: Polyandry.

#192 *istutsmap*, "Come and eat": Invitation to the *kukusiut* to assemble in a performer's house.

isulta: House beams.

isut·sta: Messenger bearing invitation to a potlatch.

[952] *itcliktas:* Massage.

[585] [431] *itskālemsk:* 1—Presents, regarded as clothing, etc., given by the groom's relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter visit his house on the wedding day.
2—Other presents given by the husband's relatives to the wife's kinsmen prior to her repurchase.

[583] *itswandjut*, "The Throwing Off of a Heavy Burden from the Shoulders": Said of the repayment by a wife's relatives of presents received from her husband's kinsmen.

itswaltsta: 1—Battering-ram.
2—The destruction of the house of a chief who is about to give a potlatch.

Isiljatlam: One of the names of the supreme god.

[201] *ipdimaxtam:* Notification, by pressure on the foot, to a chief to go to the meeting-place.

[533] *itslxāmm:* The employment of frenzied stick-beating.

Isjo·nam: Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.

isatcākpāmms, "The Hearing": Synonym for *sītatmm*, q.v.; this is a Kimsquit term only.

i·ptimut: *Kusiutem* rite in which the performer appears to be burnt to death.

i·yaalmam: The casting of *kusiut* masks on the fire.

Iyaank, "Far from the River": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

[847] *iswatl:* Abortion.

i·xwsila, "Disappointed": said of the supernatural beings called by a *wl·a* dancer who arrive too late for the potlatch.

u

uhas: Slave from the lower Fraser owned in Kimsquit during the last century.

[101] *ulfmlanmg:* Bella Coola term for the Bella Bella.

ulfmlaxdutlamaas: Half-brother or half-sister.

[601] *umlk:* 1—Man.
2—Son; term used by old person in direct address to adult.
3—Husband.

[614] *umlkasta:* Male relative of same ancestral family.

umlklims: Woman who performs man's work.

[601] *umlkpāsta:* Single brother in a family with several sisters.

ummulki, *plural*, *ummulkaksi:* Small boy, especially son; term used in indirect address.

[431] [584] *uplalik*ʷ, "Working Clothes": Presents given by the relatives of the future bride to the kinsmen of the future bridegroom at the first announcement of the engagement. The implication is that they will have to labour industriously to obtain the wealth necessary for the marriage.

[821] *ulsinaxwl:* Cold wind of the mornings, semi-anthropomorphized.

utsaity: Bella Bella term for the *utsāmy*.

[563] *utsāmy:* Bella Coola term for the people of mixed Bella Bella-Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel.

sxsiak, "The Time for *Kusiut* Rites": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. 192*
sxyayayat: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Alqalāl* in the beginning of time. [805]
2—One of the first men to settle on the lower Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.

shlalak: One of the supernatural carpenters.
slsmamammam: The repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]
snaiak': Synonym for *spuadjut*, a present for which a return is not expected. [431]
sntasmadjut: Hereditary tendency.
spem: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuix* man. [827]
sning: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *ilakaik* is problematical.
snlkaiam: One of the first men to settle at *Ḳomqo·ts* in the beginning of time. [825]
spalimaiom'siamut·al·at': The entrusting of a woman to a husband's care. This phrase is used by a wife's relatives when about to rebuy her as expressing their somewhat boastful sentiments concerning the relations entered into at marriage. [583]
spix·akalamadjutlais: Sterile supernatural visitation. [787]
stlalais: 1—To strengthen, or to shore up.
2—Goods provided by a wife to strengthen her husband's position. [556]
stlakamlq, "Different from All Others": Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
stlxwaxai: Wife of North Wind, a supernatural being resident in a side valley of the upper Bella Coola.
stlalwaiadjut: Supernatural aid granted to the unfortunate.
stlpatlamsqwaadjimas: Son of Raven and one of the first settlers at *Tal·io* in the beginning of time.
sxwakwmlxsis, "The Track of the Sun": *A'ulk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
sxwatlxamlais: Supernatural name of *nsiuk*.
sxpantam, "Commander": 1—Said to be the word from which *Alquntam* is derived.
2—One of the names of the supreme god.
sxlilkmasais, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smaiax* in the beginning of time.
sxwaqpatadjut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
sxwal·a: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuix* man.
sxwimatla: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
sx·wmaias: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Ḳomqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
sxpalpatsais, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smaiax* in the beginning of time.
sxpalam, "The Walker": Supernatural being resident in a glacier near the overland trail between *Snulalt* and *Tal·io*.

K

kai: 1—Snow. [821]
2—Unidentified berry. [824]
Kaiasdias: Name obtained from a supernatural being by a Bella Bella man.
Kakamiil: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
ḳakas: Crow. [825]
Kakatko: Locality in the Bella Coola valley mentioned in an ancient story.

*192

[824] ***ḳuk'ulp̓:*** Tree, probably birch.
Kaitsaluk': One of the first men to settle at *Ṡnijsai* in the beginning of time.
Kalialus: One of the first men to settle at *Snaḷdi* in the beginning of time.
Kalkum: Bella Bella woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Ḳalut: Kimsquit man.
Kalpam: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[222] ***kalpum:*** The gathering of fern root for food.
[262] ***Kalpmakmam:*** Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.
Ka'lawa: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[585] ***kalmalilmota:*** Public oration, previous to marriage, of the bride's ancestral myths in order to cause children to be born.
[842] ***kalpurm:*** Ritual on the day before a marriage, including the oration of myths by the bride's relatives, the choosing of assistants, and the singing of songs of all kinds.
[576] ***Kamaits:*** 1—Mysterious supernatural woman.
2—"Please," or "Thank You," a word implying laziness.
Kamalsaŋw: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuiḷux* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuspalst* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of the first sky that fell in the beginning of time.
Kamalalki: Lazy supernatural beings who accompanied *Nuakyam*.
Kamalpusa: Man mentioned in an origin myth of *Alqalaxl*.
Kamatslaks: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kamatsaŋw: House brought to earth by first settlers at *Nuspalst* in the beginning of time.
[824] ***ḳamk':*** Kelp.
[227] ***kamala:*** Cod hook.
kamat: Termination.
[824] ***kanaw-i:*** 1—Shelf fungus.
2—*Kusiut* dance in which a shelf fungus is used.
Kanilus: One of the first women to settle at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.
kaw-imat: Ceremonial error.
Kanaia: Herald of a *Tal-io* chief in the beginning of time.
ḳanhus: Trap.
Kanualaliam: 1—Daughter of the first settlers at *Satlia* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of *Oḷsmai*, one of the first settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[264] ***kaalikta:*** Assemblage of the people for a meal of any kind.
Kaupaklamam: One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
Kawalkudjawa: Supernatural berry-picker resident in the land of ghosts.
[825] ***kapai:*** 1—Hump-back salmon.
2—Convex transverse beam near front and rear of house.
3—Mountain on the Dean River.
Kapnis: *Sisauk* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kaskna: Man mentioned in an ancient story of Raven.
[756] ***kasiut:*** The seeking for shaman's power by a lad.
[825] ***kasmia:*** Golden eagle.
kathm: Top, toy.
[524]

katsan: Tail. 192*
katskit: Ants. [825]
kta: Black hawthorn. [824]
Kalaw·i: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kamilkan: Ancestral name of the wife of *Swaky* who was changed to stone in the beginning of time.
kanil: Region.
Kapotlnfot: Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
kaxily: 1—Marriage, properly arranged and legalized. [585]
2—The actual wedding day.
Kaxmitsw·i: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.[4] [415]
ksai: Bark bucket for holding liquids.
kslamkndjut: The seeking of assistance from a man who owns a curing repository. [426]
kslamkasxam: Investment-present, i.e., one for which a return is expected.
kskota: Back-room in which *sisauk* initiates and others are concealed. [431]
ksta: Woman during catamenia.
kskla, "What Was Sent Down": Intangible possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time. [424]
kumapnta: Wooden tongs such as are used for lifting hot stones. [412]
kslstmkdjut als kumntpnta: *Kusiotem* rite in which the performer appears to be drowned.
kul·aix or kul·ak, "The Gainer": One who has been initiated as a member of the *kusiut* society but has not yet danced, especially one admitted through unauthorized knowledge or through successful participation in either a *kusiotem* or a Mystery dance. [575]
kulalx, "Rendered Incapable of Returning": Said of an uninitiated person who is alleged to have stumbled on a repository.
Kulanp: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
kutsas: The dormant waiting for power by a shaman who, having had one visitation, awaits further manifestations before displaying his ability. [756]
kifa, vocative, *kifaaa*: Grandmother. [601]
kikiqmmaw·i: Ceremonial marriage of a female child to an adult man.
Ki'lasilat: Name given to their canoe by the first settlers at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.
Kiläsumxanx, "The Wise One": One of Raven's names as chief.
Kimilkan: One of the first women to settle at *Alqlaxl* in the beginning of time.
Kima'o·: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
kimaxw: 1—Crab. [825]
2—Enormous crab-like creature, alleged to be found far in the forest.
Kipalus: Name of a shaman who received his power from ghosts. [824]
kipl: Red elderberry.
kipla: Wooden tweezers used in the pounding of cedar-bark. [419]
kis: Unidentified plant. [252]
kisam: To toast dried salmon.
kisianmatlo: Supported, in the sense of held in place by physical assistance.
Kisipmat: Locality on Dean Channel, west of *Sxwalt*.
Kitau: Place on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

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[4] This name appears to be an entirely different word from *Kalaw·i*.

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[illegible]: The charm that keeps a foolish man from success as a chief; the concept is semi-anthropomorphized.
[illegible]: First catamenial discharge.
[illegible]: [illegible] village.
[illegible]: Supernatural creature dwelling in the ocean.
[952] [illegible]: Shaman who received power from ghosts.
[illegible]: Bella Coola hunter.
*[108] [illegible], "Canyon": Bella Bella designation for the Dean River, whence the anglicized *Kimsquit* has been derived.
[illegible]: Nass River.
[illegible]: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[825] [illegible]: 1—Whale.
2—Ancestral name of a *Talio* woman; this is said to be an exclusively feminine designation.
[illegible]: 1—Name acquired by a Bella Bella man in the beginning of time.
2—Influential [illegible] chief, who died about 1910.
[825] [illegible]: Muskrat.
[illegible]: White fir (?).
[824] [illegible]: Herring.
[illegible]: Prerogative of biting oneself.
[illegible]: Dried salmon.
[illegible]: Synonym for [illegible]: one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of masked representations of the deceased. The word is derived from [illegible].
[825] [illegible]: Porpoise.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who behaves in an erotic manner.
[845] [illegible]: Twin whose birth is attributed to salmon.
[824] [illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Unidentified berry (strawberry?).
[illegible]: Supernatural female shaman who guided [illegible].
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
[illegible], "Earthy Ones": Ghosts.
[533] [illegible]: Land, region, earth.
[illegible]: First part of song.
[illegible]: Treeless mountain about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.
[825] [illegible], "The One Who Makes Us Fat": Supernatural name of coho salmon.
[765] [illegible]: Goods distributed to validate songs used at a mourning ceremony when no representation of the deceased has been employed.
[578] [illegible]: Insult offered to foreigners at potlatches concerning their manners or food.
[609] [illegible] or [illegible]: Synonym for [illegible], investment present.[6]
[422] [illegible]: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible], vocative, [illegible]: Grandfather.
[601] [illegible]: *Kusiut* ceremonial at which foreigners are present.
[illegible]: The construction of salmon-weirs.

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[6] This was the pronunciation of the word by the individual with an idiosyncratic *r* sound.

192*

[illegible]: Generic term for presents given to a future bridegroom by the father of the future bride. [431] [584]

[illegible]: Supernatural being whose stomach is cut in the land above. [576]

[illegible]: Good-bye.

[illegible], "What Brings Our Food": Synonym for the supernatural being *[illegible]*.

[illegible]: Designation for a series of difficult and spectacular *kusiut* dances.

[illegible]: Said to be identical with *[illegible]*, the visible object obtained by a shaman from his supernatural benefactor. [756]

[illegible]: plural, *[illegible]*; [illegible], *[illegible]*; [illegible] *plural, kukusiaot:*

1—Society comprising those entitled to perform dramatic dances during the winter ceremonial season. [575]

2—Member of the society.

3—"The Learned One": Designation occasionally applied to a supernatural being, especially a petrified one, or to a person having power to cure the sick. [756]

[illegible]: Kimsquit female shaman living in the last century.

[illegible]: Beloved one, especially a child; this is the vocative form of the word.

[illegible]: Orphan.

[illegible]: Woman dwelling at Fort Rupert in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Smith Inlet.

[illegible]: Supernatural name of Cormorant. [825]

[illegible]: Merganser.

[illegible]: Merganser canoe acquired by the first settlers at *Stuix*. [763]

[illegible]: Unidentified bird of which the note is an omen of death.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a male Green Bay Cannibal.

[illegible]: Smooth greenstone, "jadeite," such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands. [823]

[illegible]: Evergreen bough. [824]

[illegible]: Famous Bella Coola warrior.

[illegible]: One of the sculpins.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.

[illegible], "The Big One": Lustful male supernatural being.

[illegible]: Man who came to earth near *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Kimsquit woman.

[illegible]: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Kitkatla chief living in the last century.

[illegible], "One Who Sits without Right": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[illegible]: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nusqalst* chief; the word is a synonym for *[illegible]*.

[illegible]: One of the nine supernatural siblings. [533]

[illegible]: Lullaby.

[illegible]: Archaic expression used in a string figure.

[illegible]: 1—Pen or trap in the stream for salmon. [226]

2—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its head.

*192

L

[825] *Lâklâklus:* Kimaquit man mentioned in ancient story.
lâ·kts: Squirrel.
Laqwomais: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Qomqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
2—Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
[463] *Laxaiyao·k':* Name of a professional warrior; the word is said to have originated in Kitkatla but has remained for many generations in Kimaquit.
La'qulx: Atnarko River, northern fork of the Bella Coola.
Lalemsk: *Susaok* name of a Kimaquit man.
Lalaimkila, "The Brusher Off [of Goats]": Professional name of one of the first settlers at *Snuiəli* in the beginning of time. This may be the same word as *Lalemkila.*
Lalemkila: Another name for *Twalâłiit,* the supernatural hunter. This may be the same word as *Lalaimkila.*
[825] *Lilitwumlaix:* 1—"The Beautifier": Supernatural name of Otter.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimaquit woman.
[886] *lipdjuditls:* Return in old age to the thoughts and actions of infancy, senile decay.
[426] *lisdjut:* To repay indebtedness of any kind, especially presents received at potlatches.
[583] *lislimadjut,* "A Paying": An arrangement by which a man's sons-in-law give him as "wife" an infant female relative by way of repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters.
listəmax: Wrestling or shoving.
lilstem: Abbreviated Cannibal rite.
Lo·qwa·t: 1—Famous Bella Bella chief.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimaquit man.
lulusta: Mask.
luta: Tool for making vertical incisions in the bark of cedar trees.

Ł

Łâkwakila: *Tcauat* man living in the beginning of time.
Łâlaiuks: *Kusiut* name of a Kimaquit man.
[823] *łalia:* 1—Copper.
2—Unidentified town on the outer coast, mentioned in a story of the beginning of time.
3—Chief of this town.
Łâliaaiuts: Daughter of chief of the town of Copper.
Łâliaslatl: Copper canoe acquired by the first settlers at *Stuux* in the beginning of time.
Łâliahus: Man's name, created by the first settlers at *Sâlia,* in the beginning of time.
Łâliakdja: Name taken for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimaquit in the beginning of time.
Łâliaks: Ancestral name of a Kimaquit woman.
Łâliâmy: *Susaok* name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Âlqâlaxl* in the beginning of time.
Łâliâxas, "The Copper One": One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimaquit River in the beginning of time.

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Łáliaxsa: One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Łaханl: Unidentified town on the outer coast mentioned in a *Stuix* story of the beginning of time.

Łällaliamdimut: Name acquired by one of the first settlers at *Snuldi* in the beginning of time.

Łaloxmán-a: *Smasan*'s son in the beginning of time.

łalax-i: Small portable canoe.

łalstam: Desertion of a spouse. [586]

Łáxosmai: 1—"The Copper One."
2—"Snow," in the language of Deer.

łalmomakyuas: Imitation potlatch carried out by *nusaxkamy*.

Łaknus: Bella Bella Cannibal living in the beginning of time.

Łilixwnimut, "The Scatterer of Eagle Down": Name created by *Smasan* for his son in the beginning of time.

lima: To loot.

Łixlixkikka: Bella Bella supernatural being who brings food.

lixwnimut: Person of placid disposition.

lddlta: Bull-roarer.

ldt: To excise rot; the word for potlatch, *łm*, is supposedly derived from this. [556]

łm: Potlatch.

łmkmitl: The binding down of a Cannibal with rope.

łsmolim: Unidentified autumn moon, probably the fourth after the summer solstice. [821]

łsmolis di Nusáxkamy, "The Potlatch of the *nusaxkamy*": Second moon after winter solstice. [805]

Łkumkila, "First of All": One of the first men to settle at *Nukits* in the beginning of time.

łkaluwádjut: Shaman's ritual error, such as the curing of one who is ceremonially unclean. [756]

łkumkaksta: Miniature totem-pole such as is used in mourning ceremony.

łmánkmm: Partnership of a poor man with a chief about to give a potlatch, so that the former may repay debts, for which his poverty required no compensation, and thus start himself on the path towards greatness. [556]

łmánsimtim: The turning over of a mountain.

Ło'yo: Professional name of a female berry-picker.

łqomkaksta: Stick decorated with copper bangles used in mourning rites by one of the first settlers at *Quiyai* in the beginning of time. [765]

łqia: The painting of the face as a sign of mourning. [302]

'*Łismdimut:* Cannibal *kusiut* name used by the first settlers at *Satlia* in the beginning of time.

Łlsiqlam: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola male Scratcher.

łuklai: Aversion.

Łukwala: 1—*Kusiut* name of a *Tsmoil* man.
2—Shamanistic power.

łullubmut: Visitation from the life of a recently dead friend, notification of which is conveyed by a start or other feeling of discomfort. [775] [787]

Łulqwan-i: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. The first to use this designation was a relative of the earliest settlers in the beginning of time.

Łulukwaknimm, "The Giver of Shamanistic Power": One of the names of *Tliixap-lilän-a*, and hence a designation given to shamans.

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Łalulimut: *Kusiut* name of a *Nusqalst* man.
[824] *Łalul'nimut:* *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
łuqal: Inner bark of cedar.
łutsálemsk, "A Stripping Off": The giving, on demand, by a marriage dancer of his clothing to a herald.
'Łuxwaqstáleis: Supernatural name of Raven.
[828] *łemais,* "Frenzied": Term applied to Cannibals and other destructive *kukusiut* when in a state of madness.
łyuum: Occasional exclusion of all but the singers from a house where a shaman is performing.
Łxwumxwumlais: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
Łxwuutnum: *Kusiut* name, probably of Kwakiutl origin.

M

Ma'cilsa: Female dancer mentioned in a Raven story.
Malátsiut: *Kusiut* name of a *Qomqots* man.
[601] *mámá, sacaitic, mámas:* Mother, term used by children.
Mámaiya: Celebrated *Xixais* hunter.
[825] *mám·aiya:* Butterfly.
mám·áika: Measuring worm.
[824] *mám·u:* Fly, insect.
ma'mnica: Swamp gooseberry.
[601] *mán:* 1—Father, common term in indirect address.
2—Occasional designation for the supreme deity.
[614] *mándimut:* Stepfather.
mánmánuks: Elderly male relatives of same ancestral family.
Másanq^{w}: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nulhas* in the beginning of time.
2—Form of the name *Dudusonq^{w}* when used by a male child.
Másanq^{w}an·a: Form of the name *Dudusonq^{w}* when used by a female child.
Matsbálisak: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
Málspesmak: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[804] *ma·lpi:* Measure of distance equal to the breadth of one thumb plus one finger.
[825] *mó·tsq':* Toad.
mátsqus: Supernatural giant toad.
málsm: Salmon eggs.
ma·waxs: Old male sea-lion.
[825] *ma·watákha:* Water ouzel.
Maqwánts: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[601] *Masaxilian,* "Long Neck": One of the supernatural names of Great Blue Heron.
maxsai·s: Co-husband in a polyandrous household.
[824] *ma'xwal·i:* One of the parsleys.
maqul: Berry, black in colour.
Mumsxálima: Generic term for the four supernatural Carpenters.
maxmikalp: Spruce.
Mial'sila: One of the first men to settle at *Sátlia* in the beginning of time.
Miálsma: Land of salmon.
[224] *Mí'als:* Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
mil·a: Stick carried by hunters when penetrating into the mountains.
[824] *mílis^{w}:* Red bearberry.

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micmisfulp: Leaf of salalberry.

mela·mdjat: 1—Omen of misfortune, such as preceded the outbreak of smallpox, hence, [824]
2—Smallpox. [787]

mlta: Type of sea-going canoe with raised prow and small stern.

mna, vocative, mnaa: Child. [601]

Mnakais: Supreme god when addressed in prayer.

mnl': Excreta.

mnmnts, vocative, mnmntsdn·i: Ancestral family, practically equivalent to *children* when used by an old person. [614]

mnslanmants: The commemoration of a chief's potlatches and other major ceremonies by means of plain posts erected near his grave. [211]

Mntlaio·mm, Tide-Measurer: A supernatural being. [764]

Mumla: Man mentioned in a song.

Mtlakila: Supernatural being who gives potency to *kusiut* rites.

mltsta: Grandiloquent expression used by the *kukusiut* with reference to the way in which supernatural beings govern the length of human lives. [776]*

mtlaleam: 1—The condition of being within range of speech and vision. The term is used to describe relations formerly existing between the dead and the living. [775]
2—To visit, term used with reference to the coming of a masked representation of a dead person; the significance is similar to that expressed in the first meaning.

mol': Pounded, dyed cedar-bark used to decorate ceremonial objects.

motmnls: Head-ring of cedar-bark worn by *kusiut* initiates in the upper Bella Coola valley.

maple: Lice. [825]

mqanila: Adolescent youth.

mormnsk': Blue grouse.

mormnstlaAtanda: Dentalium-shell ear-rings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion. [301]

ma: Hand net for catching olachen. [227]

mukaantla: Yellow cedar stave decorated with swan feathers such as is carried by a Mystery dancer.

mustomna: Wrestling.

Mutsw·a: Rivers Inlet man living in the last century.

N

Nais'alwas: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.

Nā'ms: Bella Bella village; the Anglicised form is Namu.

nan: Grizzly bear. [825]

Nanaatla: Name received from Grizzly Bear by a Kimsquit man in the beginning of time.

Nnaitk: *Kusiut* name of a *Nusqalst* man.

Nanaitsbal: One of the first men to settle at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.

Nanalsbatk: One of the names of Mount *Nusqalst* as chief.

naw·laut: Non-ceremonial weeping, usually individual, and always with real feeling. [827]

Naas: Indeterminate locality in the distant east. [152]

* 192 [illegible]: Miniature copper ornament worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.

[301] [illegible]: Bella Bella man living in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: To dance.

[825] [illegible]: Those who dance at marriages.

[illegible]: Mallard duck.

[824] [illegible]: Night of potlatch on which [illegible] initiates appear for a short dance.

[illegible]: Berries of Canadian buffalo berry.

[415] [illegible]: Thimble-like wooden dish.

[illegible]: Ceremonial seating of chiefs according to their validated places in a house.

[illegible]: Name acquired by a Rivers Inlet man from sea-lions in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Scratcher; the designation was derived from Rivers Inlet.

[illegible]: Celebrated Kitkatla chief.

[illegible]: Influential Bella Coola chief.

x [776] [illegible], "The Resident": Supernatural being dwelling under rivers who punishes infractions of taboos concerning them.

[784] [illegible]: 1—Fourth day of a *kusiut* dance, on the evening of which masked figures appear.
2—Something exposed to view.

[illegible]: Old woman resident in Sea-lion's house in the beginning of time.

[illegible], "Little Dance": Term of grandiose humility.

[illegible]: Gathering of the people for a non-sacred dance after the *kusiut* season.

[illegible]: 1—"The Dancer Near the Fire": One of *Tlitcäplilan·a*'s names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
2— *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a [illegible] man.

[illegible]: One who has preserved a marriage song.

[585] [illegible]: The intangible strengthening that comes to a bridegroom as a result of the recitation of his ancestral myths and the giving of presents to the bride's relatives when they first come to his house on the wedding day.

[431] [illegible]: Daughter of the first people who came down to Mount *Tcnisi* in the beginning of time.

[524] [illegible]: Wooden ring used in a game.

[illegible]: Place on Dean Channel, about three miles from the head, where the deer formed a colony soon after the beginning of time.

[825] [illegible]: Otter.

[illegible]: Name of a certain spot where mountain goats are wont to congregate for mating.

[illegible]: 1—"The Restorer": One of *Tlitcäplilan·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—One of the first men to settle in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.

[552] [illegible], "Brought to Life": Term applied to a copper brought back from a cemetery and renamed.

[illegible]: Shaman's name derived from *Tlitcäplilan·a*.

[illegible]: "I have saved you."

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nixobaxta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the insertion of some object into the digestive tract. [424]

Nixpt: Expert supernatural dancer; to his associates he is a yearling mountain goat.

mmlz or *mmlpakmut:* First complete dance given by a *kusiut* initiate. [825]

mmmmk: Mammal, any kind.

Nmnixmanaix: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

Noakila: 1—One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuisli* in the beginning of time.

Noakymm: Supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Noamtaxaik: Name given to his grandson by one of the first settlers at *Siskiut* in the beginning of time.

nolicista: *Kusiut* prerogative as a Breaker; this is said to be a Bella Bella term.

nolpakta: Sloping stick extending from floor to roof behind the fire on which, at Kimsquit, *kusiut* masks are hung.

nomuak: The making and use of hand nets for olachen.

Nanodjanaistem: 1—"The Adviser": One of the names of the supreme god. [622]
2—Chiefs of a village, collectively; virtually, "The Sages."

no'enatlim: 1—Ceremony at which *susok* names are validated in the eyes of the fellow-villagers. [553]
2—Any ceremony at which all kinds of dances are performed. [796]

no'ondjut: Assemblage of the *kukusiut* to practise difficult rites.

No-qumu, "The One with Thick Pubic Hair": *Tlaiyakam* name given to a deserting wife.

Nowakila: One of the names of Raven as chief.

nomlxikelam: Sentence of death passed by the *kukusiut* on one of their fellows as punishment for an error. [688]

nuaiyoo: A loan, especially of an ancestral right. [426]

Nualulsmm: Synonym for *Noakymm*, the supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Nu'oos, "Inhospitable": Name taken by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

nuapsulta: Toilet-hole.

nuaska: Birth.

Nucikaqas: Anthropomorphized evil cold wind. [821]

nudak-an: Rhetorical term of respect for aged dead. [769]

nudak-an du lhmsta: 1—High tide.
2—Long life. [823]

nudjiqosta: Cross-piece tied to canoe to hold olachen-net post steady while being driven.

Nu'cymaq, "Place of Foul Water": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Nuk: 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, on the east side.
2—River flowing into head of South Bentinck Arm from the east.

Nuxkmalsais: Synonym for *Sximsximlt*, an immoral supernatural woman.

nupal: The achievement of success against supernatural odds; the term is used with reference to the solutions of the riddles of the Mystery dance.

nukamlsnasmam: Any non-sacred dance held at the conclusion of the *kusiut* season. [535]

Nukaw-sa: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

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Nukapunkam: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

Nukatco: Bella Coola pronunciation of a Carrier village; the Anglicized form is Ulkatcho.

nupaxem: To lose something through faulty concealment; the term is used to describe a *kusiut* who is alleged to have suffered loss through the discovery of his repository by an uninitiated person.

nukolomski': Grease extracted from sockeye salmon heads.

[825] *Nukiadji:* Ancestral name of a *Stuix* chief; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.

nukila·xta: 1—Spider.

[778] 2—Place on the east side of South Bentinck Arm where cures are effected; the power is derived from a spider petrified there.

Nukiis, "Place of the Whirlpool": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nukokwixadjas, "The One Whose Seat is Dusty": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[552] *Nulipummutl di mnk',* "The Rolling Down of Excrement": Dog's name.

Nulalsumtnam: 1—Supernatural being who leaves his home at the time of *Noakymm*'s departure to warn *kukusiut* to tidy their houses for the ceremonial season.

[356] 2—To tidy the houses preparatory to the ceremonial season.

Nulaluiaks, "The One Whose Eyes Are Hungry": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[431] *nuluyum:* Presents given by a chief to his fellow-villagers prior to a potlatch.

Nuliliqolank, "Place of Many Boulders": Ancient village on the Kwatna River.

Nulixqemankta: One of the first women to settle at *Tál·io* in the beginning of time.

nulmkmankdas: Fastenings, especially those of plumage or skins worn by the first settlers when coming down to earth in the beginning of time.

Nulkitl: Poverty-stricken chief mentioned in a song.

nulkmaqdas: Bonds used to fasten a Cannibal; the word is etymologically connected with *nulmkmankdas.*

[428] *nulmaqtmax:* Succession, as applied to the assumption of a marshal's prerogative by a son or other relative.

nulolostnik·asta, "Forehead Thing": Small mask worn on a *sisauk* head-dress.

nulq: Landslide, such as is caused by *Twalatlit* or *sisiutl.*

Nulqanlais: Name given to their sister by the first settlers at *Nutsqwalt* in the beginning of time.

nulpunta, "To Have Become Nothing For": Said of a poultice which is thrown away after serving its purpose.

nulputamx: House-posts nearest to front door.

nulhnikta: Posts extending from this world to the land above down which swarmed some of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

[426] *nulismanmtmam,* "Belt Goods": Goods borrowed during a potlatch by a donor who finds himself deficient. The implication is that he will have to fasten up his clothing and work industriously to repay his indebtedness with heavy interest.

[556] *nulsadjim:* Cry uttered by a *sisauk* official to free a house from the intangible influence of the supernatural after the initiation of *sisauk* novices.

[342] *nulsinqailais:* The alleged entrance of a supernatural being into a *sisauk* novice.

nulsmalhals: Semi-subterranean house with two levels for seats.

numalhals: Semi-subterranean house with a single level for seats.

Numamst, "Place of Fling": Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

numas, vocative, numastas: Member of same sex and same ancestral family as speaker. [601]

Numátlam: Supernatural being who comes with *Noakyum* to bring a call to the latter's protégé. [614]

Numalakmai: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

numiḷ: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract.
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed. [826]

nummumaltas: Toilet-hole.

numlatsaam: Recompense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a mourning ceremony. [465]

numnálumnmas: Exchange marriage. [583]

numpálatlmm: Passenger.

Nu·mts: Place near *Nuḷiwa*.

Numármálais: *Kusiut* name created by *uyayuyut* at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

nunmani di mának: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker. [601]

nunmani tci stánaa: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.

Nunasaa'ns, "The Inhospitable One": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Nunaármaak: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunadjipmm: Supernatural being who created repositories in the beginning of time.

Nunalnaak: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunalpanam: House occupied by the first settlers at *Nutaqmalt* in the beginning of time.

nunaƚ'atimut: The use of potent medicines after seeing a giant toad.

nunalraatatmm or nunalraatatimut: 1—The giving of hemlock-bark and dyed cedar-bark to *Tlitcaplitan·a*. [782]
2—The making of offerings to ghosts by the casting of food on a fire. [775]

Nuqumsr·ak: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunnmaisiklimut: Male supernatural being who travels with *Noakyum*, takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes dances happily.

Nunsaika: Mother Nature.

nunapg: Fisherman with inherited right to use of a salmon-weir or of a place for catching olachen. [424]

nunaqumsaamdy, "A Calling Back", or "A Seizing": Term applied to the death of a chief in the belief that it is due to the supernatural artisans having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation. [226] [761]

Nunaqámáls, "Where Water Entered": House of one of the first groups of settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Nunaqmalsiats: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nunaqmaklaiqan·a: Professional name of a female dresser.

Nunaqmiatmm: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the Carpenters.

Nunaskmai: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nunaxmmak: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunaxsmmakl: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Nunatlkuntam, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers": Supernatural name of sockeye salmon. [825]

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[787] [illegible]: Woman endowed supernaturally by *[illegible]* and serving as patron (?) to a *kusiut* dancer.

[illegible]: Omen of death.

[illegible], "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *[illegible]*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

[illegible]: 1—Man dwelling in [illegible]'s house.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.

[illegible]: The cry of *hi, hi,* uttered by Cannibals.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name assumed by a *Stuie* woman in the beginning of time.

[424] [illegible]: *Kusiut* with right to display a puppet-patron. The difference, if any, between this and [illegible] is obscure.

[illegible], "The Widower": One of Raven's names as chief.

[575] [illegible]: Synonym for *[illegible]*: Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.

[illegible], "Heedlessly Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[302] [illegible]: The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot.

[illegible]: Medicine brewed in a skull.

[illegible], "Place of Much [illegible]": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

[illegible]: *[illegible]* name of a Kimsquit man.

[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

[805] [illegible]: One year.

[828] [illegible]: Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative.

[illegible], "Empty House": House in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place.

[illegible]: The throwing of grease on a fire to heat, both literally and figuratively, a rival.

[821] [illegible]: 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
2—Eclipse.

[827] [illegible]: Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.

[illegible]: Hoot-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *kusiutem* and other important *kusiut* rites.

[777] [illegible]: Unexpected stroke of good fortune.

[illegible]: *Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.

[772] [illegible]: Site of an ancient town on Schooner Pass.

[illegible]: The upper heaven.

[illegible]: Woman with thick pubic hair.

[illegible]: A *Stuie* repository.

[illegible], "Where [illegible] Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[824] [illegible]: Cottonwood buds.

[illegible], "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Canoe-maker.

[illegible]: River entering the Bella Coola from the south near *[illegible]*.

[535] [illegible]: Children's dance which serves as training for *kusiut* rites and to provide entertainment.

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nusda: The visit to every house in the village by a Mystery dancer on receipt of his call.

nusiqml, plural, nusnusiqml: Singer.

nusitndis: Quiver for carrying arrows. [415]

Nusimacta: Mountain near *Asto-ax-i*.

nusistłt or *nusistłtlmp*: Second day of a *kusiut* dance.

Nusisilaisaihm: Synonym for *Tatmai-ax*: Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.

nuskariatsta: Repository.

nuskah: Any unusual occurrence, regarded as an omen of death. [763]

Nuskataimnta, "Whence Things Came Down": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

nusjalasta: Wash-basin, especially the supernatural one that remains in the land above.

Nuskiapsł: 1—Supernatural being presiding over the Land of Ashes.
2—Locality on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, not far from the head.

Nuskmata: Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tsasisi* in the beginning of time.

Nuskmidjusta: Axe carried in the beginning of time by the man who was later turned to stone as Mount *Nusqalst*.

Nuskmaał: Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tsasisi* in the beginning of time.

Nu-clahkomp: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story. [825]

nuskgla: Wasps' nest.

Nusłmalxhlaa: One of the first women to settle at *Snulali* in the beginning of time.

nuskamnatsta: House in which a memorial potlatch is being held.

Nus-litam: Mountain on south side of lower Bella Coola.

Nuskmqaxmilam, "The Cherished One": Designation applied to one of the sons of *Alquntam*.

nuskmta: House in which a potlatch is taking place.

nuskmp: One who has gone to give potlatches in a new sphere; this rhetorical expression is commonly used when referring to a dead chief. [195]

nuskłata: Wash-basin used by a shaman when curing.

Nuskłatsimidjut, "He Whose Wash-Basin Is in His Own Body": One of *Tłinapliłtx-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans. [756]

nuskmnalsta: Enclosure behind fire in which *kusiut* dancers are secluded.

nusifamta: Cleansing rites in connection with death. [764]

Nuskmalimp: *Tłaiyaltam* name acquired by a Kimsquit man as a result of a supernatural experience.

Nusmalkumaī: 1—Eagle that perched on a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time.
2—Name, derived from that of the eagle, of one of the first men to settle at *Asnas* in the beginning of time.

Nusmat-a: 1—"Place of Stories": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.

Nusmat-aiox-a, "Woman of *Nusmat-a*": Probably wife of *Alquntam*.

Nus-mailais: Mountain on north side of lower Bella Coola.

Nusmatlimais: Subterranean chamber in which rivers were confined in the beginning of time. [772]

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[illegible]*usnánnykt:* Area around a spring near *Nalhau.*
[198] *nusnútsta:* Chamber-vessel in the language of supernatural beings.
Nusnúsita: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Nuspskunsta, "Place of Meeting": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nuspaxta Smaiaikila, "The Peace-Giving *Smaiaikila*": Designation of the supreme god with reference to the function of peace.
Nusqaps: Skeena River.
Nusqápts, "Place of Many Spring Salmon": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
nusqalst-a: 1—Chamber-vessel.
2—Nickname of a Kimsquit child.
Nusqalst, "Place of *Sqalst*": 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Mountain, the loftiest in the Bella Coola valley, near the village.
Nusqalt: tstámy village.
nusqádjat: Kusiotem rite in which the performer pretends to have his stomach cut.
nusqilbutsax: Person fastened to the ground with roots.
[826] *nusqa:* Person suffering from umbilical hernia.
nus'qadjunmsta: Appurtenances for washing given by the donor of a potlatch to his guests.
[431] *Nusqalxwaista:* House of the supreme god during the winter dances of the supernatural beings.
[825] *nusqwal:* 1—One of the *a'alk* dances.
2—Yearling mountain goat.
3—Man dwelling in *Qomoqwa's* house.
nusqwalxi: The alleged attraction of the spirit of an uninitiated person to a performer in the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place.
Nusqwalxwaista: Variant of *Nusqalxwaista.*
Nusqwalxwalmikt Noalqmm: Supernatural dancer who comes in *Noalqmm's* canoe.
[198] *Nusqwalaix,* "Kingfisher," in the language of supernatural beings: Ancestral name of a herald who came down to the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Nusqwatlnaista, "The Making Place" (with reference to *qwatlnasta*): One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nusqwaxlāw-i: 1—Man mentioned in an ancient story of Green Bay.
2—Man mentioned in an ancient story of *Stuie.*
[825] *Nusq'wlos:* Supernatural merry-maker or clown.
nusqwchat: The annual scattering of birds by the supreme god in the land above.
Nusqal: Locality near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.
[583] *nusqwatsanmsta,* "Washing Appurtenances": Term applied to presents given to a husband by his wife's relatives when rebuying her.
Nushlsta: Locality near *Stuie.*
[431] *nushxamāla,* "Ground Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate *sisaok* initiates with regard to the ground over which they will dance, or
[556] chiefs to the ground over which they will tread.
[431] *nushxamlsta,* "Seat Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate the seat of a chief or of a *sisaok* dancer.
Nushlixp: Herald of *Smaaux* in the beginning of time.
Nushmntamsta, "Place Where People Were Made": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nushlmqs: Carpenter.
nushqwasmāt-a: Smear of red paint.

[illegible], "The Warrior": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago. [192*]
[illegible]: Women's verbal quarrels about prestige. [598]
[illegible]: 1—Barren district above Green Bay.
2—Evil, adjective.
[illegible]: *Tal'io* bird hunter.
[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tal'io* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqalxal* in the beginning of time. [772]
3—Ball of the universe which, when broken, released the sun.
[illegible]: Daughter of the first settlers at *Alqalxal* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: 1—(Probably) "The Place of Barrenness": Village at Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Repository, archaic term.
[illegible]: The assumption of a name upon earth. [431]
[illegible], "Things to Sweep the Floor With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage. [585]
[illegible]: Wooden dish used for washing an infant. [415]
[illegible]: Abstinence from acts of an unclean nature after the taking of a powerful medicine. [785]
[illegible]: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and casts into a patient. [756]
[illegible]: Name of a celebrated shaman.
[illegible]: Bella Bella village and undefined area in the vicinity.
[illegible], "Canyon": 1—Dean River.
2—Village on the lower Dean River.
[illegible]: Alteration of a dance from *sisaok* to *kusiut*. [825]
[illegible]: Bone in the back of a salmon's neck.
[illegible], "A Drying-Up with Fire": Expression used for the ceremony held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband. [586]
[illegible]: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion. [431]
[illegible], "Place Where There Are No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Totem-pole of the first settlers at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time. [845]
[illegible]: Parents of twins.
[illegible]: Wolf. [825]
[illegible]: Mythical house in the sky.
[illegible]: One of the names of the supreme god's house.
[illegible]: Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *[illegible]* to a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *[illegible]*. [756]
[illegible]: A creation of new *kusiut* names, such as is necessitated by a disaster or at the will of a mighty chief. [553]
[illegible]: *Kusiutem* rite in which the performer pretends to swallow hot stones.
[illegible]: 1—"A Throwing Off": Term used with reference to presents given to heralds by a person splashed in Otter dance. [431]
2—Presents given by guests at a potlatch to their host and his associates.
[illegible], "The Face Maker": Name given to a woman who paints upon the bandages used to produce cranial deformation in an infant. [856]
[illegible], "Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": Kimsquit village.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a *[illegible]* man.

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#192 [illegible]: Synonym for quem·ti, the large cone-shaped wood whistle.
[534] *[illegible]*: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
[illegible]: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
[illegible], "Nearest River": River flowing from the north into the northern corner of the head of North Bentinck Arm. The Anglicized form is [illegible].
*[103]
[823] [illegible]: Stone supernaturally born from another at sea level.
[illegible]: [illegible] village.
[illegible], "The Mother of Dogs": Name given to a Bella Bella woman in an ancient story.
Nuxalk: Bella Coola valley.
[101] *Nuxalkmx*: Inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuic* man.
[illegible]: Name of a female composer.
[illegible], "The Light Giver": One of the names of the supreme god.
[illegible]: Light.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
[illegible]: *[illegible]* name of a Kimsquit man.
[illegible], "Stick-Breaker": Name taken by daughter of the first settlers at *Stuic* in the beginning of time.
[825] [illegible]: Mountain goat with long hair on its chin.
[illegible], "The Silent Night": The hushed assemblage of *kukusiut* after departure of a Cannibal.
[227] [illegible]: Cross-piece which holds open mouth of olachen net.
[illegible]: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
[585] [425] [illegible]: Public promise by the parents of bride and bridegroom on the wedding night that names will be provided for resultant children. This is combined with an oration of origin myths. The term is also used for a similar promise of rights to hunting grounds, although the granting of this is automatic.
[828] *[illegible]*: Mountain near *Stuic*.
[illegible]: Person who wanders away from home in despondency.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Land of salmon.

O

[illegible]: Kimsquit term for [illegible], archaic.
[824] '[illegible]': Kwatna lad mentioned in an ancient story.
[262] [illegible]: Grass with edible roots growing on tide-flats.
[illegible]: Valley pre-empted by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Herald who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: 1—The *kusiut* prerogative of scratching.
2—Bad, adjective.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuic* man.
[illegible], "The Worthless One": Name assumed by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[825] [illegible], "The One that Changes Itself": Supernatural name of spring salmon.
[264] '[illegible]': Assemblage of the people for food of any kind.

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[illegible]: Goods obtained by a man's own exertions and forming the nucleus of his wealth for a potlatch. [556]

[illegible], *plural*, [illegible]: *Kusiut* patron.

O'[illegible]: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

O'[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at *Stuic* in the beginning of time.

O'[illegible]: Son of Raven in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Sitkiál* in the beginning of time
3—One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Talio* woman who died about 1915.

'[illegible]: *sutamy* village.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola *kusiutem* dancer.

[illegible]: 1—Ancestral name of a *Snuleli* man.
2—Celebrated Kimsquit hunter.

'[illegible]: Any non-sacred rite, especially an *a'alk* dance held subsequent to the *kusiut* season.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit *kusiutem* dancer.

[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: The taking of food to another tribe for ceremonious bestowal.

[illegible]: Supernatural being who sleeps perpetually, literally, "The Sleepy One."

[illegible]: 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Celebrated Bella Coola warrior. [824]

o'qol: Skunk cabbage.

[illegible]: Supernatural being, herald of *Alquntäm*.

[illegible]: The steeping of *cuted* novices in smoke, this being the final rite of initiation.

[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Sitkiál* in the beginning of time. [226]

[illegible]: Temporary fish-dam of interlocked branches.

[illegible]: Small mountain on south side of the Bella Coola valley behind [illegible].

O-[illegible]: Place near *Stuic*.

'[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: The leading across of a bride to a groom during a wedding. [585]

[illegible]: Hereditary tendency.

[illegible]: One made sick by salmon, especially a woman who suffers from this cause through disregard of adolescence taboos. [827]

[illegible]: Variety of dog salmon found at Bella Bella. [784]

[illegible]: Conferring of ancestral names at a potlatch. [825]

[illegible]: The performance of a *kusiut* dance with supernatural dog salmon as patron.

[illegible], "Treeless Place": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

[illegible]: Distribution of strips of mountain goat skin at marriage. [585]

[illegible]: "Where are you going?"

[illegible], "Lake-Swallower": A mythical monster.

[illegible]: First night of a potlatch. [601]

[illegible]: Third oldest brother or sister.

[illegible]: Name of Mink as chief.

O-[illegible]: One of the names of the supreme god.

[illegible]: Celebrated *Wasyal'a* warrior.

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otsalta: Promontory on hunting ground extending into ocean.
Oalsaw-i: Kimsquit fisherman.
Oasbi: Calvert Island.
Oqᵋaxem: Synonym for *Xemaxmálstá*, one of the nine supernatural siblings.

P

[415] *pai·c:* Small wooden dish.
Pálsat: Legless messenger of the dead.
Pa·s: Place on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
[585] *pántam:* Synonym for *nupácsikal·am:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day.
[431] They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.
Patsátsa: Ancestral name of a *Nusqalst* man.
[412] *patsalta:* Bone needle.
pátsila: Anything powerful and dreaded; the word is frequently applied, rhetorically, to Cannibals.
Pe·sds: Small stream rising north of the Bella Coola valley and east of the Necleetsconnay; it flows into the head of South Bentinck Arm between the Necleetsconnay and the Bella Coola.
Piqutis: Bella Coola man figuring in a story.
pilat: Herring scales.
ponasta: Dance-apron.
[825] *Ponphila:* One of the first men to settle at *Snulall* in the beginning of time.
pkaw·: Mosquito.
Ponpaltstalmat: Name assumed by *Smaun* in the beginning of time.
po·qmais: Variety of *smmq*.
Pothu: Celebrated Bella Coola chief who died about 1880.
Po·lds: Moustache Nose, the point between Labouchere Channel and North Bentinck Arm.
[824] *putsql:* False hellebore.
[411] *palsta:* Bow, weapon.
paytsp, "Fallen Heavily with a Crash," as when a dead tree thunders to earth: The term is used rhetorically when referring to the death of an old and influential chief.
[195]
[372] *psaial:* Tree, probably birch, used for torches.
psltam: Meeting of chiefs.
[825] *psai:* Halibut.
pa': Crabapple.
[824] *psuls:* Bunchberry.

Q

[525] *Qa'aklis:* Rivers Inlet man, living in the last century.
qai: King stick in a gambling game.
qainanqwalal: Women's droning cry uttered at the appearance of a masked dancer.
qai-mays: Uncommon term for the second day of a *kusiut* dance, applied to the rites taking place during the day itself only.
Qaiya: Name conferred on the grandson of *Smaun* in the beginning of time.
Qak'lis: Man mentioned in a story.
Qálmu: 1—One of the first women to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
2—Celebrated Bella Bella chief.

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[illegible]: Omen of death, generic term.
[illegible]: One of the berries, probably raspberry. [787]
[illegible], *vocative*, *qämao:* Mother, term used by child.
[illegible]: Celebrated Carrier chief. [824]
[illegible]: 1—Village on west bank of the Necleetsconnay, about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. [601]
2—Mountain behind the village.
[illegible]: *am'lel*-a name of a Kimsquit man.
[illegible], *vocative*, *qämxämilao:* 1—Term used for spring salmon during the ritual following the first taking of the fish. [825]
2—Term used by *smmq* to human beings, who are like salmon to them.
3—Salmon, in the language of supernatural beings. [198]
[illegible], "Rope Fastenings," i.e., something binding: The function of the "Bed Covering" and other presents given with a wife which bind her to her husband. [585]
[illegible]: Unidentified species of duck. [431]
[illegible]: Kwakiutl term for "The Weeper," a female supernatural being.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuux* man. [825]
[illegible]: *ustämz* chief living soon after the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Herald who came with the first settlers to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Carrier pronunciation of *Tcafos*, one of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* with ability to produce a puppet-patron, cf. *nnnuyaxmm*.
[illegible]: Sweat-bath. [515]
[illegible]: Slave mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Star-fish. [825]
[illegible]: Rabbit.
[illegible]: Salmon-berry. [824]
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Unidentified plant. [825]
[illegible]: Black cod.
[illegible], "A Wiping of the Feet upon the Ground of Chiefs": Term applied to a deadly insult offered to persons of importance. [578]
[illegible]: Wooden armour. [714]
[illegible]: 1—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.
2—Island off Rivers Inlet.
3—Island.
[illegible]: One of the names of Raven as chief.
[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Siskiutl* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuux* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Unidentified migratory bird, black in colour. [825]
[illegible]: Scratch River, near Bella Bella.
[illegible]: One of the *s'alk* dances.
[illegible], "Head": *Stuux* repository named from part of a supernatural creature. [578]
[illegible]: A verbal exposure of what should have remained concealed, such as comments upon the slave ancestry of a person whose blot in this respect has been covered over by lavish giving. [431]
[illegible]: Presents distributed by a wife to strengthen her husband's seat, and thus prevent him from "wobbling." [556]

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qmāthnelp: The dancing, by several of his associates, to "help" a *kusiut* performer.

Q̇numl: Undefined locality in the Bella Bella area.

Q̇o: Mountain above *Stuux.*

[777] *qokān·i:* Supernatural bird, bringer of good luck.

[825] *Q̇olbaiutl:* Locality near the head of Dean Channel.

qolon: 1—Beaver.
2—*Nusāxkāmx* name of a Kimsquit man.

Qolosti: Man mentioned in a song.

Qolliaohmx: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuux* man with prerogative of biting himself.

qolulik: The location in a house taken by a wife when ceremonially seated behind her husband.

Qolxwaliotl: Influential *Nusq̇alst* chief who died about 1910.

Q̇omāmakwala: Ancestral name of a *Stuux* chief; the designation may be of Kwakiutl origin.

Qomcua: 1—One of the nine supernatural beings.
2—White person.
3—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.

q̇omniq̇xwl: Clean, dry skull.

q̇omoqmai·s: Stump, in the language of Raven.

Q̇omoqma: 1—Supernatural being, lord of the under-sea world.
2—Ancestral name of a *Q̇omqo·ts* man.

Qomo'sala: Man living in Bella Bella in early times.

Q̇omotla: Ancestral name of a *Tcamotl* woman.

[534] *qomo·ts:* Large, cone-shaped whistle used in *susaok* rites.

Q̇omqo·ts, "Salty?": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

q̇opai: To drift over, of smoke.

Q̇opmṗmān·a: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Stuux* in the beginning of time.

[252] *q̇opsta:* Framework of split sticks for toasting salmon.

q̇opta: Drum.

[534] *Q̇oq̇mai:* One of the first men to settle at *Nusq̇alst* in the beginning of time.

Q̇oqoyel: Bella Bella village.

qosa: Kwakiutl term for "eagle down" presents.

qotlum: Third day of a *kusiut* dance.

Q̇otlnālas: Harbour on Labouchere Channel.

Q̇otlnalos: Settlement in the Carrier country.

[581] *qoisekum,* "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud.

[825] *qotsik:* Wolverine.

qoisliisis dimnes, "A Washing to Free from Taint": Term applied to a ceremony to clear the path of the children when a husband has married a slave wife or *vice versa.* [567]

Q̇owi: 1—One of the names of Raven as chief.
2—*Tlaiyākam* name of a Kimsquit man.
3—*Susaok* name of a Kimsquit man.

Q̇oxltanaa: Supernatural woman from whom the Carpenters are said to have derived their skill in the beginning of time.

Qoxolān·i: 1—*Kusiut* name of a *Tcamotl* man.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.

[825] *qoxox:* White swan.

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qasta, "Bed Covering": Term applied to the presents given as such to the party of a bridegroom when they enter the bride's house on a wedding day. [585]

q̇ʼʼāmdjut, "A Shaking of the Fingers": Rhetorical allusion to presents regarded as "Dust." [431]

q̇pändliktmm: To revolve sunwise. [195]

Q̇panpändliktmmlaix, "The One Who Revolves Sunwise to Give Strength": One of *Tlitcāplilān·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Q̇papalxs: Place of petrified power near Kwatna. [778]

Qsxman: Village on the Skeena River.

q̇taisetl: Supernatural creature resembling a diminutive human being. [825]

qubetl: Salmon liver.

q̇uks: Co-wife in a polygynous household. [595]

qulwas, *vocative*, *quluais:* Wife's brother, or sister's husband, man speaking.

qulxwaix: Gathering of the supernatural beings for the performance of dances in the land above. [601]

quma: Unidentified salt water fish, said to be called "Land-fish" by white men. [825]

Qunqwmm ul di dā Sqem, "The Unlooser of Light": One of Raven's names as chief.

q̇upstāmm: 1—The ability of a chief to sit down ceremonially in virtue of the goods distributed for his seat, the ground over which he walks, and other requirements.
2—The initial establishment of a youth as chief.

q̇uputsālets: Stone axe. [412]

q̇us: Period of engagement.

Qwahila: *Qomqo·ts* man.

Qwai·lils: 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Qwaiutsamlaix: *Stuix* man mentioned in an ancient story.

Qwaixosān·i: Shaman's name of a *Stuix* woman.

Qwaixwos, "Begrimed": Name of a copper often cast into fire.

qwalās: Unidentified (and probably mythical) type of lizard, allegedly about four feet long, found near Dean Channel. [825]

q̇walem, *vocative*, *q̇walām*; *plural*, *ālq̇walām:* Eldest brother or sister. [601]

Qwa'lems: Name, in the Bella Bella language, given to a wooden woman made by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

qwaliik: Gull. [825]

q̇wal'me'kus, "Eldest": Term of respectful address to Porcupine as senior of all animals.

Qwalxwalalim, "The Mover": Name given to their house by one of the first groups of settlers at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.

Qwalna: Term from which the Anglicized "Kwatna" is derived: Generic name for the villages at Kwatna Harbour, Burke Channel. [103]*

Qwamana'kus: Chief living on the upper *Tcawat* in the beginning of time.

qwanā·xsta: Large box used for boiling olachen. [415]

Qwapx: Village south-west of the head of South Bentinck Arm.

Qwaqmai: Place on Schooner Pass.

Qwaqwasila: *Sisaok* name of a Bella Coola man.

q̇watlnaham: Marks made to commemorate an event, such as carvings at chiefs' meeting-place, virtually a *memorial*. [211]

q̇watlnusam: Figure representing crest.

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*[773] *q̣watlnusta:* 1—Tally post, one of the supernatural elements possessed by all human beings.

[777] 2—Invisible supernatural element which constantly moves before the face.

q̣watlᵼnta; vocative, q̣watlᵼntao, (rarely, *q̣walᵼnta*)*:* Crest.

[825] *qwax:* Raven.

q̣wax: Big old male mountain goat.

Q̣waxila: Q̣omqo·ts man living in the last century.

Q̣waxliałis: Celebrated Kwakiutl chief.

Q̣waxqwax·wamm: Name of a shaman who received his power from Raven.

[601] *Q̣warwats:* One of the first men to settle at *Stuıx* in the beginning of time.

qwarwam: Fourth oldest, or youngest, brother or sister.

qwa'yalaks: Steller's jay.

Q̣wakutl: Kimsquit woman.

[825] *q̣wana:* Woman's pubic hair.

q̣wata: Sea-lion cub.

[431] *q̣wem:* Those who are present and receive gifts when an announcement of a marriage is first made.

Q̣weta: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

qwia·x'sem: A revelation, such as the sight of a supernatural being or object usually concealed.

[825] *q̣wilais:* Yearling seal.

q̣wimap: Word used in inviting to a marriage announcement.

Q̣winao: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Q̣wiqwaxaowa: Kwakiutl supernatural being, said to be identical with *Älquntäm.*

Q̣wixlökilakʷ: Nusqwal name of a Kimsquit man.

Q̣wiyai: Bella Bella village west of Namu.

Q̣wl: Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.

Q̣wlaiyu: Professional female marriage droner who came down to Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Q̣wlaxwoa: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

Q̣wliutl, "Place of Herbage": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.

q̣wnta: Inspiration, in the sense of the source of a *kusiut* dancer's power of thought.

[583] *Q̣wosalk:* Village west of Kwatna, settled in the beginning of time.

qwoxlaxdjut: Actual goods used for the repurchase of a wife.

[854] *Q̣woyusditsus:* Ancestral name of a Kimsquit chief.

q̣wtutl: Cradle.

Q̣wu'nük': Kusiut name of a Bella Coola woman.

Q̣wun·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[581] *q̣ʷxlln:* The noble and rightful sentiments engendered in both families by an elaborate marriage, either real or fictitious. The word embodies the concepts of financial interdependence and of consequent mutual strength.

[195] *q̣xwakim:* The transference of activities to a new sphere; the term is used, rhetorically, when referring to the death of a skilled craftsman.

S

saiḳs: 1—Skeleton.

2—Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Saikwaio·sam: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

sai·mis p̓lälas: The constant blinking of the eyes.

Saiutl: Thunder, anthropomorphized. 192
Saiynäs: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. [821]
sälälsi: Historical account; the term does not include ancestral myths or other personal property. [173]
sa·lkälstmm: 1—Food distributed by the donor of a *kusiut* dance; the term is also applied to presents given instead of food. [431]
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal. [25]
sa·lpsta: Cannibalistic incubus.
sa·lpstmm: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day. [585]
sälisktkdimut: Profession of *kusiut* executioner. [431]
salukwalts: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him. [463]
säml: Sockeye salmon. [825]
Sänailpmulelts Alquntäm: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Sanunusmmlaix: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of scratching in the land above.
Sänutlkm or *Sänutlkmdimut:* One of the names of Mount *Nusqalst* as chief.
Sännximäxots, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
3—A celebrated Bella Coola hunter and chief.
sätix; vocative, sätäi; vocative plural, sätixwa·ks: Comrade, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
sä·tla: Spoon-shaped river canoe.
Sätlia: Village at point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
Sätlyenuts: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
Sä·lma: Death, anthropomorphized. [761]
salolts: Whetstone, *archaic.*
Sä·tsk': 1—Kimsquit River. [412]
2—Village near the mouth of the river.
Sä·tskamp: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley. [101]
satskwal·a: Raft.
Sä·tlamnän·i: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
sawa: Pillow. [573]
sawadjut, "Pillowness": *Kusiut* ceremonial at which no call is present.
sazi, vocative, sazinaa: Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family. [601]
Sazinaa: Proper name of a youngest brother mentioned in an ancient story.
säxkam: Bracken. [824]
säxwänos: Tide flats.
sakdjulk: Heart. [823]
Salwalosam: That part of *Song*ʷ' which did not fall in the crash at the beginning of time.
Samhatl: Village on Rivers Inlet.
Samsiutän·i: Part of a peculiar repository.
samsamlkdimut, "Like Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably steelhead salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
sa'mtsta, "Resting Place": Limit of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this. [805]
sankwolsäm: Leader of musicians. [821]

sa·quo·t: String figure.
Saskwanuts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] ***sdjidji'is:*** Movable box-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Sekakmān·a: 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] ***sekilaxt:*** Rock crystal used in *kusiut* initiation rites.
sekima siālamkek: River net for salmon.
[822] ***Setsalānl:*** Echo.
Sexsexpālaix: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Sexsaxqwalpelaoslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of *Tlitcāplilān·a's* names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
Siālxelāx: Ancestral name created on earth by a *Qomqo·ts* man.
[805] ***Siaqam,*** "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
[825] ***sidāxsn:*** One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
[805] ***Sidakaos di Ānoˀlikwolsaix,*** "The Coming of *Ānoˀlikwolsaix*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
siratla: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] ***Si'islalitl,*** "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Si'iswai·stl, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon": Third moon after the summer solstice.
[584] ***si'itlliukek:*** Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of marriage is broached.
[431] ***si'ipikm,*** "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] ***Sismt,*** "Sits Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] ***Sisāml,*** "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Sikālamtak, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
[104] ***siki,*** "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *kusiut* and *susaok* rites.
Sikilikmm: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] ***Sipuly,*** "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sikwalxwlekx: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Sikwaldjut: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
Sikmm: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
Silias: Celebrated composer.
[226] ***siltmaq:*** Salmon-weir.
sinaxpme'ax: *Susaok* head-dress.
[827] ***sininits:*** Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
[761] ***si·nipodjoxstmax:*** Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
Simptcus: Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[805] ***Sinamwak,*** "Time for the Use of Olachen Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
[726] ***Sinulkemitl,*** "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Sinunukālālum: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

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Sinuxtl: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

Sinuximātl: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Siuux* repository derived from a supernatural creature.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sio°msta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative of imitating coitus. [424]

sipālxālosuts: Song sung by a *kusiotem* dancer on recovery from apparent death.

sipkim: Regular beatings given to a male child. [861]

Siqālxam, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

Siqalusnām: Rain after storm, anthropomorphized. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]

Siqulxwaix di Siut, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

siqwaldjut: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances. [626]

siqusek: Outright bestowal of a prerogative at marriage. [425]

sisusts: Departure to a new locality.

sisi, *vocative*, *sisai:* Father's brother or mother's brother. [601]

sisut: Paddle.

sisutsta: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places. [501]

Sillimsta: One of the names of the supreme god. [778]

Sitlliuq': Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

siut, *vocative*, *siaot:* 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being, "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for *qomo·ts*, the large *susaok* whistle.
4—Killer whale. [825]
5—Song.
6—*Kusiut* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Siutan·i: Part of a peculiar repository.

Siutamkila: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior. [533]

siutnālos: Wordless chorus.

Siwal·as, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

Siwid: Celebrated *Djāldāmx* chief living in the last century.

siuliktam: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a despondent person. [828]
2—Individual making such a journey. [484]

Sixman·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sixsān·imutsta: Place where healing power is petrified.

Sixsinxwtnam: Synonym for *Mulakila*, the supernatural being connected with *susaok* rites.

sixwismaq: *Kusiut* dance or object used in the land above which serves as pattern or model, *ānānuskx*, for the user's protégé on earth.

sixwopāxkmak: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public announcement of a forthcoming marriage. [584]

sixwotl: Unmarried mother. [848]

siyeutla: To perform the services of a herald to a master, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *sieutla* may be connected with this.

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siχe: Supernatural good luck.
[821] *sıknoás:* Fog.
[825] *sıku':* Pack-rat.
[828] *sık:* Mind or mentality.
sıłpan: Place of lucky finds, such as a point where whales drift ashore.
sılxotleáltma: Cannibal recently returned from the land above.
Sılislan·i: One of the first women to settle at *Sätlia* in the beginning of time.
sımd: Mountain.
[825] *sımlk* or *sımlkets:* Salmon, generic form.
sımqımnikdas: (Probably) viscera of an animal, *archaic.*
Sımsiutaäkus: One of the first women to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[173] *sımsma:* Story, i.e., a legend which, lacking sociological significance, can be related by anyone.
Sımtus: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Sınk'lusam: Bella Coola chief.
[822] *Sındiominit:* Darkness, anthropomorphized.
[828] *sınqus:* Anger.
sınx: Sun.
Sınxäkila: 1—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
2—Name received by one of the first settlers at *Älqläxl* in the beginning of time.
Sınxälotla: 1—"The Light Maker": Name of the supreme god with reference to his control of the sun.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
3—*A'alk* name of a Kimsquit man.
4—*Sısaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
Sınxan·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Bella Coola woman.
[827] *sınxkt:* Mucus.
Sınxl, "Sunny": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
sıqwlaiäk: Game played with miniature spears.
[575] *sısaok:* 1—Society intimately connected with chiefs.
2—Member of the society.
sısintl: Supernatural creature somewhat resembling a double-headed salmon.
Sısınxakila: Shaman's name of a *Sınxl* woman.
sıskiek': Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Tłitcäpliłän·a* to the one favoured.
[601] *sısksem:* Father's sister or mother's sister (in either direct or indirect address).
[583] *sısmunlta:* The ceremonial strength acquired by a child through the repurchase of its mother.
[431] *sısqo·si:* Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] *sıspınk':* Western dock (plant).
[824] *sısxwatmalslp:* Snowberry.
sıxsınqaiinu: Distribution of carpentry tasks prior to a potlatch.
sıxmmsta, "Food Supply": Synonym for *sol'elam*, ancestral hunting-ground.
[825] *skälk*ʷ*:* Porcupine.
[824] *skäl·uts:* Black huckleberry.
[821] *skälutslaix:* Eye-lashes of the supreme god, i.e., sunbeams.

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skalk': Devil's-club.
skalnamadits: To lament ceremonially, the term used to describe the reason for a memorial potlatch. [824]
Skaml, "Ashes": Ancestral name created for a *Snulali* chief about 1910. [765]
skamtsk: Supernatural creature dwelling in water.
skap: Anus.
skanm: Splinters projecting upwards from the bole of a broken tree-trunk. [824]
Skamolsxman·a: One of the first women to settle at *Snulali* in the beginning of time.
Skatpts: Chief of the spring salmon.
skatsamkm: Narrow strips of goat skin with wool attached, distributed at marriage. [585]
skelixts: Merganser. [825]
skekwadjut, "The Opening": Ceremony when the first public presents are given to the family of a future wife, following the announcement of betrothal. [584]
ski: To cure, especially with the aid of a frenzied beating of sticks. [431]
Skimutcitl: *Stuux* man mentioned in an ancient story.
skimap, "Cure Ye!": Call of invitation to a *kusiut* dance in the upper Bella Coola valley.
skinwas: Cloud.
skma: Thick hide, either of moose or caribou. [825]
skma: Semi-circular knife used by women for cutting salmon. [412]
skmaix, ***skmanl***, or ***skmdjut***: 1—Frenzied beating of sticks for curing purposes, especially when the patient is a member of a secret society. [755]
2—Final *kusiut* rite at end of the ceremonial season.
skmim: To cure by means of the frenzied pounding of sticks.
Skml, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log": *a'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
Skmnanl: House used by a group of first settlers near *Stuux* in the beginning of time.
Skmnulan·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
sku'tcalx: Fungus. [824]
skulsmaiaxta: 1—Box made of strands of cedar-bark.
2—Ancient name of *ssaok* head-dress. [415]
skux: Ceremonial designs executed on the exterior front wall of a house.
skobk': Rose.
Skolikwan·a: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
skotl: Wasp. [825]
Skalsemmnsta: Rock on shore of North Bentinck Arm where war trophies were washed. [727]
Skqwalutl: Name of house brought down by first settlers at *Siskiutl* in the beginning of time; the term was also applied by them to one of their female relatives.
gksi, *vocative*, ***gksai***: Parent-in-law or child-in-law. [601]
sklap: Suitable place in the river for setting olachen nets.
sklsa: Game played with throwing stones.
skusiut: Synonym for *yeaxmax*, the tangible or intangible prerogative possessed by some *kukusiut* in addition to a dance rite. [424]
skwaakwa: River sculpin. [825]

[765] *skwanät:* 1—Memorial potlatch.
2—Mourning song.
3—The wailing of mourners at a grave.

[763] *Skwanät·än·ä*, "The Weeper": Female supernatural being whose appearance indicates the death of a chief.

skwanätänkusaix: Professional *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the right to sing of *Snitsmän·a* during *kusiutem* dances.

skwatsta: Name.

Skwo·ts: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

[824] *Sla·kl:* Whitewater River, the southern fork of the Bella Coola.

slaos: Long grass suitable for pasturage.

[252] *slåqpk'i:* Smoked spring salmon with the bone removed.

slåxkt: Many, *adjective.*

[554] *slåxmidjut*, "The One with Many Descendants": Term used to describe an elderly man with many children and grandchildren.

Sla·: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[601] *sleli:* Game, resembling a tug-of-war, played with wooden loops and spears.

slemts, *vocative*, *slemtsakais:* Grandchild; the vocative indicates endearment.

[578] *slexwanix:* The deposition of eagle down on the heads of those quarrelling to pacify them.

sli·x: Gall bladder.

sloptsta: 1—Breathing.
2—Sound of a *nsaak* whistle, referred to as the breathing of *Mulakila.*

sluk': Olachen grease.

[778] *Sluxlekwaily:* 1—Ancient village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
2—Place of petrified power at site of ancient village.
3—Semi-anthropomorphized being responsible for power in this locality.

Slilim: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of every river.

slkumsta: The voice.

[824] *slkuml:* Dried elderberries.

slukwala: 1—Shaman-like power, as brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
[821] 2—Bella Coola woman.

slulpm: Eclipse.

[424] *slwosamlikw':* 1—One who keeps in touch with a concealed Cannibal.
2—One who has the inherited right to assist *kusiut* or *nsaak* dancers; this prerogative occurs in Kimsquit only.

Smaiaikila: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaialotla: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaien·a: 1—Synonym for *Sluxlekwaily*, q.v.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

[424] *smaiusta:* A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first people in the beginning of time.

småmåtstunelp: Debris from cones eaten by squirrels.

Smasan, "The First": One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Smasarek: Man mentioned in an origin myth of a southern locality.

smät·ung, *vocative*, *smät·ämp:* Friends.

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smā·d: A place of petrified power, i.e., a locality where a supernatural being has been rendered incapable of moving. [778]

smal ās stmatsa, "Petrified Name": Designation brought from above in the beginning of time.

sma·ks: 1—Mussel. [825]

2—Freshwater mussel.

smasmamals: One of the thrushes.

smaqāmāts: An animal, especially a bear, showing a kindly disposition towards man.

Snākak: Āxān-ām-i man mentioned in an ancient story.

snānik': 1—Gum.

2—Name of son made by Raven in the beginning of time.

snāq: Slave.

Snaphāhila: One of the first men to settle at *Sātla* in the beginning of time.

snāxom: Visionary receiving power direct from the supreme god.

sniāndimqs: Worm or larva living under the ocean.

Snianlikmao-a: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.

Snīnia: Supernatural being who holds earth in position.

Snitsmān-a: Supernatural woman who restores those who suffer misfortune in the performance of *kusiut* rites.

Snumlkaⁿhs: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman; it was obtained at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.

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snmq: 1—Mythical monster.

2—Man living at Kimsquit in early times.

snmqas di sonqʷdai: Posts of the sun, the barriers which cause it to retrace its course at the solstices. [821]

snmqas ma snmāts: Variety of *snmq* living above tree line.

Snuqmalmhaista: Stealer of thoughts, an invisible barrier within the door which prevents a man from carrying out a potlatch by robbing him of his good intentions. The concept is anthropomorphized as a supernatural being. [828]

Sna-abādāy: Island south-west of Bella Bella.

Sno'alnāts Ālquntām: Deer son of the supreme god.

Sno'aniqmuly, "On the Point": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Snaqalhqs: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

sna'aiqms: Ceremonial collar of hemlock-bark, dyed cedar-bark, and undyed cedar-bark such as is given to *Thiaqpālān-a.* The word may refer to the throwing of this on the fire.

snadaat'ak: Unidentified berry. [824]

snaktāmāls: Top used by one of the sons of the supreme god.

Snakilmāls: Supernatural being resident above who has the power of causing things to curl up and come to him.

snakimāq: Part of house behind fire. [824]

snahdlath: Unidentified plant.

snalikamāl: Piece of wood, rolled hard and smooth in a landslide.

Snakumimatik: Chief of supernatural singers who accompany *Nuthqnum.*

snalwanāk: Twin.

Snalqalqāls: 1—Cannibalistic supernatural woman, formerly resident in the supreme god's house.

2—Old woman resident in *Qomoqua's* house.

Snumna-hnar: Locality containing repository of name received from Death.

Snupā·γ': Affluent of the middle Bella Coola.
Snufuaix: Kimsquit woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Snuqwaxwāls: 1—Copper Raven that perched on house of first settlers at *Ālqālaxl* in the beginning of time.
2—Name given to the Raven design used by the first settlers at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
snusaiks: Skeleton. The word is obviously a derivative of *saiks.*
Snusilkāls: 1—"The Wise One": One of the more important supernatural beings.
2—Ancestral name of a *Tcamatl* man
Snusmkāls: Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Ālqālaxl,* probably a supernatural designation.
Snusmikānk': Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Ālqālaxl,* probably a supernatural designation.
[374] *Snuskeluts,* Cold: A supernatural being.
Snuslaxmai, "The Mystery of *Ālquntām*": The place where the supreme god puts what he wishes to conceal, such as the correct solution of the Mystery dance. The concept is semi-anthropomorphized.
snusx: Generic name for several supernatural animals.
snuspndjān·a: Right front corner of a house on entering.
Snurari: Pronunciation of *Snulali* by a man with idiosyncratic *r* usage.
Snulali, "Place of Dog Salmon": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
[765] *snutdānkn,* "A Shoring Up": Term used to describe the functions of mourning songs.
Snulkānāls, "Box": 1—One of the first women to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—Box in *Qomoqwa's* house.
3—Name of a *Tāl·io* man derived from the last.
Snule·tl, "Place of No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Snutlumx: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Snutqomikaista: Point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
[821] *snutsālātst:* Race of dwarfs, presumably mythical.
Snulsiaxmanem: Whirlwind, anthropomorphized.
[778] *Snulsilktāls:* Generic term for four supernatural, eagle-like creatures.
Snuwals: Place on South Bentinck Arm where curative power is localized.
snuparaldmut, "Bring Light": Call of invitation to a *kusiut* dance in the lower Bella Coola valley.
snupax·iāk: One who seeks embers.
Snummalhmān·a: One of the first women to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.
Snuxwnalāls: Name of first settlers at *Ālqālaxl* in the beginning of time.
Snuyaxlikman·a: Rivers Inlet name used by a Bella Coola *kusiut* woman.
[484] *solits:* Food carried for consumption on a journey; the term is also applied to the provender brought from above by the first people in the beginning of time.
sol'alam: Hunting-ground owned by an ancestral family.
Som: Woman mentioned in a song.
song$^{w'}$: see dā songx$^{w'}$ dā.
Sonxwatku: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxlax* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Sonxwan·a: One of the first women to settle at *Nuxlax* in the beginning of time.
[431] *sonxwndjut:* Synonym for *sqwatnals,* the preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch.

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Sonq'ʷmai: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuix* man.

Sopäss: *Kusiut* name of a *Tsimsiat* man.

sofalcäxmm: Scalp.

soqwalikt': Gnarled projection of wood from a birch knot. [824]

Spaixfaaxymnän-a: Supernatural being who wakens his fellows in the morning.

Spanbaälhnais: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

spänista: Temporary camping-place.

Spatcalkt, "The First Born": Name brought from Kitlobe to Kimsquit by a marriage in the beginning of time.

spalkl: Star.

sfalsm, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud. [581]

spependout: The forcing upwards of water at high tide, through openings in the rocks at sea-level. [823]

sfalkfalkmm: Person who pounds cedar-bark.

sfilkta: Tools for pounding cedar-bark, specifically the upper beater.

Sfifipinaw-i: Region on the east side of Dean Channel, about one mile from its head, where supernatural power is localized. [778]

Spi'anunsta: Island west of Namu.

spka: 1—Pudenda.
2—Variety of *smmq* with female organs. [824]

spacalkna: Unidentified berry.

S'fa', Cold Wind: A supernatural being. [821]

Sfskunsta: Meeting place of chiefs on rock ledge behind *Smpc-ts*; the term is probably applied to any meeting place of chiefs.

sfla: War-knife used by Raven in the beginning of time.

spaty: Olachen. [825]

spux: Eagle down.

spuxdjut, "Eagle Down-ness": Rhetorical reference to a present for which no return is expected. [431]

spuxpux: Long, delicate feathers on an eagle's breast. [825]

Spuxpuxhailaix: *Kusiut* name of a woman sent down near *Nusfalst* in the beginning of time.

Spuxpuxpa'mpalimut: *Sisauk* name of *Xusais* origin.

Spuxpuxta: *Sisauk* name of a Kimsquit woman.

sqil-a: Unidentified berry. [824]

sqalt: Alder wood, dead and dried. [825]

sqfts: Spring salmon which have spawned.

sqali: Hunting ability. The term usually refers to the ability of the supernatural artisans to hunt, i.e., to kill, human beings.

sfalst or sfalstaat: Stone, suitable for axes, found on Mount *Nusfalst*. The name of the mountain is said to be derived from this. [316]

spama: 1—Chest. [103]*
2—Smoke cure for diseases of the chest.

Spamt: Land of Ashes.

sfacnats: First proposal of marriage if made by relatives of the man. [584]

sfals: River sand mixed with small pebbles.

Spatrda: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola River. [823]

sfanm: Flood.

[824] *[illegible]*: Cedar roots.
[illegible]: Sling.
[578] *[illegible]*: To use a sling.
[illegible]: Term of opprobrium applied to a woman, signifying slave ancestry.
[821] *[illegible]*: Fleecy cloud.
[illegible]: Muzzle-like power which binds the mouth of a Cannibal against ordinary food.
[412] *[illegible]*: Wooden comb.
[illegible]: Land of Ashes, alternative term for *[illegible]*.
[illegible]: Umbilical hernia.
[601] *[illegible]*: Distant relative of female sex, when referred to by man.
[illegible]: Long phallus.
[illegible]: Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Unconsumed portion of share of food carried away by guests from a meal.
[illegible]: Food distributed for carrying away as *[illegible]*.
[415] *[illegible]*: Large, flat, soft basket of broad strips of bark.
[illegible]: Presents given by guests to the donor of a memorial potlatch.
[431] *[illegible]*: Maple.
[illegible]: Sudden start that expels the spirit.
[824] *[illegible]*: Outer plank of cedar, convex and bark-covered on one side.
[illegible]: Love song or other non-ceremonial composition.
[illegible]: Fern, probably one of the genus *Aspidium*.
[533] *[illegible]*: 1—Theme of a song dealing with current events, especially allusions to the faults of someone present.
2—Singers who use this type of composition.
[825] *[illegible]*: Large, unidentified bird.
[illegible]: Heat: A supernatural being.
[374] *[illegible]*: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[825] *[illegible]*: Loon.
[262] *[illegible]*: Mountain goat marrow, a food which is said to have remarkable powers of preventing hunger.
[illegible], "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks": *[illegible]* name obtained in the beginning of time.
[illegible]; *plural*, *[illegible]*; *vocative plural*, *[illegible]*:

1—Chief.
2—One of the first men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
4—Name created by *[illegible]* for a grandson.
5—*[illegible]* name of a Kimsquit man.

[601] *[illegible]*: Mother, term commonly used by an adult in indirect address.
[825] *[illegible]*: Bat.
[illegible]: Step-mother; the term is also applied to other women of the generation older than the speaker and related to him by marriage.
[601] *[illegible]*: Elderly female relatives of the same ancestral family as the speaker.
[614] *[illegible]*: Whetstone.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in a story.
[412] *[illegible]*: Mountain near *Talio*.
[illegible], "What Is Hidden": The correct solution of the Mystery dance.
[illegible]: Archaic term for child, now used only rhetorically.
[824] *[illegible]*: Cranberry.

[illegible]: Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
[illegible]: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
[illegible]: That part of a house on either side of the central fire.
[illegible]: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being. [579]
2—Sleep, intangible *kusiut* prerogative.
[illegible]: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [585]
[illegible], "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [431]
[illegible]: Shadow.
[illegible]: Hammer, archaic. [412]
[illegible]: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law. [601]
[illegible]: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other.
[illegible]: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
[illegible]: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
[illegible]: 1—Caribou hide. [825]
2—Thong made of caribou hide.
[illegible]: Chequer-work cedar-bark matting. [285]
[illegible]: Caribou.
[illegible]: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [832]
[illegible]: Supernatural being who causes nightmares. [828]
[illegible] or [illegible]: Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
[illegible]: Body.
[illegible]: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
[illegible]: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
[illegible]: Mountain goat grease. [824]
[illegible]: Castor.
[illegible], "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time. [825]
[illegible]: Octopus.
[illegible]: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
[illegible]: Red rock paint. [386]
[illegible]: Singer's baton.
[illegible]: Tent. [823]
[illegible]: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones.
[illegible]: 1—Memorial-post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [764]
[illegible]: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story. [262]
[illegible]: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
[illegible]: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
[illegible], "Rainwater-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.
[illegible]: Black raspberry. [824]
[illegible]: Ocean.

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[835] *Saluhal*: Mountain on west side of the Kimsquit River.
susle·d'tukmu-kmu: One of the river sculpins.
susuhamls: To gather cedar-bark.
Ssimēna: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning
Susal: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Sulhalts, "Winter Trail": Locality, perhaps village, on the upper Kimsquit River.
[101] *Sutskmp*: Generic name of the inhabitants of the Dean valley.
Susmlt: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
Swatlus: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Swaly: Mountain at Kimsquit which was in human form in the beginning of time.
swaltsmudimut: Meeting of the senior supernatural beings to discuss ceremonial matters at the winter solstice.
swalsta: Provender provided by the supreme god for the first settlers in the beginning of time.
swa'swa: Mud.
swaits: Person or object which is taboo.
Ssaiarmax: Evil supernatural being.
Spaialtsa, "Maker of Good Weather": Supernatural name of dog salmon.
sutkmem gali mans: Term of opprobrium applied to a child whose father drove away his mother.
spakots: Sorcerer's box.
Ssa·tlutsmta-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
spaa: Female lover, especially a paramour.
spaum: Male lover.
Spapa·al: One of the first women to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
spum: The bursting forth of light.
[785] *sutaia*: Ceremonial chastity.
sutaimdjut: The state of practising ceremonial chastity.
[831] *sutaimut*: Power engendered by ceremonial chastity.
spak: 1—Sorcerer.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Spakpkdjuttu-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
ssim: Cedar-bark cord.
Ssimāna: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Ssimsuimk: Immoral supernatural woman.
gal'al: Afterbirth.
Spiyutta-a: Chief of the dogs in the beginning of time.
[838] *Spants*: 1—Hermaphrodite, a supernatural being.
2—Man who performs woman's work.
[761] *smsmtsuts kkl'*: Life, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
[821] *Sall'tsal*, South Wind: A supernatural being.
Salkl, "Angry Moon": First moon after the winter solstice.
[805] *sala·al'*: Poisonous supernatural creature that travels with the War-Party of the Tides.
salamak: "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts. The word has two meanings:
[532] 1—Carved human figure set up by a shaman near the vessel of grease which is thrown on a fire.
2—Nickname bestowed on a man.

Syupsmtsx: Supernatural children guarded by the hermaphrodite in the land above.
Syuxt: Name taken by a *Stuix* man in the beginning of time.
sxtsqmuxt: Place in stream or river where a salmon has just jumped.
sxwamtt·a: Name created upon earth. [825]
sxwapüsit: Dust.
sxwat: Water-tight receptacle made from the internal organs of a mountain goat. [415]
Sxwaksqmtsx, "What Sweeps Away the Food": First moon after the winter solstice. [805]
syuwmk, "Tears": Preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch. [431]
sxw'litmkis, "Short-lived": Rhetorical term used with reference to the death of a young chief. [195]
sxyurwi: An adolescent girl, not yet subject to the full taboos of womanhood.

T

takalst: Cave.
lai: 1—Son, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for lads unrelated to the speaker. [601]
2—Masculine suffix.
Taiakwala: 1—One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuikwel* in the beginning of time.
taitamamk: Desertion of husband by his wife. [586]
kain: Dorsal fin of a fish.
taitaimg: Heavy kind of copper. [825]
taiumax: Tournament between rival villages. [628]
Tal·in: 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm.
2—Generic name applied to all villages on South Bentinck Arm. [101]
Talikan·a: *Nusqmal* name embodied in a *Snulk* origin myth.
Tamttmulspas, "The Breather": One of *Tlinxplitaw·a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Tamakaa: *Stuix* man mentioned in an ancient story.
taptamtsm: The issuing abroad of invitations to a memorial potlatch.
laptu: Forest consisting of dense underbrush between big trees. [824]
laqal: Blood-stained cedar-bark pad.
tat·a: 1—Bird arrow.
2—Weapon, invisible to mortals, with which a wolf kills its prey.
Tata; vocative, *Tataa:* 1—Designation of supreme god used in prayer. [601]
2—Father, term used by child. [824]
lakamlp: Water-lily.
Ta·qwat: Land inhabited by the Kwakiutl.
Tilaxwam: Leading chief of *Nuxalt* and reputed founder of the village.
Toqpleum: Bella Coola chief living in the last century.
kalax: Type of sea-going canoe with bow and stern identical. [825]
tamlwali: 1—White-fronted goose.
2—Type of sea-going canoe named from the bird. [601]
kanas: Husband (*di kakanatsk:* My husband).
tamual': River.
Tamamsaliu: Chief who came to Cape Mudge in the beginning of time and later moved to Bella Coola.

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[illegible]: Bella Bella chief mentioned in a semi-historical account.

[825] *[illegible]*: Northern tribe, possibly Haida.

[illegible]: Dog salmon.

[illegible], "Whose Feet Are Shortened": Village on shore of North Bentinck Arm west and north of the Noeick River.

[illegible]: Owl.

[601] [illegible]: 1—Daughter, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for girls unrelated to the speaker.
2—Feminine suffix.

[illegible]: 1—One of the names of Mount *Nusqulst* as chief.
2—Man who descended to Mount *Nusqulst* in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Supernatural name of bald eagle.

[illegible]: 1—Type of expansible house brought down from above by several of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
2—One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[825] [illegible]: White dog with black and red face.

[824] [illegible]: Pleasure walk.

[illegible]: Cedar-bark.

[411] [illegible]: Sealing spear.

[825] [illegible]: Snake.

[illegible]: Mountain near the Dean River.

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean River in the beginning of time.

[824] [illegible]: Red cedar tree.

[illegible]: Locality on mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island, probably Knight Inlet.

[illegible]: Unidentified grape-like tuber.

[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[342] [illegible]: Underground house with entrance and flue combined.

[illegible]: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.

[825] [illegible]: Large clam-shell.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a *kusiut* man.

[illegible]: Lad mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: Father.

[601] *[illegible]*, "The Sleep Giver": Name of a female shaman.

[illegible]: Nephew's wife, term of indirect address.

[illegible]: Uncle's wife, term of indirect address.

[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story of the upper Bella Coola valley.

[illegible]: Celebrated Kitkatla chief living in the last century.

[illegible], "He of the Penis": Nickname given to a lad mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: Valley.

[illegible], "Where the River Covers the Stones": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

[illegible]: Locality on Fitzhugh Sound.

[824] *[illegible]*: Mountain in the Carrier country.

[illegible]: Unidentified hollow-stemmed plant.

[illegible], "Where There Is Much *[illegible]*": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

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[illegible]: River on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
[illegible]: Mountain near Dean Channel.
[illegible]: One of Raven's female Crow relations.
[illegible]: To marry.
[illegible]: 1—Marriage in which the woman's relatives make the first proposal, especially one hurried owing to bereavement or other financial stringency in the man's family. [584]
2—Marriage without lengthy engagement.
[illegible]: One having a voice like an eagle's.
[illegible], "A Holding": The arrangement by which a man's sons-in-law give him as "wife" an infant female relative in repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters. [583]
[illegible]: Clover. [824]
[illegible]: Robin. [825]
[illegible]: Game played with bows and arrows. [411]
[illegible]: Arrow.
[illegible]: Adze. [412]
[illegible]: Stone maul without handle for driving fish-net stakes.
[illegible]: Black bear. [825]
[illegible]: 1—One of the [illegible] dances.
2—Ceremonial held to shame a deserting husband or wife. [586]
3—Name taken by an early [illegible] dancer at Kimsquit.
[illegible]: Seal. [825]
[illegible]: Bella Bella woman married by [illegible] of Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: 1—One of the first women to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
2—Name acquired by one of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
3—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
[illegible]: Woman dwelling on the coast south of Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Knife of mountain goat bone. [412]
[illegible]: Red rock cod. The difference between this and [illegible] is problematical. [825]
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: 1—Supernatural woman known to the people of Smith Inlet.
2—One of the first women to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Servant to the supernatural being [illegible].
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Supernatural woman resident in the land above. This word is said to be unrelated to [illegible], although a common origin seems probable.
[illegible]: 1—Supernatural child resident in the land above.
2—Name acquired by a female child in the beginning of time. [824]
[illegible]: Fir-bark.
[illegible]: Correct term, in the language of Raven, for skull-cap worn by adolescent girls. See [illegible].
[illegible]: The pouring, by a shaman, of grease from two vessels on the fire as a means of curing the sick.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle in the Dean valley in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Name acquired in the beginning of time by a Rivers Inlet man from a sea-lion.

[825] *[illegible]*: Sardine.

[illegible], "The Walking One": Supernatural name of the water ouzel.

[illegible]: Song sung during Cannibal dance while the performers run from house to house.

[825] *[illegible]*: Mountain goat sinew.

[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.
2—Wife of Mount *Nusqalst*, when in human form at the beginning of time.

[illegible]: One of the nine supernatural siblings, a woman who brings aid to those in sickness and is thus the initiator of shamans.

[825] *[illegible]*: Sea-lion.

[illegible], "Be Like a Person": Instruction given to a stick in the beginning of time. This designation has since been used as an ancestral name.

[821] *[illegible]*: 1—Moon.
2—The zenith.

[825] *[illegible]*: Virulent skin disease.

[illegible]: Cormorant.

[illegible], "Small Mound": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

[illegible], "Maligner" or "Defamer": A supernatural being.

[illegible]: 1—Gaff.
2—To cut wood for masks.

[823] *[illegible]*: "Cut!" Call used on second day of *kusiut* dances.

[illegible]: Small trickle that flows from rocks near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel. The term is probably applied to other similar rivulets.

[415] *[illegible]*: Water-tight basket.

[824] *[illegible]*: Water-washed stump with scoured, radiating roots.

[illegible]: Region on the upper [illegible] River.

[482] *[illegible]*: Tump-line.

[illegible]: Navel.

[825] *[illegible]*: Raven's canoe in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Mink.

[illegible], "He of the Big Family": Term used to describe a man with many descendants.

[583] *[illegible]*: Synonym for *[illegible]*, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. This term is perhaps used in Kimsquit alone.

[825] *[illegible]*: 1—Fawn.
2—*[illegible]* name of a Kimsquit woman.

[illegible]: Star in the Great Bear.

[821] *[illegible]*: Lower of the two beaters used in the preparation of cedar-bark.

[illegible], "Facing": Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, synonymous with *Talio*.

[291] *[illegible]*: Hat with flat top and broad brim.

[illegible]: Stonecrop.

[illegible]: Kimsquit shaman mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: Bella Coola warrior living in the last century.

[illegible]: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.

[825] *[illegible]*: Green barnacles on water-covered stones.

[illegible]: Large woodpecker, species unidentified.

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Tsi-dis: Kitlobe River.
Tsibuukls: Eagle that perched on top of a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time. [825]
tsima: Animal's entrails. [763]
tsi-i: Note of the *kwakwas*, foretelling death.
tsiiasmi: Cormorant, in Bella Bella language. [586]
tskklasmam: Goods taken to her husband by a deserting wife on her return to him.
Tsdwi: Restoration Bay. [431]
Tsdlt, bald eagle: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2—Bald eagle. [825]
3—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
tsnx: Novice, either *kusiut* or shaman.
tsnatāmom or *tsnatāāais:* First night of a *kusiut* dance.
tsknakāmut: 1—Heavy coppers in *Ṣamaqena's* house.
2—Name obtained from these by a *Sätlia* man in the beginning of time.
tski-kāimut: *Kusiotem* rite in which the performer's head appears to be pulled off. [415]
tsla: Closely woven basket of spruce roots.
tslāqnsais: Any act of an unclean nature which prevents a supernatural being from seeing the perpetrator. [784]
tsila: Presents distributed when a *sisauk* initiate dances. They are provided by the donor "To Shield Our Eyes" from the *tutuinam* and serve to recompense the carpenters and others who have assisted in the rite. [431]
tsma: Belt. [465]
tsna: Nettle. [824]
Tsamilaks: Woman resident in the far north in the beginning of time.
tspadjat: The giving of presents to the servants and associates of the donor of a potlatch in return for being served with food in a rude manner. [431]
tspcat: Small woodpecker, species unidentified. [824]
tspatla: Winter wren.
tsqmalt: Spawning sockeye salmon. [825]
tsabika: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the right to scratch the genitalia. [424]
tsalhm: Prompter.
Tsumlilaks: One of the first women to settle at *Swaldi* in the beginning of time.
Tsmalilkh: One of the first men to settle at *Tsmatl* in the beginning of time. [824]
tsumtalp: Unidentified tree of which the bark was smoked.
tutalamp: To grasp firmly with both hands, *archaic.* [825]
tutupāx-i: Trout, *plural.*
tutui'xni'akmk: Ceremony resembling a potlatch given by a chief for the benefit of his fellow-villagers, especially during the year preceding his main rite.
tutuya, "What Is Good": Synonym for *tlsamtamtam*, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]
Tutmal-as: Synonym for *Nusittkaiatlam:* Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.
tutuinam: 1—Masked figure, usually in crest form, which appears to *sisauk* and *s'alk* initiates.
2—An appearance, that is, the coming into sight of what is usually invisible.
Tsaalala: Supernatural hunter of mountain goats.

*192 *Tualosdimut:* One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

twihmdimut, "A Coming up from Below into Plain Sight": Term used with reference to the obtaining of a call through the medium of Dark-Shade.

[424] *tẓāmātl*, "Whence We Came": A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

*[103] *Tẓeltsik:* Old village near the head of Dean Channel, at the site of the present cannery on the opposite side of the fiord from Manitou Cannery.

Tẓnẓn·iaqim: Tree, inhabited by owls, behind the supreme god's house.

ẋwunikwalotl: Space in a house between central fire and row of chiefs seated behind it.

U

U·sḳāxus, "What Is Wanted Is Lacking": Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at *Ālqālāxl* in the beginning of time.

W

Waāks: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Q̓wiyai* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snutsli* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwlst* in the beginning of time.
4—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
5—Name of the Kimsquit River as chief.
6—*Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.

[825] *wai·s:* 1—Cohoe salmon.
2—Name acquired by a man from cohoe salmon.

Waiuxsm: Man who descended to the Clearwater River in the beginning of time.

Wakitmai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Stuux* in the beginning of time.
2—Fraser River.

Wakwas: Village at Kwatna Inlet. This word is in the Bella Bella language.

[825] *Walqkitmai:* One of the first men to settle at *Stuux* in the beginning of time.

wal·asχia: Lynx.

[586] *walikw':* Woman who has deserted her husband.

wahmptmm: To express a desire concerning the disposal of one's goods after death.

[824] *walcinu:* "I go."

walilikwātsālātsālāts, "The Most Potent of the Pond": Water-lily.

Wanql: Name of *Smaoan*'s grandchild in the beginning of time.

Wanuq: 1—Rivers Inlet.
2—Collective term for the villages on its shores.

Waoaqslaix: *Nusāxkāmẓ* name of a Kimsquit man.

Waowal·is: Celebrated shaman, ~~central figure~~ in an ancient tale.

Waoyol·a: Tribal name of one of the Bella Bella-speaking groups.

We·put: Mountain near *Stuux*.

Wasila: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[593] *waskusiutaix:* Death in the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place.

was·nān·imutsts: Mourning songs regarded as expressions of real, not ceremonial, grief.

[765] *wasongʷ'mawutklioqosil:* Synonym for *songʷ'*: The sky.

Wat·as: *Xɩxais* woman living in the beginning of time.
wais: Dog. [825]
wawanic: Dog, *archaic.*
wa·xsia: Cape of yellow cedar-bark. [291]
waxwaxtsia: Brother or sister of grandparent.
Wiakai: One of the first women to settle at *Snuləli* in the beginning of time. [601]
Wiaqaii: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuɩx* in the beginning of time.
Wikwan·ekwla: Synonym for *Kwla*: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nusq̣alst* chief.
Wikwanutl: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
wina, vocative, winao: War-party.
Winās: Slave living at *Nusq̣alst* several generations ago.
winās di qula, "War-Party of the Ocean," or *winās di sā·ildjo·ts*, "War-Party of the Tides": Supernatural being.
Winwina: Supernatural being who captured birds and fish for the benefit of mankind.
Winwintumak: Supernatural being, perhaps identified with one of the warm winds.
winxta: Assistance rendered by the inhabitants of a town to a neighbouring settlement being attacked. [628]
Wipitpawakās: Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time. [726]
Wisamkilak: *Smaoan*'s daughter-in-law in the beginning of time.
Wi'tālas: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Wilsulks: *Sɩsaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
Wixat: Man who travelled to the Skeena River in the beginning of time.
Wixon: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
wɩl·a: *Kusiut* dance in which the nine supernatural siblings are summoned to earth.
Wɩlx̣: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Wɩlx: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
wɩlx̣: Cripple.

X

Xaiāqalatl: Ancestral name of a *Tāl·io* man.
X̣aiq̣ts: Stream entering the Bella Coola from the north near *Nuiluax.* [821]
Xai·utl: Continuous North Wind, anthropomorphized.
xak'loi·: Cry raised as each of the first spring salmon is brought ashore. [226]
Xālaiya: Step-daughter of Raven in the beginning of time.
xaqānts: Great blue heron.
X̣āt: Designation of a tribe, probably a branch of the Carriers, dwelling far to the south-east of the Bella Coola. [825]
xāxaq': Canada goose.
x̣al·a: Root of *q̣āx̣māts*, an unidentified plant.
X̣ekalus: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Xekwotsan·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xelitmai: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
xem: The successive rising of the sun from day to day. This word, which is common in derivatives, appears usually to be pronounced *x̣em* after *s.* [821]
Xemcna: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Snuləli* in the beginning of time.

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Xemlaix: One of the first men to settle at *Ḳomqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
Xemtmm: *Kusiut* name of a *Sīskiutl* man.
Xemxemālotla: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
Xemxemlaix: *Sisaok* name brought from above in the beginning of time.
Xemxemtmm: 1—Supernatural beings who request the sun to appear.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Álqälāxl* in the beginning of time.
[533] *xe·tla:* Boastful type of song used by chiefs on war expeditions and at potlatches.
X̣edilkos: One of the first men to settle at *Ḳotlnolos* in the beginning of time.
X̣elāsu: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman. The designation is of Bella Bella origin.
[825] *'x̣ux̣e:* Marten.
[412] *x̣ils:* Stone axe.
xulxl: Party of potlatch messengers and the invitation they bear.
[203] *Ximpdimut:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximxmlaix: *A'alk* man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximxmoslaix: Celebrated female shaman.
[821] *x̣inx̣inās·i, plural, x̣inx̣ināsoksi:* Little girl.
X̣inx̣nes: 1—"Little Girls": Group of stars in the Great Bear.
[517] 2—Picnic, especially one on which fern root is gathered.
Xuxais: Bella Coola term for the Carriers living near Ootsa Lake. This is said to be their own name for themselves.
Xuximān·a, "Right Foot": *Stuux* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
X̣ux̣is: Mountain in the Carrier country.
xuxmānoās: Spirit, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
xlāxtmm: Ceremony prior to a potlatch when tasks are allotted and the donor's house destroyed.
xlānl: The entrusting, before death, of a name for the benefit of a relative.
Xlikwals: Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[586] *xlokn·imut:* The irrevocable desertion of her husband by a wife.
X̣maxots: Locality below *Nusḳalst.*
[825] *x̣mx̣matsl:* Minnows.
[601] *x̣nas:* Woman, or wife in indirect address (*tci x̣nesltsaix:* My wife).
[614] *x̣nesāxta:* Female relatives of same ancestral family, term of indirect address.
x̣nesdām or *nux̣nesdām:* The right by which a husband uses his wife's land, though
[423] it is not his own.
Xnutli: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.
xokilt: The forcible washing of a Cannibal.
Xolāxwosem: Name acquired by a man mentioned in an ancient story.
[785] *xoldjut:* Intercourse held during ceremonial chastity; the term has a sacred significance.
[831] *Xomtsla:* Male professional singer who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Xomxomqa: Ancestral name of a *Stuux* man. The designation is said to have come from Smith Inlet.
X̣onx̣otām: Supernatural scoop-net fisherman, servant of the supreme god.
X̣oqotlis: Bella Coola man mentioned in an ancient story.

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xosa: Kwakiutl term for presents distributed as "Eagle down."
gota: Scoop-net for catching salmon in rivers. [227]
qoqpankqta: Head-dress of eagles' tails worn by *kusiut* dancers.
xwaneil: Spring water. [292]
Xwantlo: Settlement in the Carrier country.
xwe·k': Cow parsnip. [824]
Xwelbon: Name obtained in the beginning of time from the Skeena people in whose language it is said to mean *whale*.
Xwinxwitsakumlaix: Shaman who obtained his power from Thunder.
Xwisamkila: Daughter of a Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
xwlxwlla: Wrestling.
Xwodjen·i, "The Crash": Name taken by one of the first settlers at *Nuikax* in the beginning of time but long since changed to a *kusiut* designation.
xwenxwemm: 1—Hummingbird.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Älqäläxl* in the beginning of time. [825]
xwonxwontäl·aix: Puppet-patron in the form of a hummingbird.
xwopa·xts di siut: The concluding ritual of the *kusiut* season.
gwosän·i: Gambling game played with crabapple sticks. [525]
Xwoisekmis, "The One Whose Work Has Failed": Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.
xwpuntmak: The desertion of her husband by a wife. [586]

Y

Yäkotlis: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
Yä·kʷaxwaxwa: Kimsquit man mentioned in an allegedly historical account.
yao: "Hello!" "Hail!" or "Greetings!" [576]
ye··: Exclamation having the significance of, "May you have a safe passage," said when a corpse is drawn through the roof.
Yeälos: One of the first men to settle at *Nutsqwalt* in the beginning of time.
'Yeäxdji: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
yeaxmax: 1—Prerogative, tangible or intangible, which some *kukusiut* possess in addition to a dance.
2—Similar prerogative formerly displayed in *sisaok* rites.
yex: 1—Call, that is, that which impels a *kusiut* to dance.
2—*Kusiut* whistle.
Ye'mdjalaos: Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
yeotla: Term, implying both wealth and good fortune, applied to a man able to give a memorial potlatch soon after the death of a relative.
yeyä'timut: Presents given by a prospective bridegroom to his future father-in-law. [431]
ye: Good, *adjective*.
yeki: Mountain goat. [584]
Yel·äxlaix: Goose Island. [825]
yekle: "All Right," cry used in a *kusiut* dance.
Yelhal·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Yelyelhuslaix: One of the first men to settle at *Älqäläxl* in the beginning of time.
yelkatimem: Bringing down of a call by means of the rite of *sawadjut*.
yellaileixl: Presents given by the bride's relatives to the groom's when they enter her house on the wedding day. [431] [585]

[728] *yeltmax:* Peace ceremony.
Yelxlun: Bella Coola carpenter living in the last century.
yen·imut: Ceremonial error.
[534] *Yentsänl:* House of the first settlers at *Sätlia* in the beginning of time.
yat·en: Rattle.
[425] *yat·imm:* The sending back of a name to the family of its original owners through a return marriage, or the proposal to do so, made by the relatives of the wife.
[583] [554] *yetsalt*; *plural*, *yeetsält*; *vocative plural*, *yeetsalt:* A woman who has attained an honourable position through being many times repurchased from her husband; virtually, a female chief.
Yalsqwikaiya: Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
Yexasila: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
[825] *yaxdimut:* Fire-holder carried by Thunder.
yaxo'maitl: Old, female sea-lion.
Yeqtlun: Ancestral name of a *Sinxl* man.
Yexwomaitl: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Yulätimut: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[372] *yuhmta:* Sticks for making fire.
yupälq: Promontory.
yu'pätl: The actual appearance of a performer at an *a'alk* dance during a potlatch.
Yuqwa·t: *ustämx* village.
Yuyuhmql: Stone on the shore of Dean Channel believed to have been a man a long time ago.
Yayulkʷmai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Älqäläxl* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snubli* in the beginning of time.

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/For a Bella Coola-English vocabulary which includes place names, personal names, and names of spirits, gods, mythological characters and places, see category 116, pp. 573-630./

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/For information on the role of "heralds" in the winter ceremonial dances of the kusiut society see category 116, pp. 41-241./

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/For a discussion of Bella Coola songs and the text of songs see category 116, pp. 267-337./

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

/The text of Bella Coola stories relating mythological and historical events will be found in category 116, pp. 386-517./

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

/For songs and dialogue which accompany the making of string figures see category 116, pp. 543-567./

2: McIlwraith
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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

/Native accounts of warfare between the Bella Coola and neighboring tribes will be found in category 116, pp. 346-377./

2: McIlwraith
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/For a discussion and description of the winter ceremonial dances see category 796./

2: McIlwraith NE6 Bellacoola NE6
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/For a discussion of the kusiut society, including its ritual and origin myths, see category 116, pp. 1-271./

2: McIlwraith NE6 Bellacoola 2E6

575, 706

/For texts and comments on songs used in burial rites see category 116, pp. 305-331./

2: McIlwraith
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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

/For a description of the ritual of specific dances of the kusiut society see category 116, pp. 41-271./

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

/For information on sanctions employed to discipline members of the kusiut society see category 116, pp. 1-266./

2: McIlwraith
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/The locus of political power and authority appears to be the *kusiut* society. For information on this secret society, its disciplining of members, and its relations with the uninitiated see category 116, pp. 1-266./